Protecting Indigenous Land from Mining

A study of activist representations of indigenous people, in the context of anti-mining movements, with a focus on an Indian case

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1. Introduction

In a country like India in which development has become a catchphrase for all things good and aspirational, there are a few voices of dissent – some of them, remarkably, belong to people from the 'least developed' communities in India. Based on my previous professional experience at an Indian NGO, I know two individuals who come from these communities very well. Both were employed as development professionals and both have quit their jobs in an Indian city to return to their villages and work the land their families own. Their reasons for doing so are perhaps not dissimilar to those cited by their few scattered counterparts in other parts of the world who have made similar decisions – the negative impact of a fast-paced environment on health and well-being, the appeal of a life that is in tune with nature etc. What is different is the fact that these two individuals hadn't made the journey traversing late modernity and consumerism that their counterparts in other places would probably have made to arrive at such a turning point. What is also different is that both of them believed that nature was an entity in and of itself, which would communicate with those who were receptive via omens such as the chirping of a particular bird on a particular tree, or the appearance of a grazing cow at a certain critical juncture. Both these individuals belonged to communities that claim to be indigenous and the fact that the lifestyles they chose to follow are appealing to people who don't claim an indigenous identity, reveals some of the reasons for the growing support for indigenous peoples and the need to help them preserve their traditional lifestyles. Coupled with the appeal of indigenous lifestyles, is the reality of the marginalization and silencing of indigenous peoples at the hands of dominant social discourses, as well as the denial of their rights by the states in which they live. Support for a lifestyle involving living on and working a piece of land to which one has an emotional and spiritual connection is perhaps unremarkable – however, this thesis will explore this support when it pits itself against dominant economic discourses that champion mineral extraction on land that indigenous peoples live on, subsist off and cherish for emotional and spiritual reasons. Seen in this light, support of this kind becomes an important counter-narrative that is well worth exploring, in an objective and critical manner, for a deeper understanding of our present time and the future we are either building or moving towards together.

1.1. Background

This thesis presents a study of a social movement against the acquisition of land for a bauxite mining project on a mountain that an (arguably) indigenous[1] or Adivasi community in India believed to be sacred – it analyses how, why, to what effect and by whom, the social movement was represented in this manner and supported successfully. The movement was known as the Niyamgiri Movement, after the mountain on which the mining project was planned, and which an

[1] Indigeneity is a contested identity in India (Karlsson, 2003), though one claimed by almost 10% of the Indian population (Rycroft, 2014). The term 'Adivasis' (which this article will employ), derived from Sanskrit and meaning 'original dwellers', is generally used, to denote what are argued to be India's indigenous peoples (Kela, 2006).

Adivasi community lived on and worshipped. The multinational mining company, Vedanta Resources, initiated the mining project. It was UK-based, though founded and chaired by an Indian national. The Niyamgiri Movement achieved significant successes – it resulted in the banning of the mining project on Niyamgiri by the Indian government. This ban was instituted after members of the Adivasi community voted against the mining project in village-level referendums[2]. The referendums were ordered by the Supreme Court of India in response to the movement. The pertinent Supreme Court ruling highlighted the concerns of the Adivasi villagers who would be affected by Vedanta Resources' mining project on Niyamgiri, in continuation of an activist tendency to give prominence to Adivasi/indigenous concerns within the Niyamgiri Movement.

There were also many non-indigenous local activists who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement for reasons which will be presented in this thesis. Local activists argued that the pollution caused by Vedanta Resources' refinery at the foot of the Niyamgiri Mountain, the lack of interest shown by the company in promoting local-level development, the growth in corruption and mafiaism after it had started operating in the region, were all partially responsible for their participation in the Niyamgiri Movement. Nevertheless, in the protest movement's discourse, these local activists chose to foreground Adivasi concerns – specifically the issue of threats to the religious culture of the Adivasis, known as the Dongaria Kondhs, who lived on Niyamgiri. The Niyamgiri Movement also saw the participation of trans-national advocacy organizations such as Survival International, Amnesty International and ActionAid. These trans-national advocacy organizations took up the theme of threatened indigeneity that was to be found within the discourse of the Niyamgiri Movement, and played a major role in making it the central and arguably exclusive point of focus for the movement as a whole. The role of trans-national advocacy organizations in the Niyamgiri Movement was a big one. They managed to convince foreign governmental institutions to put diplomatic pressure upon the Indian government to ban mining on Niyamgiri, and are argued to have played a role in influencing local-level and domestic activists to foreground Adivasi concerns within the Niyamgiri Movement. The thesis also compares the Niyamgiri Movement with a similar social movement against mining on land belonging to indigenous peoples, on the island of Palawan in the Philippines – however, the main focus of the thesis is on an in-depth study of the case of the Niyamgiri Movement.

1.2. Relevance

There have been studies of social movements against mining on indigenous land in the geographical context of all of the planet's inhabited continents (Broderstad, 2014; Petrétei, 2016; Dougherty, 2011; Urkidi, 2011; Keeling and Sandlos, 2009; Yagenova and Garcia, 2009; Hilson and Yakovleva, 2007; Bryant 2000, 2002; Banerjee, 2000). Arguments against the acquisition of land for mining have been described to have been vociferously articulated by indigenous peoples and the activists supporting them in these protests (Ballard and Banks, 2003; Downing et al., 2002; Martinez-Alier, 2001). Land-use conflicts between indigenous peoples and mining companies are understood to be derived from the fact that they value land differently (Ballard and Banks, 2003; Hilson, 2001).

[2] In a recent development, the government of the state in which Niyamgiri is located, attempted to reconvene these referendums. This move of the state government provoked protests by activists and was finally thwarted by the Indian Supreme Court.

With particular relevance to this research project, studies have shown that the argument that indigenous peoples view their land as sacred or culturally significant has been used in several contexts to protest against land acquisition for mining (Arenas, 2007; Aplin, 2004; Martinez-Alier, 2004).

1.3. Focus

Sources of Support: Non-indigenous Activists

In the Global South, where many of the world's indigenous peoples are located, mining has been advocated as an economic growth and development strategy (Graulau, 2008), and at the same time there are voices of dissent that support indigenous peoples in expressing resistance to the acquisition of their land for mining. This thesis focuses on a specific and key question within the area of research on social movements against mining on indigenous lands, that other studies have not emphasized to the extent that this one intends to do. This is the question of the participation of activists in social movements against mining on indigenous land, who are not themselves indigenous. As this thesis will show, these activists do not (necessarily or explicitly) view the land they aim to protect, as being sacred or culturally significant – instead, they believe that it is significant that indigenous peoples do so and emphasize this in the protest movement's articulations. In this study of the Niyamgiri Movement, this question comes very much to the fore. In the comparison with the Philippine-Palawan case study too, an important theme is the representation of indigenous peoples by NGOs and non-indigenous activists.

Sources of Support: Politico-Legal Resources

While considering the issue of the support for indigenous peoples' relationship with their land, by those who do not necessarily share a similar way of relating to the environment, it is also important that policies which express such support, are taken into account. At the global level, there are several examples of institutionalized support for indigenous peoples which make explicit the importance of their spiritual/cultural relationship with their land. An example of an international policy instrument which expresses support for indigenous peoples is the ILO (International Labour Organization) Convention No. 169, which is explicit about the special relationship indigenous peoples are understood to have with their land. The Convention No. 169 states in its Article 13(1) that "it recognizes the special importance for the cultures and spiritual values of indigenous peoples of their relationship with the lands and/or territories that they occupy or otherwise use, and in particular the collective aspect of this relationship, and calls governments to respect it" (Yupsanis, 2010: 441). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples also emphasizes culture and collective human rights related to land and territory (Engle, 2011). Another example of institutionalized support for indigenous peoples' spiritual/cultural relationship with land at the global level is the Akwé: Kon Guidelines which were developed by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). The guidelines are officially defined in the following manner:

> Voluntary guidelines for the conduct of cultural, environmental and social impact assessments regarding developments proposed to take place on, or which are likely to impact on, sacred sites and on lands and waters traditionally occupied or used by indigenous and local communities. (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2004)

In the Indian context as well, the Indian Forest Rights Act which came into force in 2006 empowers forest-dwelling indigenous peoples/Adivasis to "protect their cultural and natural heritage" (Bhullar, 2008: 29). This thesis examines examples of institutionalized support for indigenous peoples' spiritual/cultural relationship with their land, in the context of their instrumentalization in social movements against mining.

Sources of Support: Cultural Resources
Another focus of the thesis is on the mobilization of the media and popular culture in support of movements against mining on indigenous land. It has been noted that "blockbuster films and documentaries are playing an increasingly important role in global environmental justice struggles" (Adamson, 2012: 146) and this thesis explores their role in representing indigenous peoples' relationship with nature in a positive light. In turn, as the thesis will describe and analyse, such positive representations are used as reference points by social movements aiming to generate awareness and sympathy for movement goals.

Expressions of Support: Mainstreaming, Popularization, and Globalization
The thesis will explore the discursive mechanisms by which indigenous peoples' resistance to the acquisition of their land for mining was amplified by those who were supporting them. One of these was the use of a strategy that made indigenous voices and beliefs more mainstream and easier to relate to. Another strategy emphasized the connections between indigenous peoples' struggles and representations of the same in popular culture. A third strategy made use of globalized discussions related to indigenous peoples' relationship with the environment to emphasize the international significance of localized indigenous movements against mining.

1.4. Theoretical Framework

The thesis makes use of several theories and concepts, which are presented subsequently. The thesis also builds upon, refines or critiques some of these theories and concepts. The central theoretical axis of this thesis is the concept of representation, which it puts to use in its two senses of signification and support – the thesis covers the way indigenous peoples were portrayed in social movements against mining, as well as how and by whom support was expressed for them. Postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak is a useful theorist to turn to for a demonstration of how the two ostensibly different issue areas (of representation and support) are in fact integrated. In her discussion on the subject of representation that is to be found in her polemical essay titled 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', Spivak discusses the term representation in relation to its Marxian dichotomization into *Vertretung* i.e. 'speaking for', or political representation and *Darstellung* i.e. 'speaking about'/re-presentation/signification – these terms are used by Marx in his essay titled 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' (Spivak, 1988).

Critical postcolonial scholarship on the subject of 'speaking about' the other, is perhaps best exemplified by Edward Said's study of Western representations of the Orient (Said, 1978). Gayatri Spivak's contribution to the postcolonial debate on representation is an additional critique of the practice of 'speaking for' the marginalized other, as well as a continuation of the deconstruction of the practice of 'speaking about' the other. Subsequent to the presentation of arguments in this regard in 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in later scholarship Spivak has gone on to criticize human

rights activists who attempt to 'speak for' oppressed peoples (Kapoor, 2004; Spivak, 2004; Spivak, 1988) – her chief contention being that human rights activists cannot 'speak for' them, because they cannot 'speak about' them: "I have been suggesting, then, that 'human rights culture' runs on unremitting Northern-ideological pressure, even when it is from the South; that there is a real epistemic discontinuity between the Southern human rights advocates and those whom they protect." (Spivak, 2004: 527) She generalizes the problem by stating that human rights activism is by definition a Western/Northern practice and that all human rights activists, regardless of their background, would be operating from within the confines of a logic of "European provenance" (Spivak, 2004: 524). She states nevertheless, that such activism cannot be dismissed out of hand, because it can be effective in the short-term, though without the capacity to ignite long-lasting change at the grassroots-level.

This thesis explores examples of both kinds of representation (speaking for and about), in the context of its study of the solidarian support for indigenous resistance to mining. The thesis makes use of some of Spivak's arguments concerning representation, while reflecting critically on them at the same time. As it will discuss subsequently, the thesis also turns to other theorists who have worked on representation and theories of representation – some of which, such as framing theory, are used to explore representation as signification, whereas theories such as that of normative cosmopolitanism are employed to explore representation-as-support in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement.

On Representation

The thesis' theoretical focus on representation may raise the question of why this theme is emphasized in this thesis when studies in critical geography (to which this thesis is a contribution) are developing and employing non-representational or more-than-representational theories (Anderson and Harrison, 2010; Lorimer, 2008, 2005; Thrift, 2008). Firstly, the thesis discusses the politics *of* representation, in relation to politics *by* representation, and it is just such a study of the politics by representation and its use of the politics of representation that critical geographers are cautioning against eschewing (Castree and MacMillan, 2004). Critical geography's turn away from a focus on representation has also been criticized by postcolonial geographers such as Tariq Jazeel, who argues that critiques of representation such as to be found in Spivak's 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' continue to be relevant (Jazeel, 2014). He states that his work constitutes "an appeal for postcolonial geography to continue to dwell in the domain of representation; to not turn its disciplinary back on the text of the world before we have got to grips with the world's truly heterogeneous and discontinuous textual fabric" (Jazeel, 2014: 100). As the critical geography literature turns in the direction of non/more-than representational theories, I would like to argue, in line with other scholars, that the study of activist/counter-hegemonic representations continues to be relevant: "whereas representation always enacts a silent violence, counter-hegemonic representations of the world can have real and meaningful effects" (Castree and MacMillan, 2004: 476).

The thesis discusses and analyses the strategic representations of indigenous peoples in the context of social movements against mining on indigenous land, because these representations played an important role in furthering the aims of the social movements in question. To a large extent, the thesis does not query whether the strategic representations of the indigenous peoples which it

analyses, were either an accurate or inaccurate reflection of an actually existing reality. The thesis does problematize the category of 'indigenous peoples' in relation to the Indian context (Karlsson, 2006). Though it does not make it explicit, it also accepts the soundness of arguments that problematize the category of indigeneity more generally (see Kuper, 2003). The thesis does not engage in a contestation of the category for the sole reason that its focus is on how this category is constructed and deployed, and also because their inclusion in this category is often embraced by indigenous peoples themselves. The alignment with social constructivist approaches that this demonstrates, finds reflection in the thesis' use of some of the theories of Jean Baudrillard. Baudrillard is not generally considered to be part of the canon of non-representational theorists, and yet his work is argued to be "doubly non-representational" (Smith, 2003: 81). In summation therefore, even though the thesis is focused on a critical study of the politics of representation in relation to politics by representation, it also gives space to non-representational approaches and theories.

In order to facilitate the reader's conceptual understanding of this thesis, I would like to present the main theories used by the thesis in two overlapping groups – those that are used to investigate acts of 'speaking about' indigenous peoples and those that are used to explore acts of 'speaking for' them. They are briefly described in the subsequent sections:

Speaking about and for: Subalternity

Subalternity is theorized as the condition of being spoken for and about, as experienced by marginalized groups i.e. it is a mode of being represented. The term 'subaltern', as a signifier for marginalized groups, was coined by Antonio Gramsci in his 'Prison Notebooks' which he wrote between 1929 and 1935 (see Gramsci, 1971). Deriving inspiration from Antonio Gramsci (Currie, 1997: 3-4), Indian scholars (initially historians) formed themselves into a collective which focussed on themes of subalternity. They theorized subalternity to be, among other things, the result of a marginalized form of consciousness (generally understood to be mythic) (Sivaramakrishnan, 1995). Gayatri Spivak is also associated with this collective. One of her important contributions to the theorizations of the collective is her contention that there are radical epistemological differences between subalterns and the activists/intellectuals who represent them – regardless of the national and cultural identities of the latter, all such individuals being necessarily trained in the western academic tradition and having thereby imbibed rationalistic values that would be at odds with the perspective of subalterns (Spivak, 2004).

Speaking about: Framing

The thesis employs the sociological theory of framing in its comparison of the Niyamgiri Movement with the Philippine-Palawan social movement against mining on indigenous land. A frame is defined by some of the key scholars who have worked on the development of framing theory, as an interpretative scheme that simplifies and condenses the "world out there" (Snow and Benford, 1992: 137). Framing is understood to occur through language and to be based upon discourse, which in turn is defined as a collective and contested process of meaning production (Steinberg, 1998). Framing in the context of social movements implies a strategic and evocative process of problem definition by which actors and resources may be mobilized to address the defined problem.

Speaking about: Baudrillard's Theory of Seduction
Baudrillard is acknowledged for developing a nonrepresentational theory of how 'reality' is represented/constructed as well as for developing a possible nonrepresentational challenge to the construction/representation of reality by nonrepresentational signs (Smith, 2003). Baudrillard's theorization of what such a challenge could be, constitutes a theoretical resource which the thesis employs in one of the journal articles that constitute it. Baudrillard theorizes that 'seduction' or the use of strategies to evoke affect is a mechanism by which it could be possible to intervene in the reality that is represented/constructed by capitalism (Merrin, 2010).

Speaking for: Normative Cosmopolitanism
The thesis applies the concept of normative cosmopolitanism to the international support for the indigenous community that was at the centre of the Niyamgiri Movement. Normative cosmopolitanism is understood to guide the individual outward, from a parochial morality, to an embrace of obligations towards non-compatriots (Brock and Brighouse, 2005). The application of normative cosmopolitanism to a study of the Niyamgiri Movement derives additional legitimacy when it is kept in mind that in some of the early writings on normative cosmopolitanism such as Kant's, the importance of cultural diversity and the protection of minority groups is emphasized. Kant defends cultural diversity by allowing for a plurality of lifestyles including hunting, pastoral and agricultural modes of subsistence, and argues that people have the right to choose the way they want to live (Kleingeld, 2012).

1.5. Methodology

Case Study Approach of this Thesis
In line with sociologist Howard Saul Becker's advocacy for research conducted through an in-depth analysis of the empirical complexities observable in a case study (Becker, 2014), the research project that resulted in this thesis, focuses on the distinct and important questions thrown up by an analysis of the Niyamgiri Movement. The thesis attempts to critique and refine theories and to develop concepts that can add to them. The advantages of qualitative case study research for just such a purpose have been emphasized by scholars (George and Bennett, 2004) – this includes the use of single case studies for theoretical development (Siggelkow, 2007). The thesis focuses on a single case study i.e. that of the Niyamgiri Movement, and also includes a paired comparison approach (Tarrow, 2010) with its comparison of the Niyamgiri Movement with the anti-mining movement on Palawan in the Philippines.

Research Setting
A research project focussing primarily on a single case of activism against a mining company, as does this one, raises the obvious question of why the case study was chosen. The answer to this question lies in my previous background as a professional activist (as the co-ordinator of a media cell) at an organization that was co-ordinating anti-mining movements (most of them Adivasi-led) in the state of Jharkhand in India. As an activist, I observed that the participants in these movements protested for years against mining companies, often without any hope of achieving more than a stalemate i.e. seeing their struggles come to a successful conclusion as per their aspirations. These participants, already economically disadvantaged prior to the onset of these movements,

suffered additional material losses, threats and actual experiences of violence, arrests, detentions etc. as a result of participating in social movements to prevent, in most cases, the acquisition of their land by mining companies. During this period, I became more and more curious as to what the recipe for success, in regard to social movements of this kind, could be. I felt that it was imperative to find an answer to this and to share it with the activist and scholar community, in case strategies used by one such successful movement could find application elsewhere.

Around this time, I became aware of the Niyamgiri Movement in the neighbouring state of Odisha. I was not connected to the Niyamgiri Movement (which at that time had not yet been concluded successfully) through my work, in any way. Rather, my attention was directed towards it as a result of my academic interest in subaltern grassroots-level alternative development initiatives that drew inspiration from non-rationalistic cultural and religious paradigms. I must emphasize that these initiatives defined themselves as derivative of a cultural paradigm opposed to and repressed by majoritarian religiosities – this is one of the reasons why I call these initiatives 'subaltern' – a concept which I shall explain later. The Niyamgiri Movement was a social movement against a mining company which explicitly constructed itself as a movement to protect the 'sacred land' (the Niyamgiri Mountain) of an indigenous community. This aspect of the movement drew my attention, and I learnt, as I kept myself informed of developments in regard to it, that the movement had attracted a great deal of international support. It was in 2010 that the world received intimations of the successes which the Niyamgiri Movement would achieve; and it was then that I decided to write a PhD research proposal and apply for research funding, for a project investigating the reasons for the support the movement was receiving, with a particular emphasis on examining the discourse of 'indigenous sacred land' in regard to it. This is how I came to focus on the case study that is at the centre of my research.

The question of the representation of the Niyamgiri Movement and other such movements by non-indigenous actors, became central to my research after I realized its importance while conducting fieldwork, and also because it is a controversial issue that I had to deal with personally in my former role as a professional activist. I saw the relatively unexplored research potential of this issue, and knowing that it is an important and contested topic for the activist community, I chose to make it the node from which the research questions of my thesis branch out.

Data Gathering: Multi-Method Approach

The research project that has resulted in this thesis adopted a multi-method approach towards data-gathering. The research methods used to gather the data for this thesis were chosen for their suitability vis-à-vis the attempt to find an answer to the question of how, why, by whom and to what effect indigenous peoples were 'represented'. The research methods described below will not be discussed with specific reference to any one article, as they were used to gather data for all of the four journal articles that are presented in this thesis. Additionally, it is important to specify that the first journal article presented in this thesis was written with a co-author (Elisabet Rasch), who used her own data-gathering methods to collect data on the Philippine-Palawan case study. The research methods she used, which correspond closely with mine, are described in the journal article which she has co-authored with me, and which is presented subsequently. In this introductory chapter however, I will only elucidate the research methods I have used.

While conducting the research project that has resulted in this thesis, I took a multi-method approach towards data-gathering (as well as a multi-theoretical approach across the thesis). I conducted fifteen oral history interviews and six semi-structured interviews, undertook a significant amount of participant observation in several settings and at various events, and also gathered some of the data for my thesis from media reportage and official reports, memos etc. that were related to the Niyamgiri Movement. My data triangulation strategy was aimed at enhancing the interpretative potential of my research as has been accepted as one of the established objectives of a triangulation strategy (Thurmond, 2001). Given Gayatri Spivak's criticism of 'information retrieval' from the Global South for the benefit of academics and academic institutions located in the Global North (Kapoor, 2004), it is important that I acknowledge my complicity in a project of this nature, in the spirit of the self-reflexivity which she advocates. The data I gathered was indeed for the purpose of writing this thesis which I hope will allow me to obtain a doctorate. I am also not claiming to know more about issues in the Global South because I happened to be located there prior to starting a PhD at a European university – a claim Spivak would again critique (Kapoor, 2004). I can claim however, to be researching a practice (that of activism) which was once mine, and to be conducting this research for the reason that there were intellectual dilemmas I was grappling with as an activist that I needed to resolve – for my benefit and for the benefit of others who may be in a situation similar to the one I was in.

Fieldwork Setting

I think it is useful to describe the fieldwork setting in which the research methods were applied in some measure of detail. This is because important political events had occurred during the process of conducting the fieldwork and would have had an impact on the interviews. Some of these events were of direct relevance to the Niyamgiri Movement, though outside the scope of my research. For example: the killing of two people in Niyamgiri by Maoist guerrillas just before I travelled to the region to conduct interviews. The people who were killed were understood to be working to further the mining company's interests. Niyamgiri Movement activists had distanced themselves from the Maoist Movement prevalent in Eastern India. However, the Maoists that were present there understood themselves to be working on a common project with Niyamgiri Movement protesters, to evict the mining company from the area. When I conducted oral history interviews, the area was tense, also because of the presence of paramilitary forces who were conducting combing operations in the Niyamgiri hills subsequent to the killings. Additionally, a national-level, much publicized, anti-corruption social movement (Lokpal Bill Movement) was in full swing at the same time, and Niyamgiri Movement protestors had joined it. They had conducted a torch-light rally to mark their support for the national-level movement, during the time I was conducting oral history interviews.

Research Method for Data-Gathering: Oral History Interviews

An important research method used for this thesis is the oral history interviewing technique (Perks and Thomson, 1998). Oral history interviews were conducted with activists who were involved in the Niyamgiri Movement and had spoken for and/or about the Dongaria Kondhs. The activists were variously students, lawyers, professional environmental activists and local grassroots-level activists. The oral history interviews were conducted towards the end of the more than decade-

long Niyamgiri Movement and in interviews, interviewees reflected upon events that had occurred a couple of months previously, as well as several years in the past. The focus in the interviews conducted for this research project, was on why these activists had gotten involved in the Niyamgiri Movement and how they had participated in it. The Niyamgiri Movement had been officially represented as an indigenous peoples' movement. However, in the research project that has resulted in this thesis, the empirical focus was on the movement's non-indigenous participants. These participants were party to the construction of the movement's official representation as an indigenous peoples' movement – they had given primacy to the Dongaria Kondhs' concerns vis-à-vis the mining of the Niyamgiri Mountain, despite the fact that they had their own reasons for initiating protests against the mining project. The data elicited from the oral history interviews countered the official understanding of events vis-à-vis the Niyamgiri Movement, as oral history is seen (and has been used) to do in other contexts (see Wieder, 2004; Stoler and Strassler, 2000).

There is some emphasis in this thesis on arguing against the official understanding of the Niyamgiri Movement. However, a major point of focus of this research project in its data-gathering stage, in line with the theorization of oral history (Abrams, 2010; Buhle and Buhle, 1988), was the attempt to access "not just information, but also signification, interpretation and meaning" (Abrams, 2010: 1). The research project was as focused on the attempt to gather information about how indigenous peoples were represented, as it was on why this was done, what this meant to the interviewee etc.

From a methodological standpoint, oral history interviews constitute a research method that intersects with the theories that form the basis for the analysis conducted by this research project. Theories of subalternity, which this thesis employs extensively, were developed by the Indian Subaltern Studies group, who are argued to have extended the historiographic tradition of 'history from below' (Chakrabarty, 2000), for which oral history as a research method was understood to be essential (Thomson, 2007).

Fifteen oral history interviews were conducted for this research project, most of which lasted between two to three hours. Most of the interviews were conducted in Bhawanipatna, which is the district capital of Kalahandi where Niyamgiri is located. A few of the interviews were also conducted in Delhi, where some of the national-level activists who were supporting the Niyamgiri Movement were based. The interviewees were accessed through snowball sampling, which is a research strategy that is theorized to facilitate access to groups that are hard to access (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). The activists who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement were such a group, and issues of trust also became fore-grounded in the data-gathering stage of the research project as the Niyamgiri Movement had not been successfully concluded at that time and the atmosphere in and around the fieldwork site was tense. To some degree, my access to this group of interviewees was facilitated by the fact that I was from the neighbouring Indian state of Jharkhand, as well as the fact that I had had previous experience of working with activists who were campaigning against mining.

Research Method for Data-Gathering: Participant Observation

Another important research method that I used to gather the data for this research project was participant observation. In their comparison of the research method of participant observation

with that of interviewing, Howard Saul Becker and Blanche Geer argue that participant observation is useful when it is not possible to elicit information by interviewing, for the reason that the interviewee does not wish to talk about a particular subject or because the interviewee has not been able to reflect upon a subject enough to be able to voice her/his opinion on it. Furthermore, there may be instances of the interviewer not knowing which questions to ask. In such cases, time spent amongst people and in a situation that the interviewer wishes to know more about, could reveal useful insights (Becker and Geer, 1957). I used the research method of participant observation to complement the interviews I conducted during fieldwork, and indeed, as an analytical tool to interpret my data subsequent to gathering it, as well as to know which questions to ask during the interviews I conducted. This is in line with the methodological argument that participant observation can provide the tacit understanding that has the potential to complement interviews and enhance the process of interpreting them (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2010). I needed to observe for example, how the Dongaria Kondhs lived and interacted with their natural environment, the interaction between non-indigenous activists and the Dongaria Kondhs, what the corporate atmosphere in a mining company was like etc. Conducting interviews on these topics would not have been effective and I immersed myself in these situations to observe them at first hand. While conducting participant observation I made an effort to be explicit about what the reasons for my doing so were.

As part of the participant observation I conducted during my fieldwork, I spent time (in May 2011) with a governmental NGO (Dongaria Kondh Development Agency) that was operating at the foot of the Niyamgiri range of hills and was charged, as its name signifies, with the welfare of the Dongaria Kondhs. I lived on the premises of the NGO and made several trips into the Niyamgiri hills with one of the employees of the NGO as my guide. I also lived in two Dongaria Kondh villages (Arsakanni and Khajuri) for two days each, and participated in several festivities organized by the Dongaria Kondhs. In the course of my time as a participant observer amongst the Dongaria Kondhs, I was able to record improvised songs composed by young Dongaria women, as well as a myth concerning the sacredness of the Niyamgiri Mountain, which a Dongaria ritual specialist narrated to me.

I also participated in a rally (in December 2012) which local activists had organized to protest against the presence of Vedanta Resources' refinery in the region. The Dongaria Kondhs were also present at the rally, and I got a chance to observe the interaction between local non-indigenous activists and the Dongaria Kondhs, in the context of their participation in the Niyamgiri Movement. I also got a chance to observe how local authorities attempted to repress this form of protest – some activists who were trying to make their way to the site at which the rally was organized, were delayed by the police. In the course of the rally I had many conversations with participating activists, including several youth activists. I had also participated in the torch-light rally (in August 2011) that I had mentioned earlier, which Niyamgiri Movement activists had organized to mark their solidarity with the national anti-corruption movement ongoing at the time. Another important experience of participant observation was the time I spent as a participant observer at a major Indian coal mining company[3] (in May-June 2012). I was not able to speak to any of the

[3] Name unspecified

representatives of Vedanta Resources, for the reason that while I was conducting my fieldwork, the Niyamgiri Movement was still in full swing; the activists I was interviewing would have not accepted that I speak simultaneously with them and with the representatives of the mining company they were protesting against. Nevertheless, I felt that it was important to understand land-use conflicts between mining companies and local, often indigenous peoples, from the corporate perspective. My time at the Indian coal mining company allowed me to speak with several mining company executives, who openly discussed the conflictual nature of the land acquisition process. I also got the opportunity to observe how a mining company reacts to negative publicity – the company at which I was conducting participant observation received a great deal of negative media attention, due to a corruption scandal, during the time when I was present in their offices.

From a methodological perspective, participant observation is also a research method that intersects with the thesis' choice of Spivak as one of the main theorists it engages with. Spivak advocates learning to learn from below, which in the context of fieldwork research, implies an openness to informants and the fieldwork situation, rather than a focus on merely gathering the data that the researcher thinks is required (Kapoor, 2004).

Research Method for Data-Gathering: Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with interviewees who had either not participated in the Niyamgiri Movement or who preferred to take the lead in the interview situation and tell me what they thought I needed to hear, to which I would respond by asking clarificatory questions based on my interview guide, which is in accordance with the semi-structured interview method (Brinkmann, 2014). Six semi-structured interviews were conducted as part of my research project. In this regard, two of the interviewees were development professionals who had worked with the Dongaria Kondhs, one was a Supreme Court lawyer, another a local anthropologist who had conducted extensive fieldwork in Dongaria Kondh villages and two were South Africa-based NGO professionals who were attempting to develop a biodiversity conservation partnership with Vedanta Resources (these last two interviews were conducted using Skype since I could not travel to South Africa, whereas the others were conducted face to face).

Research Method for Data-Gathering: Documentary Data Sources

The collection and analysis of documents, newspaper articles, official memos and reports, was another research method that I used to gather the data for this thesis. I did not rely upon this research method to validate my primary data, as much as to develop a deeper understanding of it. Working with documentary data sources alongside the primary data I had collected, allowed me to develop additional insights into the themes that it was possible to observe in my data. The documentary sources of my data included newspaper articles which I collected from the time of the onset of my PhD, mostly by setting up Google News Alerts with the help of keywords related to the Niyamgiri Movement. Other documentary data sources included official reports, some of which the activists I interviewed had collected and stored, and which they shared with me after I interviewed them. Several reports that had been prepared by NGO researchers were also collected, and they too constituted important sources of data for my research project.

Data Analysis and its Relation to Data Collection

For the analysis of my data, I used thematic analysis. This is described as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). I took an inductive approach towards the thematic analysis of my data (Vaismoradi et al., 2013; Braun and Clarke, 2006; Ryan and Russel, 2003). This involved an immersion in the data I had collected, i.e. going through it carefully several times, and then the rough identification of themes within the data. After this initial identification of themes, I went through my data again, in order to spot where and how my data reflected these themes. It is also important to mention that the participant observation I had conducted prior to interviewing activists played an important role in shaping the questions I asked during the interviews as well as the subsequent data-collection strategy in general. In other words, the data I had collected in the first stages of the research project shaped the process by which subsequent data was collected. After the first round of data collection, I spent a few months reflecting on the data I had collected and reviewing the literature that could help deepen an understanding of it. The interpretations and understandings garnered from this first round of data analysis and reflection went on to shape the next round of data collection and so on. This research approach is similar to a grounded theory research approach (Corbin and Strauss, 1990) and given that an important objective of my research project was conceptual development (Siggelkow, 2007; George and Bennett, 2004) which is understood to be facilitated by a grounded theory research approach, I can argue that there is a good fit between the thesis' data analysis procedure and its overall aim.

1.6. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of four journal articles and a book chapter that are preceded by this introductory chapter. The thesis is concluded by a chapter which summarizes findings and organizes the conceptual and theoretical discussions presented in the articles and book chapter into key themes. Each of the journal articles and the book chapter constitutes a research chapter – these are presented below and outlined briefly, with an emphasis on their primary research questions:

Brief Outline of the Chapters

Chapter 2. How the Intersection of Geographical Scales Impacted the Representation of Social Movements against Mining on Indigenous Land, in India and the Philippines[4]:

This chapter is a comparative study of the representation of indigeneity in the Niyamgiri Movement in India and the anti-mining movement on the Philippine island of Palawan, which were both environmental movements against mining that went on to include an emphasis on indigeneity. This comparative study shows that the representation of indigeneity in both the Niyamgiri Movement and the anti-mining movement on Palawan was influenced by the construction of ecological indigeneity at the global level. The article argues that such a discursive dynamic can be termed internationalized framing, and uses, in the main, theories of framing, internationalization and social movements, to conduct its analysis.

[4] This chapter is based on a journal article titled '**Internationalized Framing in Social Movements against Mining in India and the Philippines'** that was submitted to the Journal Geoforum. The journal article was co-authored by Elisabet Rasch.

The primary research question of the article is as follows:

- How does the representation of social movements against mining on indigenous land in the Global South derive from the construction of indigeneity at the global level?

Chapter 3: How Popular Culture at Different Scales Influenced the Representation of the Nature Religiosity of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India[5]:

This chapter analyses the representation of the religiosity of the Dongaria Kondhs by international and domestic activists. Activists at these two levels represented the Dongaria Kondhs' religious connections with Niyamgiri differently. Each of these representations facilitated a mass identification with the Dongarias' religiosity, and consequently enhanced the support for the Niyamgiri Movement. The article also discusses how the Dongarias represented themselves and whether they were really able to 'speak' while doing so. The article uses theories of subalternity and Baudrillard's theory of seduction to conduct its analysis. The article's primary research question is as follows:

- How were the representations of the Dongaria Kondhs productive?

Chapter 4: Who were the Local Supporters of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India, and How and Why did they Express this Support[6]:

This chapter analyses the support expressed for the Dongaria Kondhs, in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, by local activists. These local activists were in many cases marginalized and were participating in the Niyamgiri Movement because they were against Vedanta Resources for reasons of their own. The article argues that these local activists were differentially subaltern, and investigates why this concept applies to them and why they chose to foreground Adivasi concerns in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, rather than their own reasons for protesting against the mining company.

The article's research questions are as follows:

- Can the local activists who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement be termed differentially subaltern?
- Why did the local activists who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement support the Dongaria Kondhs and how does this relate to their differential subalternity?

Chapter 5: Who were the International Supporters of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India, and How and Why did they Express this Support:

This chapter is a study of the international support for the Niyamgiri Movement and the influence this had on the movement's outcomes. An important component of the article is a discussion centred on the appropriate theories with which to interpret this support. The international support

[5] This chapter is based on a journal article titled '**Representing Indigenous Sacred Land: The Case of the Niyamgiri Movement in India**' that was submitted to the journal Social Movement Studies. This journal article was co-authored by Bettina Bluemling.

[6] This chapter is based on a journal article titled '**Differential Subalterns in the Niyamgiri Movement in India**' that has been accepted for publication by the journal Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies.

for the Niyamgiri Movement is first critically analysed in terms of moral, legal and political cosmopolitanism, and subsequently, this analysis is critiqued from a postcolonial perspective. An alternative theoretical framework for interpreting the support for the movement by governmental actors is then proposed.

The main research questions of the article are as follows:

- How does moral, legal and political cosmopolitanism make itself visible in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement?
- Can the international support for the Niyamgiri Movement and the response this elicited from the Indian government, be interpreted from another conceptual perspective?

Chapter 6: What was the Domestic Legislation in India that was used in Support of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India, and how was it used[7]:

This chapter explores the legal implications of the Dongaria Kondhs' geographic understanding of their sacred natural site. The chapter discusses how the Dongaria Kondhs' understanding of their sacred natural site's boundaries was ambiguous and consequently subaltern in relation to the cartographic requirements of the legal resource which did finally work in the community's favour. Concepts of sacred land, sacred space and the sacred-profane dichotomy are put to use in this book chapter. The chapter's main research questions are as follows:

- What were the legal ramifications of the ambiguity surrounding the geographic demarcation of the Dongaria Kondhs' sacred natural site?
- What could be a conceptual approach with which to facilitate the application of legal resources to subaltern environmental religiosities such as that of the Dongaria Kondhs?

Thematic Flow Across the Thesis

The journal articles and book chapter that constitute the research chapters in this thesis are arranged in such a way as to facilitate a systematic understanding of the various nuances of representational politics vis-a-vis social movements against mining on indigenous land. Since the journal articles were submitted/will be submitted to different international journals which had/have their own requirements pertaining to style, there are some stylistic differences between the chapters that are based on journal articles, as well as differences between them and the book chapter which is part of an edited volume aimed at practitioners as well as academics. It is important to reiterate the thesis' two main areas of conceptual investigation in relation to social movements against mining on indigenous land – the representation of these social movements, to be understood separately as representation-as-signification and representation-as-support. The thesis first examines representation-as-signification in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement in India and the anti-mining movement on the island of Palawan in the Philippines and then goes on to examine representation-as-support in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement. The research questions asked in relation to the thesis' exploration of representation-as-signification and representation-as-support are **how** social movements against mining are represented at various scales and **who** represents

[7] This chapter is based on a book chapter that is part of an edited volume on **Asian Sacred Natural Sites** that has been published by Routledge in 2016 and is edited by Bas Verschuuren and Naoya Furuta.

these social movements at different scales and **why**. The thesis also examines **what** domestic legal resource was used to represent the social movement against mining on indigenous land in India and **how** it was used.

In the first chapter, the conceptual focus is on understanding representation as signification (framing). It examines how social movements against mining on indigenous land are influenced by the intersection of relevant frames at the global and local scale. The second chapter takes a closer look at the way indigeneity is strategically represented with the help of popular culture at the global and local scale, and it also examines the effect this has on the effectiveness of social movements against mining on indigenous land. In the second chapter as in the first, representation is understood and discussed conceptually, in terms of signification. The third chapter examines representation as support/political representation. It focuses on the support for the Dongaria Kondhs by activists at the local scale. The fourth chapter is also an exploration of representation as support/political representation. In this chapter, the focus is on the support for the Dongaria Kondhs and the Niyamgiri Movement that was visible at the international scale. The fourth chapter also discusses the effect of this support on the Indian government, and consequently on the success of the Niyamgiri Movement. The fifth chapter explores geographic and legal issues in relation to the representation of indigenous peoples and closes with a discussion on the value of representation (support) as opposed to re-presentation (signification) in this context. The chapters have been arranged in this way to facilitate a systematic and incremental understanding of concepts pertaining to representation as applied to the issue of activism against mining on indigenous land.

2. How the Intersection of Geographical Scales Impacted the Representation of Social Movements against Mining on Indigenous Land, in India and the Philippines[8]

Abstract | There are several documented cases of indigenous peoples' conflicts with mining companies, often for the reason that the land planned for mining is sacred or culturally significant to them. This paper presents a comparative analysis of anti-mining social movements in India and the Philippines that combined an emphasis on environmental protection with an emphasis on indigenous cultural rights. The paper describes how inter-connections between the discourses of indigenous cultural rights and conservation have resulted in the formulation of a globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity. The paper shows how the Indian and Philippine social movements engage with this globalized frame and in order to do this we have developed the concept of internationalized framing. This concept breaks down the process by which the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity is harnessed in service of social movements against mining. For our comparative analysis of this process we compare the Niyamgiri Movement in India with the anti-mining movement on the island of Palawan in the Philippines. We also show how the emphasis on indigeneity in these social movements played itself out in relation to the other frames within which the movements were also situated.

2.1. Introduction

In this paper, we present a comparative study of how social movements against mining in India and the Philippines use globalized discourses and resources, as well as help from international actors to champion the cause of indigenous land that has cultural or sacred value. The Indian social movement that we study was aimed at protecting the Niyamgiri Mountain in India from mining and the Philippine social movement was aimed at preventing mining on the southern part of the Philippine island Palawan. We believe that a comparative study of social movements against mining on indigenous land in these two democratic Asian polities with emerging economies would yield valuable insights, since both have minority populations of indigenous peoples, but each of these contexts differs in its localized understanding of indigeneity and associated issues (Li, 2010; Kingsbury, 1998). This paper examines how these social movements in India and the Philippines emphasized indigenous issues in the context of globalization and it aligns with the argument that indigenous ecological identities cannot be studied in isolation from the internationalized dynamics that shape them (Radcliffe, 2014).

[8] This chapter is based on a journal article titled '**Internationalized Framing in Social Movements against Mining in India and the Philippines'** that was submitted to the Journal Geoforum. The journal article was co-authored by Elisabet Rasch.

The increasing importance given to indigenous peoples in discussions related to environmental conservation has been noted by scholars (Hames, 2007; Dove, 2006) and is visible in global environmental policy-making. For example, the World Bank refers to indigenous peoples as partners in biodiversity conservation (Sobrevila: 2008) and the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity includes provisions that relate indigenous peoples to nature conservation policy (Reimerson, 2013). We call this globalized linkage between indigenous peoples and nature conservation, the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity. It has been argued that the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity is the result of indigenous peoples' successful deployment of a "politics of morality" (Muehlebach, 2001: 425) against the ecological failures of modern civilization globally, as well as a political rhetoric that attempts to answer Western quests for native or aboriginal wisdom (Pieck, 2006). Indigenous sacred/culturally valued lands are singled out for special protection at the level of global environmental policy. For example, the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity has developed a set of guidelines on the protection of indigenous sacred natural sites. These are called the Akwé: Kon Guidelines and are defined as "voluntary guidelines for the conduct of cultural, environmental and social impact assessments regarding developments proposed to take place on, or which are likely to impact on, sacred sites and on lands and waters traditionally occupied or used by indigenous and local communities" (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological DiversityD, 2004). The Akwé: Kon Guidelines are argued to have been formulated with site-specific biodiversity conservation in mind, after it became established that there was a link between cultural and biological diversity and that they should be conserved in tandem (Djoghlaf, 2012).

However, the Akwé: Kon Guidelines are also an example of a policy instrument which grants cultural rights to indigenous peoples. The globalized valorization of indigeneity is an example of a rights discourse that radically reconfigures that position of the rights' recipient. Within the framing of the globalized valorization of indigeneity, indigenous peoples are understood to be experts in relation to conservation and they are also (and in light of this) granted special rights to conserve their lands and territories that possess cultural or spiritual value for them. In many ways, the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity reflects the ethical stance vis-a-vis the marginalized/subaltern 'other' which postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak prescribes (Vinayaraj, 2016; Kapoor, 2004) i.e. a stance that facilitates a mutual and respectful exchange.

The central question of this paper is how social movements aimed at defending 'places' (Dirlik, 1999) achieve a discursive fit with the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity. To answer it we have developed the concept of frame internationalization, inspired by Tarrow's conceptualization of internalization (Tarrow, 2010a) and the concept of frame bridging (Snow et al., 1986). Tarrow's conceptualization of internalization relates to the ways domestic or local movements frame their issues as being global in scope (Tarrow, 2010a) and frame-bridging describes how social movements can connect an issue they champion with another issue (Snow et al., 1986).

We study the entanglements between local and global frames and also emphasize the role of the actors who construct and operationalize the frames we study. This paper contributes to scholarship on social movements in which the translation of globalized frames to the local scale is emphasized (Merry, 2006). Our contribution can be divided into three areas. Firstly, we unpack the framing

process that is involved in making a locally and domestically situated social movement align with globalized agendas while simultaneously ensuring that it retains its appeal for its local and domestic constituencies by continuing to address issues that are of relevance in those contexts. Secondly, we emphasize the pro-active aspect of the framing process which we unpack – we argue that social movements aimed at defending place actively engage with globalization in order to strengthen themselves discursively. This demonstrates that these social movements are not "place-bound" (Dirlik, 1999: 154) and that the defence of place does not necessarily need to occur in opposition to globalization (Escobar, 2001). Our third contribution is more methodological: we show that frames are dynamic and should be studied as processes rather than as static frames – this is a point that has been mentioned in methodological discussions related to frame analysis (Johnston, 2002), and is consequently one that we support and add to.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

To analyse the ways in which social movements mobilize resistance towards mining on indigenous land through a place-based (re)construction of the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity, we developed the concept of 'frame internationalization', drawing on insights from framing theory (Benford and Snow 2000) and Tarrow's conceptualization of internalization (Tarrow, 2010a), and building upon the work of scholars who have studied local-global interactions in the context of globalization (Tarrow 2010a; Levitt and Merry 2009; Swyngedouw 2004; Escobar 2001)

A frame is defined by scholars as "an interpretative schemata that simplifies and condenses the 'world out there'" (Snow and Benford, 1992: 137). Following Goffman's study of how frames facilitate a particular interpretation of social reality (Goffman, 1974), social movements' scholars have engaged with the concept in their studies on mobilization dynamics (Benford, 1997). In this regard they have focused on "collective action frames", which are defined as emergent action-oriented sets of beliefs inspiring meaning and legitimizing social movement activities and campaigns (Snow and Benford, 1992: 137). Framing occurs through language, and is based upon discourse which is defined as a collective and contested process of meaning production (Steinberg, 1998).

In their review of scholarship on social movements and framing, Benford and Snow have discussed the attention given to strategic framing processes associated with social movements (Benford and Snow, 200). They define strategic framing processes as "framing processes that are deliberative, utilitarian, and goal directed" (Benford and Snow, 2000: 624) and go on to identify and discuss four such processes: namely, frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation (Benford and Snow, 2000). Of these, frame-bridging is most relevant to our conceptualization of frame internationalization. Defined as the "linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem" (Benford and Snow, 2000: 624) frame bridging can be seen in the social movements we study: both the environmental justice frame in the Indian social movement and the ecological frame in the anti-mining movement on Palawan are shown to be linked with aspects of the indigenous cultural rights frame.

Internalization is conceptualized by Tarrow (2010a) as one of several different mechanisms by which domestic and international inter-contextual coupling may operate in social movements and how domestic and international politics may intersect to aid the articulations of localized struggles (Tarrow, 2010a). As per Tarrow's emphasis, these mechanisms "bridge domestic and international politics in a sustained way without displacing one or the other or homogenizing the two" (Tarrow, 2010a: 174). The mechanisms are 1) internalization 2) externalization 3) transnationalization 4) insider-outsider coalitions (Tarrow, 2010a: 174-180). Tarrow describes internalization as a discursive process by which struggles absorb global norms or values that relate to their goals (Della Porta and Tarrow, 2005), and then re-frame their agendas as having a universal component, or as participative in global processes (Tarrow, 2010a: 175-176).

Benford and Snow stress the importance of a frame's "narrative fidelity" or "cultural resonance" (Benford and Snow, 2000: 622). By this they mean that social movements frame themselves in ways that resonate with the "inherent ideology" of their targets (Benford and Snow, 2000: ibid). We argue that the internationalization of framing in the anti-mining movements in India and the Philippines did not detract from their commitment to being locally relevant and that the internationalized framing was culturally resonant with each local context.

We understand frame internationalization to be shaped by processes of globalization, internationalization and glocalization. We refer to the frame of the valorization of indigeneity that social movements in India and the Philippines engage with, as being globalized, as it is present at the trans-boundary or meta-state scale (Garcia, 2013), which is the scale at which globalization is situated (Daly, 1999). However, though the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity is not bounded within the scales of specific nation-states, the social movements we study engage with this frame from the context of bounded nation-states. It is for this reason that we have chosen to term these engagements with the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity 'frame internationalization' rather than 'frame globalization'.

Frame internationalization is thus a composite of processes of frame-bridging and internalization, in which the cultural resonance that internationalized frames may have with local/domestic contexts is important. Frame internationalization can be compared to the discursive process of translating globalized discourses for local contexts that Levitt and Merry have termed vernacularization (2009). However, frame internationalization is a process of including globalized elements in a frame, in such a way that it can address a global as well as a local and national audience. Frame internationalization can be discussed as a glocalization of resistance, and as such it adds to scholarship on glocalization and rescaling (see Swyngedouw, 2004), which however, with its focus on production and networks, leaves a research gap vis-a-vis studies of resistance. Scholars such as Kurtz have also studied the glocalization of resistance (see Kurtz, 2003). However, Kurtz's formulation of scale frames (Kurtz, 2003) implies a different framing dynamic from the one we discuss. Kurtz defines scales frames as the "discursive practices that construct meaningful (and actionable) linkages between the scale at which a social problem is experienced and the scale(s) at which it could be politically addressed or resolved" (Kurtz, 2003: 894) – this is similar to the dynamic that Tarrow refers to as externalization (Tarrow, 2010). However, internationalized framing as theorized by us relates to the extension of the scale at which a problem is articulated to be

experienced (an extension from the local or national scale to the global scale). This is done with the aim to further its political resolution at the scale at which it was originally understood to be experienced – i.e. by *showing* that a problem is relevant at multiple scales, its importance is underscored.

2.3. Methodology

The data that the paper presents and analyses was gathered by each co-author using qualitative methodologies and together we have taken a qualitative approach towards frame analysis (Koenig, 2006) as we envisioned a qualitative approach to be most suitable to our aims of conducting a nuanced analysis of local-global linkages in relation to the framing of social movements. For the Indian case study, the data was primarily gathered using interviews, many of which employed oral history interviewing techniques (Thomson, 1998). Fifteen in-depth oral history interviews were conducted for the Indian case study and most were recorded on a digital voice recorder (in a few cases interviewees requested that the interview should not be recorded). Most of the interviews were conducted in Bhawanipatna, which is the district capital of Kalahandi where Niyamgiri is located. A few of the interviews were also conducted in Delhi, where some of the national-scale activists who were supporting the Niyamgiri Movement were based. Participant observation, both in the daily life of an indigenous community and in a protest rally were also undertaken. Fieldwork was conducted for a few months each in 2011, 2012 and 2013.

The fieldwork on Palawan was conducted in November 2011. The author lived in a community and engaged in participant observation in daily life, conducting numerous informal interviews and observations, which were recorded in fieldnotes. The fieldwork included participant observation at several meetings in preparation for a community consultation, and at the consultation itself. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with fifteen activists, community leaders and politicians at Puerto Princesa and Brooke's Point. The author also participated in activities related to other campaigns in the Philippines, such as an awareness-raising campaign about palm-oil extraction, as a way of getting a better general understanding of the ways local activist groups work and a solidarity meeting in Rome. Numerous documents were analysed, including lawsuits, meeting minutes, and policy papers. Additionally, observation was conducted online, by means of an analysis of the use of Facebook by Philippines-based activist groups.

The authors used thematic analysis to analyse their data and took an inductive approach towards it (Ryan and Russel, 2003). The emergent themes that were identified were then compared and discussed and the concept of frame internationalization was developed. The paper adopts a paired comparison approach in order to better illustrate the concept of frame internationalization.

Paired comparisons are understood to facilitate analyses aimed at "correcting generalizations from single cases" (Tarrow, 2010b: 245) and in the context of this paper it allows the relevance of the concept of frame internationalization to be demonstrated beyond the confines of a single case study. In the paper, we draw out two country-specific parallel narratives of movements against mining and show how they internationalize their framing practices by engaging with the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity after bridging an indigenous cultural rights frame with the

frames within which they were previously situated. These narratives are then discussed in a comparative manner. The social movements against mining in India and the Philippines that we study, were seen to have a strong environmental focus, as well as an important agenda to protect indigenous land of cultural value. The similarities and differences in the way these two foci merged and how the movements subsequently internationalized are presented to facilitate a nuanced understanding of frame internationalization processes.

2.4. Frame Internationalization: The Indigenous Eco-Spirituality Frame

The Indian social movement which this paper analyses is the social movement to save the Niyamgiri Mountain in the state of Odisha from bauxite extraction by Vedanta Resources, a UK-based mining company that began operating in the region in 1997 (Kumar, 2014). Initially, local, urban and semi-urban residents displaced and/or affected by the construction and operation of the company's refinery led the protests. In 2004, when an agreement was signed between the government of Odisha and Vedanta Resources for the mining of the Niyamgiri Mountain (Sahu, 2008), an (arguably) indigenous or Adivasi community[9] known as the Dongaria Kondhs, which lived on the Niyamgiri Mountain and worshipped it, entered the protest movement against Vedanta Resources. The Dongaria Kondhs were assisted in entering the movement by the local residents who were already campaigning – and subsequent to their involvement, the movement went on to focus on opposing the company's plan to mine the top of Niyamgiri (Kumar, 2014) which was estimated to contain approximately 75 million tonnes of bauxite (Temper and Martinez-Alier, 2013) and the movement became framed primarily in terms of protecting the Dongaria Kondhs' sacred natural site. The involvement of the Dongaria Kondhs in the Niyamgiri Movement drew in many international supporters. The Indian government has banned the mining project on Niyamgiri.

The initial framing of the movement against Vedanta Resources did not include an emphasis on the struggle of the Dongaria Kondhs to protect the Niyamgiri Mountain from mining. As previously mentioned, at its outset, groups displaced by the construction of its refinery who were mostly from non-Adivasi backgrounds, environmentally-minded residents of the towns around it and the Niyamgiri Mountain, spearheaded the struggle. In its early years, the movement was framed in terms of critiquing the model of extractive-sector driven development which the state government of Odisha was championing, in terms of combating the pollution that the aluminium refining process would cause, and also as a struggle to preserve the drought-prone region's rivers from the impact of mining the mountain in which they had their source. The region in which Niyamgiri is located is economically marginalized and in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement residents articulated fears of being further marginalized by a mining project that they saw as burdening them with an unfair share of environmental pollution and degradation without compensatory benefits, i.e. local activists initially framed the Niyamgiri Movement in terms of a struggle for environmental justice (Schroeder et al., 2008). However, they went on to internationalize the movement and it is seen that the bridging of the environmental justice frame with the indigenous rights frame proved to be useful in this regard.

[9] The term 'Adivasis' (which this paper will employ), meaning 'original inhabitants', is used to denote what are generally argued to be India's indigenous peoples, though their indigenous status is not accepted by the Indian government (Karlsson, 2003).

One of these residents and a student activist stated in an interview: "in this way, since 2002, we were protesting in a small way. But when we saw that the government was intent on stopping the movement, then we thought we must make it an international issue..." (interview with local student activist, 2011). Local student activists gave a major impetus towards the internationalization of the Niyamgiri Movement when they took their protest against the mining company into the Odisha state legislative assembly and dropped anti-Vedanta leaflets onto the legislators from the visitor's gallery. The students' protest in the Odisha state legislative assembly was reported in the news and caught the attention of the South Asia Amnesty International representative, who went on to involve Amnesty International in the Niyamgiri Movement. Other international organizations like ActionAid and Survival International also got involved in the movement, subsequent and consequent to the prior involvement of Amnesty International.

The student activists were among the first to initiate a bridging of the frame of indigenous cultural rights in relation to the Dongaria Kondhs, with the prior framing of the Niyamgiri Movement in terms of environmental justice. An important connection between the Dongaria Kondhs' worship of the Niyamgiri Mountain and the ecological discourses within which the Niyamgiri Movement was earlier situated, was the fact that the Dongarias' religiosity was argued to have conserved the biodiversity of the Niyamgiri Mountain. Almost 90% of Vedanta Resources' 660-hectare mining lease area was reported to be Sal (Shorea robusta) forest, and this was maintained by a Dongaria Kondh taboo on cutting trees on Niyamgiri's summit (Padel and Das, 2010). The Dongaria Kondhs also do not permit hunting on the summit of the Niyamgiri Mountain, and as a result the mountain contains rare species of flora and fauna (Saxena et al., 2010).

International activism against the company was focused on the cultural losses to the Dongaria Kondhs that Vedanta Resources' mining project on Niyamgiri would cause and the consequences of this for the mountain's biodiversity, and managed to engage the participation of several international film celebrities such as Joanna Lumley and Michael Palin, in support of this discursive trajectory.

Though ActionAid and Survival International were not working together in the context of this particular domestic struggle, together they succeeded in helping the Niyamgiri Movement internalize the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity and facilitated an emphasis on the aspect of the Dongaria Kondhs' reverence for nature which finds celebration within it. Both these organizations engaged in political representations of the religiosity of the Dongaria Kondhs – each with the help of an important act of symbolic protest.

Survival International highlighted the Dongaria Kondhs' reverence for the Niyamgiri Mountain slated to be mined by Vedanta Resources, by drawing parallels between the Dongarias' situation and that of the mythical and indigenous Na'Vi tribe in the Hollywood blockbuster *Avatar*, which was depicted as similarly worshipping land threatened by resource extraction. Two Survival International activists costumed as the Na'Vi, stood outside the venue of the 2010 Annual General Meeting of Vedanta Resources in London, holding placards that read 'Save the real *Avatar* tribe'. They also appealed to James Cameron, the director of the Hollywood film, requesting his support and asking him to watch a documentary on the Dongarias' plight made by Survival International.

They achieved this by putting an advertisement in the Hollywood magazine Variety, which was worded in the following manner:

> *Avatar* is fantasy...and real. The Dongria Kondh tribe in India are struggling to defend their land against a mining company hell-bent on destroying their sacred mountain. Please help the Dongria. We've watched your film – now watch ours.[10]

This act of symbolic protest by Survival International attracted the attention of the international media, which had the effect of highlighting the Niyamgiri Movement in the domestic Indian media as well. The importance of the international attention that the Niyamgiri Movement received was emphasized by its domestic supporters. In an interview the lawyer who represented the Dongaria Kondhs in the Indian Supreme Court stated: "what was the turning point…say… when Time Magazine did a story on the Dongaria Kondhs being the modern-day Avatar" (interview with Supreme Court Lawyer, 2013). It is important to note that this act of protest did not just highlight Niyamgiri's cultural value for the Dongaria Kondhs. It underscored that they were protecting their land from being destroyed, just as the Na'Vi were depicted to do in Cameron's film.

ActionAid engaged with the Dongarias' religiosity by organizing mass worship ceremonies on top of the Niyamgiri Mountain, in which the Dongarias and members of other related Kondh groups participated. These ceremonies involved a ritual in which the Dongaria Kondhs would take a vow to protect Niyamgiri, and ceremonial discourses emphasized the Dongarias rights to Niyamgiri as well as their responsibility in regard to its protection. The ceremonies are reported to have begun in 2009 and to occur in the month of February each year. Initially, these ceremonies were criticized by local activists who interpreted it as a politically motivated interference in the Dongarias' religiosity, and an invention of indigenous religious culture – later, they began to organize similar ceremonies, as a political assertion of the Dongarias' religious claims to Niyamgiri (Kraemer, Whiteman and Banerjee, 2013). It is important to note the prevalence of a cultural-historical discourse within mainstream Odiya society that constructs Adivasis, somewhat romantically, as forest kings (Rousseleau, 2009). This discourse is argued to have played a role in influencing local activists' readiness to foreground an emphasis on the losses that the Dongaria Kondhs would suffer if the Niyamgiri Mountain were to be mined (Borde, 2017).

Some of the local activist organizations involved in the Niyamgiri Movement were the Niyamgiri Suraksha Samiti, the Kalahandi Sachetan Nagrik Manch and the Samajwadi Jan Parishad. The reason for Indian activists' initial hesitation to engage with religious issues is perhaps the result of an attempt to maintain distance from the cultural-political strategies of Hindu nationalism – despite the fact (or perhaps because of) that scholars have identified a close affinity between the neo-traditionalist discourses which Indian environmentalists routinely deploy, and the cultural nationalism promoted by the Hindu Right in India (Mawdsley, 2006; Williams and Mawdsley, 2006). To a large extent, the Dongaria Kondhs themselves did not have a strong voice in relation to the directions that the framing of the Niyamgiri Movement took. This however, is outside the scope

[10] Thottam, J. (2010, February 13) Echoes of Avatar: Is a Tribe in India the Real-Life Na'Vi? *Time*. Accessed on 15th February, 2016 from: http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1964063,00.html

of this paper – some issues in this regard have been discussed elsewhere (see Borde, 2016a; Kraemer, Whiteman and Banerjee, 2013).

ActionAid's initiative (which was later followed by that of local activists) of organizing mass worship ceremonies on top of the Niyamgiri Mountain at a site known as Hundaljali, which was situated 10 kms away from Vedanta Resources' proposed mining site, served the purpose of delimiting the Dongarias' religiosity to a specific and circumscribed site in danger of being disturbed by Vedanta Resources' mining project. Such a spatially circumscribed religiosity had a better chance of claiming recognition and protection under Indian Law, and in fact, this was one of the tactics that ultimately led the entire Niyamgiri Movement to victory. In India, 'indigeneity' is a highly contested identity and is without official recognition. Paradoxically, this identity enjoys special protection under Indian Law when interpreted as 'tribal' rather than indigenous (Karlsson, 2003). In the Indian context, the Indian Forest Rights Act which came into force in 2006 empowers forest-dwelling tribal peoples/Adivasis to "protect their cultural and natural heritage" (Forest Rights Act, 2006: Sec. 5)[11]. Since the Forest Rights Act recognized and protected cultural rights in relation to specific and bounded sites (Forest Rights Act, 2006: Sec. 6), the spatial circumscription of the Dongarias' eco-religiosity by ActionAid and local activist organizations was key. It is interesting that the Forest Right Act links forest rights-claims to duties, responsibilities and custodianship vis-à-vis forests and their biodiversity (Bose, 2010).

The Indian Constitution guarantees religious rights as a fundamental right, and as the Indian Forest Rights Act also demonstrates, the legal landscape in the country is receptive to articulations that are framed accordingly. However, in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, Indian activists voiced that it was the movement's internationalization that helped them realize the strategic value of the frame of the Dongaria Kondhs' spiritual reverence for the Niyamgiri Mountain. When they saw the sympathetic reception of Survival International's symbolic protests abroad, and the political potential of ActionAid's representation of the Dongarias' religiosity, they pushed a similar emphasis to the forefront of the articulations of the entire movement, and most importantly, situated it in the context of the international support that had been generated by the trans-national activists.

Therefore, it can be seen that once the Niyamgiri Movement bridged the frame of environmental justice with the frame of indigenous rights, which was linked to indigenous peoples' role in relation to conserving biodiversity, it was able to demonstrate (by attracting international supporters and internalizing aspects of the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity) that the issue it was championing was multi-scalar i.e. of global as well as local importance. At the same time, the internationalized framing of the Niyamgiri Movement as a struggle to protect an indigenous sacred natural site was culturally relevant, as it allowed the movement to take recourse to the legal resources offered by the Indian Forest Rights Act as well as the respect for religious rights enshrined in the Indian constitution.

[11] The Recognition of Forest Rights Act, 2006. Accessed on 10th January, 2017 from: http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/CMS/Documents/201211290332077861328File1033.pdf

2.5. Frame Internationalization: The Ecological-Indigenous Frame

The Philippine case study focuses on the struggle against nickel and gold mining in the southern part of the island Palawan. The anti-mining movement on Palawan started in the early 1990s when Japanese firms began to extract natural resources, and increased substantially after the consolidation of the Mining Act in 1995, which made the unlimited extraction of natural resources by foreign parties possible. Activism intensified further when MacroAsia, a Philippine company, obtained a mining exploration permit that covered indigenous territories in this region. The anti-mining movement on Palawan frames its struggles primarily in environmental terms, but is also linked with indigenous issues, primarily the protection of ancestral land domains i.e. traditional community lands that are also relevant in terms of culture and spirituality (Hirtz, 2003).

Many of the important actors involved in the anti-mining movement on Palawan are based in the island's capital, Puerto Princesa, and have an ecological/environmental outlook. The most important of these is ELAC (Environmental Legal Assistance Centre, Inc.). However, there are also several organizations focussed on indigenous peoples' rights that are also actively involved in the anti-mining movement in Palawan, such as NATRIPAL, working from Puerto Princesa, and ALDAW, working from the Southern municipality Brooke's Point, and focused on claiming and protecting ancestral land domains. NATRIPAL's mission is also focussed on helping indigenous groups gain recognition for their land and has for example initiated projects that seek to strengthen the livelihoods of indigenous peoples. These organizations are organized under the umbrella organization called the PNNI. The PNNI can thus be considered the driving force of the anti-mining movement in Palawan.

An important element of the anti-mining activism in Palawan was the 'Save Palawan Campaign', which began in 2011 and was focused on protecting Palawan's biodiversity and ecological value. It aimed at collecting ten million signatures for the banning of mining on Palawan. The man behind the campaign was Gery Ortega, who had been involved in anti-mining activism since 2004. Gery Ortega was a journalist, environmental activist and community leader. As a program director of the ABS-CBN Foundation Inc. (one of the country's biggest media companies), he was involved in organizing community tourism and as a journalist he worked for several Palawan radio stations. He started receiving death threats in 2009 and was killed in 2011 for his activism, which gave an enormous boost to the resistance towards mining and lifted the struggle up to the national and international scale through Gina López, a national celebrity who had befriended Gerry Ortega (fieldnotes, November 2011). The role of Gina Lopez is crucial here, as she is not only a celebrity, but is also known for her support for environmental causes through the ABS-CBN Foundation, of which she is the managing director. As of June 2016, she is the DENR (Department of Environmental and Natural Resources) secretary. From 2012 onwards she has been involved in an ecotourism community project as a way of offering an alternative livelihood to mining.

The groups involved in the anti-mining movement all have international allies, but how this plays itself out takes different forms. ALDAW, which as previously mentioned is an indigenous-focussed organization, works locally and is connected closely to the University of Kent and has counterparts that resist oil drilling in Peru. Their contact person at the University of Kent is active in co-organizing events, conducting and disseminating research and organizing field visits to the

region for other organizations. Finally, ALDAW has established a network among Filipino migrants in Europe, and at times it has organized solidarity meetings to inform the Filipino community in Europe about the Palawan situation. NATRIPAL is funded by several international organizations of which USAID is one. Although these funding organizations might not directly pronounce themselves against mining, they do make the anti-mining movement possible by their support. LRC-KsK (Friends of the Earth), which operates mainly from the Philippine capital, is part of a worldwide network of Friends of the Earth offices and operates at the national Philippine scale.

To lobby, litigate and mobilize collective action, organizations on Palawan engage mainly in the ecological framing of anti-mining struggles. In doing so, they make use of the global language of conservation, ecology and biodiversity that has found resonance in Philippine legislation and large scale projects financed by the European Union and implemented by the WWF and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) (Bryant 2002), among others. However, most environmentally-focussed organizations have in addition internalized aspects of the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity, by way of integrating an understanding of indigenous peoples as protectors of biodiversity and the environment in the ways that they frame their struggle. In the anti-mining struggle this has resulted in the bridging of the ecological framing of the movement with indigenous issues. Reciprocally, indigenous organizations also tend to emphasize the ecological framing of anti-mining struggles in the way they represent indigeneity.

This results in what we call the ecological-indigenous framing of the anti-mining struggles on Palawan, which is built up of three interrelated elements. The first element is the island's rich biodiversity and ecological vulnerability. The Save Palawan website for example states in its banner "Palawan is stunningly beautiful" and "Palawan forests are being destroyed" (fieldnotes November 2011). As an activist lawyer emphasized in an interview, the situation of Palawan is ironic: whereas the island is described as the last ecological frontier, with many protected areas that fall under the special protection of environmental laws, there are also over 400 mining applications awaiting approval (interview with lawyer, November 2011). The second element is ecotourism as an alternative to mining (see Rasch 2013) as well as an alternative livelihood strategy to resolve poverty in indigenous territories. "Ecotourism, not mining on Palawan!", Gina Lopez once published on the internet. As of 2012 Gina Lopez has indeed been involved in a (not uncontested) ecotourism project in Brooke's Point.

The third building block is the 'indigenous element' and reflects the bridging of ecological and indigenous frames, or issues, into one single frame, the ecological-indigenous frame. This element becomes visible in the presentation of 'the forest' and biodiversity for the livelihoods of the people who live in the forest. ELAC for example approaches environmental issues from a perspective of human rights and social justice: people have the right to live in the environment that they depend on for their livelihoods (interviews ELAC November 2011). NATRIPAL and ALDAW also emphasize the importance of the forest for the livelihoods of indigenous peoples. Not only in terms of 'how to make a living', but also in a spiritual and cultural sense. Hence, it is argued that it is important to conserve nature, forests and biodiversity because this is important for the livelihoods

of indigenous people. The way this ecological-indigenous framing of mining struggles is constructed, is not a linear or chronological process, but should rather be seen as being co-constructed by environmental and indigenous organizations that are working together against mining.

These different building blocks of the ecological-indigenous framing of the anti-mining struggles become very clear when we look at the strategies that different actors pursue in their activism against mining. The legal activist organization ELAC relies heavily on environmental laws for its litigation tactics. At the same time, ELAC and other NGOs, lawyers and activists are actively involved with indigenous peoples in Southern Palawan and have close ties to grassroots organizations that operate at the local scale through ALDAW. The founder of ELAC for example, remembers vividly how she, and other volunteering lawyers, would help indigenous peoples collect information about mining and would educate them about their rights when Japanese firms first started mineral-prospecting on indigenous lands at the beginning of the 1990s (interview, November 2011).

The ecological-indigenous framing of the anti-mining movement on Palawan resonates with the fact that indigenous peoples in the Philippines used to be protected under environmental law. Activists argue that this is the political language to speak: "in Manila they would rather spend money on the protection of an eagle than spend money on the lives of indigenous peoples" (interview activist lawyer, November 2011). This point is also made by another lawyer, when she says that she actually considers it convenient that indigenous ancestral land domains are often located within the boundaries of protected areas, because these are protected by environmental law. As such, activist lawyers can stand up for indigenous peoples and their (cultural) indigenous rights within the UN-REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) framework, using its international language, because they are 'Reddable' (interview activist lawyer, November 2011).

At the same time, another important law that is used in the anti-mining movement in Palawan and which reflects the bridging of ecological and indigenous elements into one frame, is the IPRA (Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act, 1997). The IPRA lays down the rights of indigenous peoples and its issuance should be considered within the broader recognition of indigenous' rights globally. The IPRA law makes it possible for indigenous peoples to claim their ancestral land domains. These ancestral land domains are understood to be rooted in land and nature, and to obtain an 'ancestral domain' certificate, the indigenous group in question has to prove its rootedness in the claimed territory, and not as a cultural group (insert references). Claiming these ancestral land claims is core to the work of the local organization ALDAW.

In terms of anti-mining activism, it is important that the IPRA law also establishes the right to Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) of indigenous peoples among other indigenous rights, which means that no programmes or projects can be implemented on indigenous lands without the free prior and informed consent of the indigenous peoples in question. Part of the work of local and regional activists involves organizing independent FPICs and proving irregularities and fraud in the consultations organised by the government and by mining companies. Hence, legal resources, such as the IPRA law that are in line with the globalized valorization of indigeneity, and are aimed at the protection of indigenous peoples, are used to resist mining.

To summarize, for resistance groups on Palawan the bridging of the environmental/biodiversity elements with indigenous rights into one single ecological-indigenous frame allowed the anti-mining movement to access a wider audience. The inclusion of an indigenous agenda has facilitated alliances with international allies, as well as access to the IPRA that allows for the protection of indigenous rights. While the IPRA is applicable at the domestic level, international-level policy instruments such as UN-REDD that support (indigenous) peoples' land and forest rights, are also used by the Palawan anti-mining movement. The FPIC of indigenous peoples which is central to the IPRA reflects a globalized trend of recognising indigenous rights: it is also stated in Article 10 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as well as the ILO Convention No. 169. Indigenous rights in relation to FPIC are also an important component of the UN-REDD programme. The internationalized framing of the movement, even when related to indigenous issues, resonates with the local concern for environmental conservation in the Philippines (Bryant, 2002).

2.6. Comparative Discussion

The Niyamgiri Movement in India and the anti-mining movement in Palawan are examples of environmental movements against mining that were also aimed at protecting sites of cultural or sacred value for indigenous peoples. The emphasis on indigenous cultural rights with its interlinkages with ecological conservation was a later addition to the Niyamgiri Movement, and it existed from the outset in the case of the anti-mining movement in Palawan. In the Niyamgiri Movement, the indigenous cultural rights frame was bridged with an environmental frame, after which the indigenous cultural rights frame began to dominate the framing of the movement. In the anti-mining movement on Palawan a similar process took place, where ecological and indigenous elements came to co-construct one frame as a way to understand and strategize the struggles against mining.

In the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, the inclusion of an indigenous religious/spiritual frame facilitated the internationalization of the movement, which was earlier framed as a local struggle for environmental justice. In the anti-mining movement in Palawan, activists used the internationalized language of biodiversity conservation in order to advance the indigenous agenda of protecting ancestral land domains.

For both the Indian and the Philippine social movements the internationalization of their framing was culturally resonant with local values and it can be argued that this process had the effect of making the movements even more relevant domestically. It is significant that frame internationalization occurred in those issue areas that are a source of soft power (i.e. power deriving from internationally acknowledged legitimacy) (see Gallarotti, 2011; Nye, 1990) for both nation-states – spirituality in the Indian case and a rich biodiversity in the Philippine case. Frame internationalization can be argued to have stepped up the pressure on the Indian and Philippine governments to demonstrate a commitment to the norms and values for which each is internationally regarded.

2.7. Conclusion

In this paper we have brought together the concepts of internationalization and framing to stress the importance of framing in the internationalization of social protest, to show how social movements aimed at a defence of place engage with globalization and to delineate the framing processes by which social movements against mining on indigenous lands in India and the Philippines intensified their challenge to the Indian and Philippine governments respectively. We chose to compare movements across two states rather than within a specific state because of how this would facilitate a more textured understanding of the way domestic social movements internationalize. We have demonstrated, that the context-specific framing of each social movement was not sacrificed in this process of frame internationalization. Furthermore, the national-level political outlook of each state did shape the way the globalized frame of the valorization of indigeneity was internalized by the two social movements and this is why (the nation-state context being important) we have termed the dynamic we have described in this paper frame internationalization, rather than frame globalization or frame glocalization. Dynamics whereby social movements shift or jump across scales and levels have been discussed by other scholars (see, Arts 2004) – and also with a specific relevance to framing (see Kurtz, 2003). However, instead of focusing upon scale shifts, our conceptualization of frame internationalization facilitates an understanding of framing processes by which social movements become multi-scalar. In the struggle against forms of globalized, neoliberal development such as mining (Graulau, 2008), a globalized frame that reflects a linkage between indigeneity and nature conservation is one that social movements against mining in the Global South are seen to usefully connect to and reflect.

3. How Popular Culture at Different Scales Influenced the Representation of the Nature Religiosity of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India[12]

Abstract |This paper analyses the representations of the religiosity of the indigenous Dongaria Kondh community in India by international and domestic activists. The Dongaria Kondhs lived on and worshipped the Niyamgiri Mountain on top of which a bauxite mining project was planned. Supported by local and international advocacy organizations, the community's religiosity became the primary focus of what became known as the Niyamgiri Movement. Activists at local and international scales represented the Dongaria Kondhs' religious connections with Niyamgiri differently. Each of these representations facilitated a mass identification with the Dongarias' religiosity, and consequently enhanced the support for the Niyamgiri Movement, which was finally successful. The paper uses theories of subalternity and Baudrillard's theory of seduction to conduct its analysis. It examines how the representations of the Dongaria Kondhs by activists were effective and what the implications of these representations were for the Dongaria Kondhs.

3.1. Introduction

Indigenous peoples are known to enter into land-use conflicts with mining companies for reasons stemming from a disconnect in the values they ascribe to land (Hilson, 2001). In several instances of conflict with mining companies, indigenous peoples have advanced the claim that the land slated to be mined is sacred to them and that mining would result in its desecration (Ballard and Banks, 2003). A pertinent example of this would be the struggle of the Columbian U'Wa tribes-peoples against Occidental Petroleum's attempt to mine the oil that lay under their territory. An important aspect of their protest discourse was assertions that oil was the blood of the Earth that they held sacred, and mining it amounted to an attack on their religious sentiments. The U'Wa sustained a successful protest against the mining company, and also won a great deal of international support (Martinez-Alier, 2004: 253-254; Arenas, 2007). Another pertinent example of the use of the discourse of sacred land, to protest with success against a mining project, would be the case of the Australian Mirrar aboriginal people protesting against the Jabiluka uranium mine in Kakadu National Park on the grounds that it would threaten their sacred natural site (Pockley, 1999; Aplin, 2004). The Mirrar people were successful in winning the support of several international organizations (O'Faircheallaigh, 2012).

[12] This chapter is based on a journal article titled '**Representing Indigenous Sacred Land: The Case of the Niyamgiri Movement in India**' that was submitted to the journal Social Movement Studies. The journal article was co-authored by Bettina Bluemling.

This paper explores how strategic representations of indigenous peoples' relationship with land allow them to successfully express a value conflict with mining companies. It does so with the help of a case study of a social movement to prevent bauxite extraction on the Niyamgiri Mountain in India which is claimed as sacred by an 'indigenous'[13] or Adivasi ethnic group known as the Dongaria Kondhs[14]. Almost 90% of the 660-hectare mining lease area is argued to be Sal (Shorea robusta) forest, maintained by a community taboo on cutting trees on Niyamgiri's summit (Padel and Das, 2010). The Niyamgiri Movement was successful and prevented the mining project, which resulted in the conservation of the forest on the mountain's summit as well as the regional ecosystem which was ecologically dependent upon it.

The paper investigates representational politics as applied to the Niyamgiri Movement and highlights the multi-scalar, external support indigenous peoples receive in expressing their value-conflicts with mining companies. How representations of the Dongaria Kondhs' religiosity at various scales facilitated the Niyamgiri Movement's success is the central research question of this paper, and we examine representations at both the international and local scale in this regard. An equally important research question is related to the implications of representational politics of this kind for the Dongaria Kondhs. The representation of indigenous peoples in the context of activism surrounding their knowledge, territory etc. has been emphasized as an important and under-researched topic (Radcliffe, 2014).

3.2. Theoretical Framework

Representation has been a key concern within the academic discipline of geography (Andersen and Harrison, 2010; Lorimer, 2008; Lorimer, 2005; Castree and MacMillan, 2004) with which this paper, with its focus on indigenous sacred space, is in conversation. One of the key interrogative nodes upon which this paper hinges is the question of the possible subalternity of the Dongaria Kondhs. According to scholars of subalternity, when marginalized groups cannot represent themselves, either because what they have to say will not/cannot be accepted or because others are championing their interests/what their interests are assumed to be, they experience the condition of subalternity (Sivaramakrishnan, 1995; Spivak, 1988). Subalternity has been ascribed to marginalized groups that have a consciousness which is generally understood to be mythic (it may however refer to any kind of non-hegemonic consciousness). As a mythic consciousness is not conducive to translation into the rationalistic terms of the current hegemonic discursive paradigm (Sivaramakrishnan, 1995: 395-429), the groups that possess such a consciousness may not able to voice it in a way that contributes to their recognition and empowerment (Maggio, 2007).

This paper applies theories of subalternity to the Dongaria Kondhs' belief that the Niyamgiri Mountain was sacred and that mining would consequently violate it – this belief stands opposed to the contemporary hegemonic development discourse and is one that cannot be 'heard' by it. Gayatri Spivak, an important scholar of subalternity, indicts mainstream developmentalism as a

[13] Indigeneity is a contested identity in India (Karlsson, 2003), though one claimed by almost 10% of the Indian population (Rycroft, 2014). The term 'Adivasis' (which this paper will employ), derived from Sanskrit and meaning 'original dwellers', is generally used, to denote what are argued to be India's indigenous peoples (Kela, 2006).

[14] The Dongaria Kondhs number 7952 as per the 2001 census. 20% of this population lives in or around the mining lease area (Temper and Martinez-Alier, 2013).

cartographic practice resulting in the exclusion of indigenous peoples to "make way for more traditional geographic elements of the map and the world today" (Spivak, 1998: 338).

Gayatri Spivak also criticizes the representation of subalterns by activists and argues that activism is necessarily implicated in a Western/Northern epistemology and that activists couldn't help but impose this upon the consciousness of subalterns while representing them (Spivak, 2004). Nevertheless, the attempt to refrain from representing subalterns for the reason that this would be too politically fraught has also been criticized by Spivak (Kapoor, 2004) as well as by other scholars (Alcoff, 2001), and there has been an emphasis on the importance of representing subalterns politically, regardless of the fact that the consciousness of subalterns may be impossible to convey accurately (Castree and Macmillan, 2004). It has been argued that it is possible to mediate the consciousness of subalterns through a process of translation (Maggio, 2007), despite the fact that this may only "'capture' an aspect of the original" (Maggio, 2007: 437). According to Maggio (2007, 432), "a translation can actually 'elevate' the original, and the task of the translator is to 'echo' the original in a way that helps illuminate the intended meaning". It is important to mention that though the translation of the subaltern's consciousness implies mechanisms that would render it more mainstream, this is not the same as saying that the translation must necessarily occur in westernized terms. The translation of the subaltern into an icon which possesses appeal for mainstream Indian society has also been theorized (Ghosh, 2005). Such an icon, which is known as the subaltern-popular, can be understood as the result of the translation of the subaltern into a figure in popular culture which is constructed/translated in a process involving collective, participatory consumption, and which evokes realities that have resonance for its consumers/creators (Ghosh, 2005).

The theorist Jean Baudrillard also notes that capitalistic discourse marginalizes a mythic consciousness which he describes pre-literate societies as possessing (Baudrillard, 1975). Baudrillard refers to the discourse of contemporary times as the 'code', which in his understanding is an inter-relationship of signs or simulacra that is created by capitalism in order to allow itself to proliferate. The Baudrillardian solution to capitalism's semiotic stranglehold is to 'seduce' a reversal of capitalism, by 'enchanted' simulacra (Merrin, 2010) that allow for the imagination of a different reality. Baudrillard understands a mythic consciousness to be generative of emotional energy. Therefore, a simulacrum of a fantasy or myth capable of stirring emotions, in other words, a seductive, enchanted sign, would be best able to challenge the code. Baudrillard uses the term 'fatal strategies' to describe such attempts to seduce a reversal of capitalism or a breakdown of the code (Baudrillard, 1999) and these strategies are compared to the world-view of indigenous societies: "Baudrillard sees similarities between a world in which fatal strategies are given the upper hand and pre-literate societies in which the universe was conceptualized as active, passionate, and enchanted" (Cramer and Foss, 2009). In the context of enabling the subaltern to speak, Baudrillard's theorization of seduction can be compared to Maggio's theorization of translation – both seduction and translation might go far in 'elevating the original' (Maggio, 2007) and the effectiveness and implications of these strategies will be examined.

3.3. Methodology

This paper is based on empirical material consisting of qualitative fieldwork data, as well as official reports, governmental communications and media reportage on the subject of the Niyamgiri Movement. The fieldwork for the paper was conducted in May 2011, August 2011, December 2012 and February-March 2013. 19 interviews were conducted with activists – of which most were oral history interviews (Thomson, 1998) and the others were semi-structured interviews. The interviewees were selected with the help of the method of snowball sampling (Atkinson and Flint, 2001) and each of the interviewees constituted part of the leadership of the Niyamgiri Movement. Many of the interviews were conducted in Bhawanipatna which is the district capital of Kalahandi where the Niyamgiri Mountain is located. A few of the interviews were also conducted in Delhi where some of the activists who were prominent in the Niyamgiri Movement were based. In addition to this, participant observation-based fieldwork was also conducted in Dongaria villages with the view to observe their relationship with their land and also to gather the myths and stories they possessed in relation to it. Participant observation was also conducted at several protest rallies. Alongside the participant observation-based fieldwork, several conversations were conducted with individuals connected with the Niyamgiri Movement, or otherwise knowledgeable about it. The fieldwork and interviews were conducted in Hindi, English or Odiya, depending upon the preference of the interviewees and the appropriateness of the language to the fieldwork situation. Official reports and bureaucratic documents relevant to the aims of the paper were gathered from institutional websites. Some of these were also procured, upon request, as scanned copies of official documents collected by activists. Media reportage on the Niyamgiri Movement was also collated and has been used in this paper to elucidate the major developments associated with the Niyamgiri Movement.

3.4. The Dongarias' Mythic Consciousness?

As the issue that is central to this paper, the Dongarias' religiosity deserves a brief presentation. This will serve as a background for a more detailed analysis of the representations of it that were deployed in the course of the Niyamgiri Movement. The Dongaria Kondhs trace their ancestry to Niyamraja, a mythical god-king who is believed to have created the Niyamgiri range of hills and charged his descendants with their stewardship. The Niyamgiri range of hills is understood to be the mythical kingdom of Niyamraja and this entire territory is estimated to extend across 115 square kilometres (Jena et al., 2002). Within this mythical understanding of the Niyamgiri range of hills, Niyamraja is understood to be the chief of the gods of the small hillocks (Jena et al., 2002: 191). However, the religious practice of the Dongarias consists chiefly of sacrifices to the Earth Goddess whom they refer to as Dharani Penu, and whose husband is identified with Niyamraja. A shrine is dedicated to her in each village. There are many anthropological theories about the significance of these sacrifices and they have received scholarly attention because in earlier times the sacrificial victims were humans, consequently provoking the intervention of the colonial state in outlawing these sacrifices (Hardenberg, 2005). In contemporary times, the sacrifices consist of the ritual killing of animals of high material value such as buffaloes. Nowhere in anthropological literature, at variance with the protest discourse's focus on it, is there mention of a specific sacred site or shrine dedicated to the worship of Niyamraja, except for a temple dedicated to him in a

town on the plains lying below the hills. The vassal king of Bissamcuttack had built the shrine in the historical past, and Dongarias would gather there during festivals celebrated by the Hindu king to sacrifice buffaloes (Nayak, 2011: 41).

3.5. The Dongaria Kondhs and the Niyamgiri Movement: A Chronological Overview

The Niyamgiri Mountain was slated to be mined for bauxite by Vedanta Resources, a UK-based mining company. Protests against Vedanta Resources can be traced to 2002, when it started acquiring land for the construction of an Aluminium refinery at the foot of the Niyamgiri Mountain, for which it had signed a memorandum of understanding with the state government of Odisha in 1997 (Kumar, 2014; Kraemer, Whiteman and Banerjee, 2013). Initially, local residents who were opposed to the construction of the refinery led the protests. They were joined by other activist-minded citizens from neighbouring towns, as well as professional activists who were active in the region. Initially, local activists used an environmental justice frame (Schroeder et al., 2008) to protest against the mining company. They argued that the pollution from the refinery was damaging the health of the people who lived around it. When it later became known that Vedanta Resources was also planning to acquire and mine the Niyamgiri Mountain, which was estimated to contain approximately 75 million tonnes of bauxite (Temper and Martinez-Alier, 2013), the Dongaria Kondhs, who lived on the mountain and worshipped it, were inducted into the protest movement against the company.

After the Dongaria Kondhs entered the Niyamgiri Movement, the movement began to shift its focus to concentrate on an opposition to the mining project on Niyamgiri. Activists who were involved in the Niyamgiri Movement prior to this point, expressed that opposing Vedanta Resources' plans to acquire a source of bauxite close to its refinery would impact the fate of the refinery as well. Local activists brought up the issue of the problematic nature of the Niyamgiri mining project in the state parliament of Odisha. This was reported in the media and it caught the attention of the South Asia Amnesty International representative who involved Amnesty International in the Niyamgiri Movement. Following this, other trans-national advocacy organizations such as Survival International and ActionAid also began to support the Niyamgiri Movement. The trans-national advocacy organizations that got involved in the Niyamgiri Movement played a role in convincing several European institutions to disinvest in Vedanta Resources. They also staged protests that attracted the attention of the international media and this had a domino effect on the Indian media's coverage of the Niyamgiri Movement. The importance of international pressure in influencing the actions of the Indian government was mentioned even in official bureaucratic documents issued by the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest (MoEF, 2010).

Domestic activists expressed that as the Niyamgiri Movement progressed and gained international attention, it became increasingly apparent that the external constituency it was cultivating was primarily interested in the issue of threats to the Dongaria Kondhs' nature-based religious culture. In response to this international interest, the discourse of the Dongarias' religious valuation of Niyamgiri was pushed to the forefront of the entire protest movement's articulations, and it became its dominant theme – locally as well as internationally. Additionally, while the Niyamgiri Movement was in progress, in 2006, the Indian legislature passed what is known as the Forest Rights Act which grants communities like the Dongaria Kondhs the right to protect their 'natural and cultural

heritage' (Forest Rights Act, 2006, Sec. 5). This offered a valuable legal resource to the Niyamgiri Movement as the Niyamgiri Mountain could be protected under the Forest Rights Act as a sacred natural site.

As a consequence of activists' emphasis on the Niyamgiri Mountain's sacred value for the Dongaria Kondhs and the threat that Vedanta Resources' mining project would pose to it, the sacredness of Niyamgiri for the Dongaria Kondhs was understood to be the key stake in the entire movement by the Indian Supreme Court which was charged with adjudicating on the matter. This strategy of amplifying the stakes that the Dongaria Kondhs had in the Niyamgiri Movement, resulted in significant gains for the Niyamgiri Movement as a whole. The Indian Supreme Court which was charged with adjudicating on the case of the opposition to Vedanta Resources' Niyamgiri mining project, understood the case in terms of a conflict between the Dongaria Kondhs who worshipped the Niyamgiri Mountain and a mining company whose mining operation would desecrate the Dongaria Kondhs' sacred site. It passed a verdict that the Dongaria Kondhs would have the opportunity to deliberate and decide in their village councils consisting of all the adult members of the community, as to whether Niyamgiri was sacred to them and whether they were for or against the mining project. Following this, the Dongaria Kondhs emphatically voiced their opposition to Vedanta Resources' mining project on Niyamgiri in 12 village-level referendums. This entire process by which local stakeholders were empowered to make decisions regarding the kind of development they would allow on lands they depended upon, was termed India's first "green referendum"[15]. After the Dongaria Kondhs expressed an unambiguous opposition to the mining project on Niyamgiri, the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest banned it. However, since the ban there have been attempts to revive the bauxite mining project. Recognizing that the fate of the project hinges upon the Dongaria Kondhs' acceptance of it, the state government of Odisha has attempted to initiate a process by which the Dongaria Kondhs could decide once more in referendums as to whether they continue to oppose the mining project on Niyamgiri[16]. This attempt by the state government of Odisha was forestalled by the Indian Supreme Court which asserted that the Dongaria Kondhs' previous referendum had already delivered the final verdict on the matter[17].

3.6. Representational Strategies in the Niyamgiri Movement

It can be seen that the actors involved in the Niyamgiri movement were distributed across various different scales. The Dongarias constituted the group closest to the site of protest, local grassroots-level activists from the small urban centres surrounding Niyamgiri constituted a second tier of activism. Some trans-national advocacy organizations were also active at this scale. Professional Indian activists at the national scale formed a third tier (however this will not be discussed in much

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15 Sharma, D. C. (2013, August 6). 'India's first 'green referendum' raises hopes... and uncomfortable questions'. MailOnlineIndia. Accessed on 20th November, 2016 from: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2385568/Indias-green-referendum-raises-hopes--uncomfortable-questions.html#ixzz4Ac6Pt0tM

16 Satapathy, D. (2015, October, 16) Odisha wants Niyamgiri gram sabha polls again. Business Standard. Accessed on 20th November, 2016 from: http://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/odisha-wants-niyamgiri-gram-sabha-polls-again-115101500923_1.html

17 (2016, May, 6) Supreme Court rejects Odisha govt's petition for conducting gram sabha for mining in Niyamgiri hills. Accessed on 20th November, 2016 from: http://www.orissadiary.com/CurrentNews.asp?id=67036#sthash.vNNrPYVi.dpuf

detail in this paper as these activists played only a marginal role in shaping the discourse of Niyamgiri's sacredness). Finally, the movement was supported at the international scale by transnational advocacy organizations.

Advocacy at the International Scale:

It is this paper's contention that at the international scale, the Dongarias' mythic consciousness or religiosity was represented 'seductively' and that this strategy was largely responsible for the sympathy that the Niyamgiri Movement attracted. The paper examines an example of this kind of representation with the help of the theorizations of Jean Baudrillard to discuss why it was so successful. The example is the comparison of the Dongaria Kondhs, by Survival International, to the fictional indigenous tribe in Avatar, a Hollywood blockbuster directed by James Cameron, which depicts a tribe battling a mining company to protect a planet called Pandora which they worship as a Goddess. It is important to emphasize that the film is not realistic, but that it combines three different fantastic elements – each of which has been popular at different times in the history of capitalism, according to Baudrillard. Baudrillard argues that the "good old" or a "desperate re-hallucination of the past" (Baudrillard 1994: 121-123) is the fantasy that corresponds to the current stage of capitalism. He argues that science-fiction was the dominant fantasy of the second stage or order of capitalism and that utopia was the fantasy that corresponded to the first stage of capitalism (Baudrillard 1994: 121). Avatar is a vision of primal (albeit fantastic) paradise, with lush bioluminescent flora and fauna that communicate via a neural network, collectively constituting a living being called Eywa. The alien humanoids that inhabit it are called the Na'vi, and in their social structure and mode of life resemble twenty-first century projections of romanticised Amerindians. They 'plug in' to the neural network of their planet via their USB port-like pigtails and both worship it and fight for it against the rapacious humans who have come from across outer space to mine the planet's resources of a precious mineral. A Jurassic theme pervades the film's visuals – seen in the reptilian appearance of Pandora's inhabitants (also the creatures have names like 'the Great Leonopteryx'). The fact that the film did not represent reality and that it appealed to not just one, but three different fantasies corresponding to different stages of capitalism would mean as per a Baudrillardian analysis, that the film constituted an enchanted simulacrum i.e. a seductive sign (Merrin, 2010).

The film, and the representation of the Dongaria Kondhs in relation to it, become important for an understanding of the Niyamgiri Movement, because, as one of the Supreme Court lawyers who represented the Dongaria Kondhs argued, the turning point in the Niyamgiri Movement occurred when Time Magazine published an article on the Dongaria Kondhs being the real-life Avatar tribe. He argued that subsequent to being represented in this way by the international media, Indian government officials started expressing support for the Dongarias and their struggle: "What was the turning point…say… when Time Magazine did a story on the Dongaria Kondhs being the modern-day Avatar" (Supreme Court Lawyer, March 2013).

Avatar is supposed to have been director James Cameron's dream project, and is an expression of his explicit support for indigenous cultures and nature conservation, with the help of cutting-edge 3D technology (Taylor and Ivakhiv, 2010: 386-388). He is quoted as saying that "Avatar asks us all to be warriors for the earth" (Holtmeier, 2010: 420), and his political commitment to the film's

message is evidenced by his donation of some of its proceeds to reforestation projects in South America (Taylor and Ivakhiv, 2010: 389). Following the release of the film to packed cinema theatres, not coincidentally in the same week as the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Summit (Istoft, 2010: 401), many indigenous activists from all over the world started expressing praise for its theme. Survival International, which had made a short documentary on the Dongaria Kondhs' struggle, appealed to the director to support the struggle in an advertisement in the entertainment magazine Variety – worded: "Avatar is fantasy...and real. The Dongria Kondh tribe in India are struggling to defend their land against a mining company hell-bent on destroying their sacred mountain. Please help the Dongria. We've watched your film – now watch ours" (as cited by Thottam, 2010)[18].

The advertisement was not the only parallel drawn between the Dongarias and the Na'Vi – Survival International activists painted in blue to resemble the Na'vi, protested in front of Vedanta's offices in London with placards that read 'save the real Avatar tribe'. This kind of imagery played a major role in sensationalizing the movement, attracting the interest of the national and international media, and sensitizing the general public to the Dongaria Kondhs' emotional attachment to Niyamgiri.

This paper argues that the image of the Dongaria Kondhs as the 'real Avatar tribe' functioned in a seductive manner. It was a fantastic representation, which elicited strong emotional reactions, as well as reflections, by way of its connection to a film aimed at generating popular support for indigenous peoples' causes and environmental conservation. Also, as previously mentioned, the film itself was a seductive sign. Many viewers of Avatar reported that they experienced what has been termed Na'vi sympathy – "the urge to use the film to reflect on, and spur action in, their own earthly world" (Holtmeier, 2010: 419). Apparently, several viewers were converted to more ecological ways of living after watching the film – as well as advocating the value of "going tribal" (Holtmeier, 2010: 421-422). In this way, by being compared to the tribe in Avatar, a film which incited both emotions and a questioning of capitalistic logic, the Dongaria Kondhs were presented as subversively seductive, and audiences across the world were perhaps convinced that choosing to side with them was far more appealing than Aluminium production.

Seduction, as theorized by Baudrillard, is argued by scholars of communication, to be one of the strategies of two other significant examples of environmental communication – Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring' and Al Gore's documentary 'An Inconvenient Truth' (Cramer and Foss, 2009). That the seductive representation of the Dongarias was well-received can be seen in the Indian bureaucratic-official response to it. Most anti-mining resistance movements in India achieve at best a stalemate, with the government and companies waiting out the protestors. In fact, the Dongarias' resistance was 'heard' with even more receptivity than was required for keeping the mining company away from their home in the Niyamgiri hills. When the mediatized activism on the behalf of the Dongaria Kondhs was at its height, several bureaucratic-legal actions were taken against Vedanta Resources in other contexts with an echo of this activist vocabulary – notably the closure of its copper smelting operation in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, with the juridical statement that

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[18] Thottam, J. (2010, February 13) Echoes of Avatar: Is a Tribe in India the Real-Life Na'Vi? *Time*. Accessed on 30th November, 2016 from: http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1964063,00.html

the action was taken in the interests of "mother nature"[19].The statement of one of the Supreme Court judges charged with adjudicating on the Niyamgiri case is evocative of the sympathy that the representation of the Dongarias' religious feelings for Niyamgiri had garnered.

> Even if nothing is there, you can't destroy the faith of those people. We are not talking about the entire hills but the highest point where the tribals believe their God exists. They believe he is on the hilltop. Can you tell them take away your God to another place? Are you banishing the God? (Supreme Court Judge, Feb 2013).[20]

It is important to further examine how Survival International translated the representation of the Dongaria Kondhs' religiosity. Survival International portrayed the Dongarias as worshippers of Niyamgiri without describing in clear terms what their form of worship entailed. There were also some significant omissions in this regard. In a documentary film on the movement, made by Survival International (Survival International, 2009), the YouTube version of which has received 621,440[21] views, there are specific mentions by interviewees that the Dongarias performed *puja* to Niyamgiri. *Puja* implies ritual sacrifice, but in the English sub-titles of the documentary, the word was translated as worship. It is important to note that international advocacy organizations did not emphasize the fact that the Dongarias' ritual practice consisted chiefly of animal sacrifices. Furthermore, in the filmed interviews shown in the documentary, the Dongarias assert that Niyamgiri was their *Devi*, meaning Goddess – which, in the film, is translated as God. Also, the religious focus in the documentary is almost entirely on Niyamraja, who is depicted in what could be described as Biblical terms. This could be read as an example of the interpretative repertoires of the international advocacy activists colouring their understanding and translation of the Dongarias' religiosity. However, politically expedient representational strategies were definitely deployed, and the omission of details concerning the Dongarias' historical and contemporary sacrificial rituals from the activist discourse surrounding their religiosity, was one way to construct them and their struggle as a romanticized battle between worshippers and exploiters of nature. The Survival International film can be argued to be a translation that simplified the message of the Dongaria Kondhs' religiosity and which removed aspects of it which would detract from their worship of Niyamgiri.

Advocacy at the Local Scale:

ActionAid, though an international advocacy organization, played an important role in shaping the discourse of the Dongarias' religiosity at the local scale. In 2008, it started a process of organizing/staging mass worship ceremonies on top of the Niyamgiri Mountain (Kraemer, Whiteman and Banerjee, 2013: 838) at the place earlier mentioned as Hundaljali. Initially, ActionAid faced criticism from local activists for this interpretation/invention of the Dongarias' religiosity – mass worship being seen as inconsistent with Dongaria Kondh customs. Later on however, local grassroots-level activists realised the political potential of the mass worship ceremony that ActionAid had initiated, and participated in organizing their own version of it (Kraemer Whiteman and Banerjee,

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[19] Dawber, A. (2010, September 30) Indian Courts close Vedanta Copper Smelter. *The Independent*. Accessed on 30th November, 2016 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/indian-courts-close-vedanta-copper-smelter-2093461.html

[20] Balaji, R. (2013, February 19) 'God' poser for Vedanta. *The Telegraph*. Accessed on 15th November, 2016 from: http://www.telegraphindia.com/1130220/jsp/nation/story_16583161.jsp#.VVYNj0axHIU

[21] Viewed on November 14, 2016 from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R4tuTFZ3wXQ&t=521s

2013: 846). One of the participants in the Niyamgiri Movement (not a Dongaria Kondh) described the process by which the ancient reverence for Niyamraja was re-invented as the worship of a deity at a particular site.

> Two years ago, we made a temple on top of the hill where the bauxite mining was supposed to take place. Soon after we built the temple, the thugs hired by Vedanta broke it. When we protested against this, they did not admit that they had broken the temple. On the 27th of February we performed worship for Niyamraja and made a vow that we will not leave Niyamgiri. We made this vow with rice and blood and promised that we would fight forever. (Local activist from Trilochanpur village, August 2011)

The Dongarias, along with members of other Kondh tribes (the Kondhs are a wider Adivasi group consisting of some communities that are not as marginalized as the Dongarias and do not live on top of the Niyamgiri range of hills) have been performing ritual worship to Niyamraja at this temple, at a festival which activists have instituted to take place every year. As mentioned earlier, this temple and site (known as Hundaljali) became one of the foci of discussion during the Supreme Court proceedings in February 2013. It is interesting to note that the animals sacrificed during the ceremonies at the newly instituted ritual site at Hundaljali are goats – the sacrifice of which is an accepted part of mainstream Hindu culture, unlike the buffaloes which the Dongarias Kondhs usually sacrifice. The representational role of local activists vis-a-vis the Dongarias' religiosity may have been both a strategic action as well as the result of their discursive repertoire only allowing them to perceive and assist the Dongarias in an emphasized expression of their religiosity, in the way most in alignment with it. It can also be seen as an instance of the construction of the Dongarias as the subaltern-popular, an icon that is constructed in a local context, finds resonance with the lives of its consumers/creators and allows for articulations of "more amorphous desires for identity" (Ghosh, 2005: 465). In other words, by organizing mass worship ceremonies at which the Dongarias participated and that were resonant with Hindu culture, local activists were able to translate or construct the Dongarias as figures they could relate to. The Dongarias' religiosity was also translated into terms that mainstream Hindu society could identify with and even perhaps aspire to.

Activists' attempts to encourage the Dongarias to worship a specific site, as marking the presence of a deity, was arguably a major reason for the movement's success – a religiosity claiming specific territory finding better purchase within the contemporary legal discourse. In Supreme Court proceedings, there were assertions that it was not a question of banning bauxite extraction on "the entire hills but the highest point where the tribals believe their God exists"[22]. Banning the extraction of one of the world's richest reserves of bauxite i.e. the Niyamgiri range of hills, would of course be a costly decision for the Indian government, and the attempt to narrow the focus of the discussion to one site, was arguably an attempt to restrict the scope of potential financial losses associated with support for the Dongarias and consequently reduce the government's perception of the risks involving in siding with the Adivasi community.

The representation of the Dongarias as worshipping a specific site did have currency within the Indian juridical framework of religious rights, (a representation of a general and undefined Earth-

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[22] Balaji, R. (2013, February 19) 'God' poser for Vedanta. *The Telegraph*. Accessed on 11th November, 2016 from: http://www.telegraphindia.com/1130220/jsp/nation/story_16583161.jsp#.VVYNj0axHIU

based spirituality would have been harder to deploy in the claiming of religious rights over a specific site) and coupled with the romanticized portrayal of the Dongarias' religiosity at the international level, which generated much media coverage and sympathy, the ground was set for the victory of the Dongaria Kondhs' struggle against Vedanta Resources.

3.7. Discussion

It can be seen that the representations of the Dongaria Kondhs in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement were effective in garnering greater support for the banning of Vedanta Resources' mining project. A common theme running across these representations was a focus on the Dongarias' ecological beliefs and religiosity, rather than a focus on their material vulnerability and the impact that the mining project might have on this. In other words, activists successfully focussed on the appeal of indigeneity which is understood to be linked to general perceptions of the ecological morality of indigenous people. Contemporary scholarship on the growing support for indigeneity (Dove, 2006; Kuper, 2003; Hames, 2007; Barnard, 2006) does discuss (and critique) its aesthetic appeal, arguing for example that this is derived from celebrations of a primordial *Urkultur* (Barnard, 2006), nostalgia born of dissatisfaction with the de-localization produced by modernity (Appadurai, 1996), or western quests for native or aboriginal wisdom (Pieck, 2006). The growing support for indigeneity at the international institutional level (Merlan, 2009; Muehlebach, 2001) is reported to acknowledge the "politics of morality" that indigenous peoples are seen to deploy against the ecological failures of modernity (Muehlebach, 2001: 424). At the local level in Odisha as well, there exists a historical cultural understanding that casts Adivasis in the role of forest kings (Rousseleau, 2009) and this too can be seen as an ecologically romanticizing discourse which adds to the appeal of the Dongaria Kondhs' ecological lifestyle as perceived at the local scale.

However, it is important to note that scholars have argued that an eco-politics that freezes indigenous peoples as ecologically moral, can be potentially disempowering for them (Grande, 1999; Conklin, 1997). It has been argued that the symbolic politics that characterizes this kind of activism can silence indigenous peoples by encouraging them to construct themselves in a way that fits into this discourse (Conklin, 1997). A similar strategy of encouraging Native Americans to live in national parks in accordance with their traditional lifestyles, has also been criticized as being essentialist (Rashkow, 2014).

In regard to the Dongaria Kondhs however, it is seen that they did more than align themselves with the narratives propounded by activists. It can be argued that the representational strategies of the Niyamgiri Movement created space for the Dongarias to voice themselves – in opposition to oppressive power structures and beyond the narratives delineated by the activists who represented them.

The Dongaria Kondhs started participating in the Niyamgiri Movement in 2004 and were active participants in rallies against Vedanta Resources. It can be argued that the voice of the Dongaria Kondhs was strongest at the end of the Niyamgiri Movement during the referendums which the Indian Supreme Court had adjudicated should be held to determine if Niyamgiri was sacred to the Dongaria Kondhs. The Dongaria villagers who participated in the referendums all voted against the mining project, in a demonstration of what has been described as "a stunning example of

grassroots democracy at work"[23]. This collective decision was ratified by the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest in January 2014, with the conclusion that Vedanta Resources was denied the continuation of its mining project on Niyamgiri[24].

However, during the village-level referendums that were held to determine whether the Dongarias wanted mining on Niyamgiri to be banned on grounds of it being sacred, altercations occurred between the judicial observer appointed to moderate the council proceedings and the Dongarias. The Dongarias attempted to assert that they claimed community rights over the entire Niyamgiri range of hills of which the Niyamgiri Mountain is only in fact a part. During the first village council/referendum or *palli sabha*, articulations such as these were met with sharp retorts and opposition by the judicial observer – he is reported to have insulted the Dongarias and insisted that they could not claim religious rights over the whole Niyamgiri range of hills. However, when the Dongarias remained adamant and continued to insist that the entire Niyamgiri range of hills was sacred to them, he finally capitulated and agreed to mentioning that the Dongarias claimed community rights over the entire Niyamgiri range of hills. In the *palli sabhas* held later, (12 were scheduled by the state government) villagers rejected the imposition of restrictions on their sites of religious affiliation and made similar community claims as in the first *palli sabha* (Jena, 2013).

3.8. Conclusion

The paper's theoretical contribution consisted of bringing postcolonial theorists of representation who explore issues of subalternity, into dialogue with the theories of Jean Baudrillard, which are also focused on themes of representation. Its empirical contribution consisted in an exploration of how activists at the international and local scales translated the Dongaria Kondhs' religiosity in ways that attempted to capture its core message as opposed to delineating its complexities. Some of these representations can be argued to have portrayed the Dongarias seductively whereas others rendered the Dongarias' religiosity more familiar in the eyes of mainstream Indian society. Though the implications of representations of this sort are problematic, it appears that the Dongarias did not feel they needed to contain their religiosity to fit into these representations and indeed used these representations as a platform from which they could finally voice themselves. The activism surrounding their struggle may have spoken for them up to a point, but it managed to bring about a change in bureaucratic-legal responses that finally allowed the Dongarias to speak at the referendums ordered by the Indian Supreme Court. And when they did, they did not stake claim to a particular site which would be affected by mining – rather, they claimed the hills they lived and depended upon, as sacred.

What remains questionable, and is yet to be determined, is whether this claim was heard. Mining was banned on top of the Niyamgiri Mountain, at the site known as Hundaljali, which activists had constructed as the locus of the Dongarias' religiosity. The ban does not extend to the entire Niyamgiri range of hills, though it was claimed as sacred in the Dongarias' articulations. Subalternists

[23] Survival International. (n.d.) Interview with Felix Padel. Accessed on 10th November, 2016 from: http://www.survivalinternational.org/articles/3322-interview-with-felix-padel

[24] Goswami, U. A. & Mohanty, M. (2014, January, 11) Environment Ministry rejects Vedanta's mining proposal in Niyamgiri. *The Economic Times*. Accessed on 10th November, 2016 from: http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2014-01-11/news/46067729_1_mining-proposal-niyamgiri-hills-source-bauxite

have argued that subalternity is the condition of incomplete appropriation by the dominant discourse, due to incommensurability (Byrd and Rothberg, 2011). But in the case of the Dongaria Kondhs, the possible future denial of their articulations vis-a-vis their religiosity (i.e. their claim that the entire Niyamgiri range of hills is sacred to them and must consequently be protected), will not arise from an inability to hear them, but perhaps, an unwillingness to do so – is this, nevertheless, still an indication of their subalternity?

It is also important to be cautious while celebrating the power of such translations/representations – effective though they may have been. Romanticized images of indigenous peoples living in harmony with nature can be instrumentalized to support struggles against mining, but it is quite possible that the success of such a strategy will be limited to a few isolated examples. An important reason for this is the nature of such romanticized images in and of themselves – they are part of the fantasies and nostalgia of the contemporary experience of capitalism. It is argued that images of Eden/Arcadia such as these, co-exist uncritically with industrialised capitalism (Van Koppen, 2000: 304-305) and cannot but support capitalism, which includes projects such as mining, even as they defuse some of the anxiety and alienation entailed by the capitalistic disconnection from nature.

4. Who were the Local Supporters of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India, and How and Why did they Express this Support?[25]

Abstract | This article discusses the politics of the non-Adivasi activists who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement in the state of Odisha in India, which was aimed at preventing the mining of a mountain which an Adivasi community that lived on it considered sacred. It argues that these non-Adivasi activists were differentially subaltern, that some of them were as marginalized as the subaltern Adivasis they were representing and that they viewed the Adivasis through a mythopoeic lens. With the help of these arguments it critiques some of postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak's arguments pertaining to the representation of subalterns by activists.

4.1. Introduction

This article examines the solidarian support shown to Adivasis by non-Adivasi activists in the context of the movement to prevent mining on the Niyamgiri Mountain in the state of Odisha in India. An Adivasi group known as the Dongaria Kondhs lived on the mountain and worshipped it, and local non-Adivasi Odia activists saw this as an important reason for the banning of the bauxite mining project on the mountain that had been proposed by the UK-based Vedanta Resources. The Niyamgiri Movement involved activists at various different scales. This article will focus on the role of local activists.

The article will use the theorizations of Gayatri Spivak on the subject of subalternity to aid its analysis and will critique/add to her theorizations simultaneously (Spivak, 1988; Best, 1999; Kapoor, 2004; Spivak, 2004). Spivak's theorizations on subalternity have been a major influence in the field of development studies (Kapoor, 2004) and South Asian scholarly traditions of history from below (Chatterjee, 2010). I understand the Niyamgiri Movement to be a critique of mainstream development and in this I echo the views of the local activists who participated in the movement. To gain a more nuanced understanding of the reasons why local non-Adivasi activists chose to critique a form of development that would threaten Adivasi religiosity and culture, I use interviews I conducted with them to examine their understanding of their own participation in the Niyamgiri Movement. Spivak's theories facilitate an analysis of these interviews, and in return the analysis facilitates a critique of a few of the lacunae in Spivak's theories.

[25] This chapter is based on a journal article titled '**Differential Subalterns in the Niyamgiri Movement in India**' that has been accepted for publication by the journal Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies.

4.2. Background

To contextualize the solidarian support shown by non-Adivasi activists towards the Adivasis in the Niyamgiri Movement, it is necessary to present a background to Odisha's socio-political situation, as well as to the movement itself. In addition to this, it is also important to discuss the distinction between Adivasis and non-Adivasis that I am working with in this article.

Odisha is one of India's mineral-rich states, as well as among its most economically marginalized. Rates of both rural and urban unemployment are among the highest in the country. The government of Odisha has been pursuing a strategy of export oriented, mining sector-driven economic growth; this is argued to have worsened the state's employment situation, due to the industry's inclination towards increased mechanization. Odisha has witnessed several peoples' movements against proposed mining projects, as well as other development initiatives that require the displacement of villagers – some of these, though non-violent, have experienced violent state repression. Furthermore, a small portion of the growing social unrest has been channelled towards the Maoist movement prevalent in Eastern India (Mishra, 2010).

Demographically, a significant proportion of Odisha's population, as much as 22 per cent, consists of Adivasis (Kapoor, 2011). These people groups are generally understood to be indigenous[26]; though they are not officially granted this status (Béteille, 1998; Karlsson, 2003). Odisha is home to sixty-two Adivasi groups, numbering more than 8,000,000 people in total and constituting 42 per cent of those already displaced by development projects (Kapoor, 2011).

Adivasis receive the appellation of 'Scheduled Tribes' in the vocabulary of the Indian bureaucracy and are differentiated from castes – this differentiation is argued to be an inheritance of a tribe-caste dichotomy (Rycroft, 2014) that was successfully (and controversially) propounded and consolidated by colonial administrators and ethnographers (Bates, 1995). The concept of an Indian tribe-caste dichotomy had been criticized by Indian sociologist G.S. Ghurye (Ghurye, 1932) and has been argued to be particularly problematic in Odisha for the reason that a distinctive "tribal-nontribal interface" is visible in Odia culture (Mohapatra, 2011: 21). Though scholarly accounts are quick to point out the ambiguity surrounding the question of how tribes and castes differ, I found in my fieldwork that the activists participating in the Niyamgiri Movement were quite decidedly working within a typology that differentiated between Adivasis and non-Adivasis (this latter term denoting the non-tribal population). The term 'Adivasis' is derived from Sanskrit and meaning 'original dwellers' has been used since the 1930's to denote what are argued to be India's indigenous peoples (Rycroft, 2014). It is utilized by the peoples themselves, for purposes of political assertion (Kela, 2006) and with its strong connotations of indigeneity, it allows for an internalization of the international indigenous peoples' movement (Rycroft, 2014). In this article, I choose to use a working distinction between Adivasis and non-Adivasis, as this resonates with the way the activists I study chose to express themselves.

The Niyamgiri mining project was a proposed development project that if implemented would result in the displacement of the inhabitants of several Adivasi villages in Odisha. The UK-based

[26] Indigeneity is a contested identity in India (Karlsson, 2003; Béteille, 1998), though one claimed by almost 10% of the Indian population (Rycroft, 2014).

Vedanta Resources began operating in the region with the signing of a MoU with the State Government of Odisha in 1997 (Kumar, 2014). Initially, local residents displaced and or/affected by the construction and operation of its refinery (at the foot of the Niyamgiri Mountain) led the protests, joined by students, concerned citizens from the neighbouring towns, as well as local and regional activists under the banner of their organizations (some of which were created after the protests were initiated). Many of the initial protesters were not Adivasi. However, the Adivasi group known the Dongaria Kondhs who lived on top of the Niyamgiri Mountain and worshipped it, joined the protest movement against the company in 2004, when its plans to mine the top of it for bauxite became public. Subsequent to this, the movement began to focus on the threat of imminent cultural losses to the Dongarias, if Vedanta Resources were allowed to go ahead with its mining project. It was in fact this later discursive articulation which was successfully received by the Indian government; the company has been banned from continuing with its mining project on the Niyamgiri Mountain – by the Indian Supreme Court and with the ratification of the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forests in early 2014[27], for reasons of this constituting a violation of the Adivasi community's rights.

4.3. Two Lines of Theoretical Reflection

The article will employ, for its analysis of the Niyamgiri Movement and the solidarian role of the non-Adivasi activists who participated in it, two lines of theoretical discussion from the text of 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' an iconic essay by postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak (Spivak, 1988). I aim to critique/add to the first line of discussion, which concerns the epistemological divide between activists and those they represent. I aim to use the second line of discussion which concerns a relatively underprivileged group, as an analytical lens which will allow a deeper understanding of the role of the non-Adivasi actors who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement.

It is important to begin by situating the arguments of Spivak's essay within the context of the revisionist historiography of the Subaltern Studies group, in which it is an important critical intervention. Deriving inspiration from Antonio Gramsci, and his notion of the hegemony to which subaltern groups are subjected (Currie, 1997: 3-4), the Subaltern Studies group attempted to create a model of revisionist historiography that would combat elitist tendencies in South Asian Studies, which in their view marginalized a representation of the subaltern (Guha, 1982: vii). There are several definitions and understandings of the condition of subalternity. However, this article will understand it psychoanalytically, as that of erasure within the symbolic. In this vein of analysis, the subaltern is understood to occupy a "space of linguistic exclusion that is not pre-symbolic or outside the symbolic. Indeed, the subaltern is not just unable to speak: she is effectively muted in the symbolic" (Carr, 2010: 26). Spivak's essay is an important landmark within this school of theorizing, and examines both the failed speech of the subaltern and those who speak for or about the subaltern, and end up perpetuating the condition of subalternity to their own linguistic benefit. Furthermore, the 'space of linguistic exclusion' that the subaltern is understood to occupy is theorized by subaltern studies' scholars as being marked by a religious/mythopoeic ontology and

[27] Goswami, U. A. & Mohanty, M. (2014, January, 11) Environment Ministry rejects Vedanta's mining proposal in Niyamgiri. *The Economic Times*. Accessed on 14th June, 2015 from: http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2014-01-11/news/46067729_1_mining-proposal-niyamgiri-hills-source-bauxite

epistemology. Gramsci, who gifted the term 'subaltern' to the latter generation of scholars who used it to analyse resistance from below, theorized subaltern consciousness as fragmentary and contingent, similar to Levi-Strauss' conception of the bricoleur. Furthermore, community, rather than class-feeling, is understood to undergird the collective forms of political action that may be undertaken from such a positionality (Sivaramakrishnan, 1995). It is perhaps needless to mention that theories of subalternity find application in indigenous studies, (Byrd and Rothberg, 2011) and in fact developed from a significant engagement with Adivasi politics (Sivaramakrishnan, 1995).

Spivak inaugurates her essay that concludes with the assertion that 'the subaltern cannot speak', by a critique of western radical practice. Her chief argument is with Foucault's attempt to champion his partnership with subalterns as an activist-intellectual – offering his 'action of theory' as a support to their 'action of practice'. She argues that Foucault denies his (material) interest in such an engagement – which does not coincide with the interests of the workers whose struggles he speaks of supporting. Furthermore, she is not convinced by his disavowal of his representational role and argues that representation i.e. speaking on behalf of the subaltern and re-presentation i.e. speaking about the subaltern, can be equated to one another.

From this, she goes on, in the essay and in later scholarship, to critique the representation of subalterns by ostensibly well-meaning intellectuals, human rights activists etc., not only from a standpoint of indicting them for the disjunctures between their material positionalities and interests, and those they represent, but also from a standpoint of there being radical epistemological differences between subalterns and activists/intellectuals – regardless of the national and cultural identities of the latter, all such individuals being necessarily trained in the western academic tradition and having thereby imbibed rationalistic values that would be at odds with the perspective of subalterns (Spivak, 2004). The danger posed by these epistemological differences, lying, as per Spivak's line of critique, in the imposition of rationalistic interpretative frameworks upon what activists would attempt to re-present as the 'speech' of subalterns. This line of theoretical argumentation as developed by Spivak, is one that I will attempt to critique.

In a continuation of her theoretical critique of representation/re-presentation, in the latter part of her essay she goes on to reflect upon the work of the Subaltern Studies group. Seeking to re-write Indian history with a focus on the independence movement, from the perspective of 'the politics of the people', the subaltern historian attempts to retrieve the subaltern voice from the imperialistic grid that attempts to silence it, by scrutinizing the framework for signs of rupture, more specifically, insurgency – re-presenting the subaltern 'speaking' in the act of struggling.

Spivak then goes on to investigate the implications of such an endeavour. She explicates in this regard, the contribution of Ranajit Guha, a member of the above-mentioned group, who seeks to define the people (whose politics he is attempting to re-present through his purportedly non-elitist historiographic method) by categorizing them with the help of "a dynamic stratification grid describing colonial production at large" (as cited by Spivak, 1988: 284):

1. Dominant Foreign Groups.
2. Dominant indigenous groups on the all-India level.
3. Dominant indigenous groups at the regional and local levels.

4. People/Subaltern classes.

Within Guha's taxonomic framework, the fourth group, comprising the true subaltern, is for the subaltern historian a source of despair: "How can we touch the consciousness of the people even as we investigate their politics? With what voice-consciousness can the subaltern speak?" (as cited by Spivak, 1988: ibid). The Subaltern Studies group is therefore exonerated from the charge she levels against Foucault and Deleuze, in that its members, question in humility, the possibility of ever 're-presenting' the true subaltern.

Spivak sees the subaltern historian's interest as being directed towards the differential subaltern, or the third group, which she refers to as "the floating buffer zone of the regional elite-subaltern" (Spivak, 1988: 285) – their position allowing them to trace an itinerary that offers "an object of seduction for the representing intellectual" (Spivak 1988, ibid). Spivak's engagement with Guha's theorization of the category of the differential or regional elite-subaltern will inform a second important analytical trajectory of this article – the theoretical category of the differential subaltern being applied to the local non-Adivasi activists who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement. I will use this theoretical category to engage and question Spivak's own critique of activists, whom she assumes would necessarily be operating from a perspective derived from a western, rationalistic epistemology, as well as a material positionality that would be at odds with those they represent. Subaltern studies' scholars have engaged with the theoretical category of the differential subaltern by terming it the 'popular', and arguing that it is useful "to think of the popular as the subaltern on its road to hegemony (and therefore representation)" (Chattopadhyay and Sarkar, 2005: 360). Ranajit Guha defines subalterns generically as the "mass of labouring population and the intermediate strata in town and country – that is the people" (Guha, 1982: 4). Such a definition implies a conflation of the categories of the true and differential subaltern, and as such, is certainly also applicable to the Niyamgiri Movement's non-Adivasi participants (who were mostly from low and middle income backgrounds).

4.4. Methodology

Following Spivak's advice on the importance of a researcher's disclosures of his or her positionality (Kapoor 2004), I would like to mention that I am currently based at academic institutions outside India and that some years previously I had the experience of participating in anti-mining struggles in the state of Jharkhand (adjacent to Odisha) where I grew up. For a period of a few months, I was also employed by an activist organization which coordinated Adivasi struggles against potential mining-induced displacement. This experience, which I can refer to as participant observation (though at the time I did not see it as being necessarily instrumentalized in furthering future research objectives) provided me with background knowledge as to what the issues and dynamics associated with anti-mining activism could be and also helped me in facilitating the oral history interviews (Thomson, 1998) through which I collected much of my data. The interviews were conducted mostly in Hindi, and in a few cases in English, if this was the choice of the interviewee. Some of the oral history interviews were also conducted in Odia, which I am able to follow. For Dongaria Kondhs who could only speak Kui (the language of the tribe), I took recourse to the help of an interpreter. Oral history as a research method intersects with the article's theoretical

focus on subalternity in that both evince a commitment to history from below (Thomson, 2007; Chatterjee, 2010).

My research method also includes an inter-disciplinary dimension, which is in alignment with Spivak's advocacy for inter-disciplinarity in her later work (Spivak, 2003). In order to give myself a context to conduct and interpret the oral history interviews I engaged in participant observation as well. In addition, I also use secondary historical studies to explore the historical relationship non-Adivasis have with Adivasis in Odisha. I also conducted a few semi-structured interviews, when this was more appropriate than conducting an oral history interview.

For my research into the Niyamgiri Movement, I conducted fieldwork over three phases – in May 2011 and August 2011, as well as in December 2012 and January and February 2013. In May 2011, I conducted a combination of participant observation and semi-structured interviews. I stayed in a Dongaria Kondh village, as well as at a government-sponsored NGO which was located close to the Dongaria villages and was instituted with the aim of furthering the development of the Dongaria Kondh community. I also conducted semi-structured interviews and oral history interviews with anthropologists and government officials based in Odisha's capital, who had a long history of association with the Dongaria Kondhs and had conducted extensive research amongst them in the past.

In August 2011, I underwent an intense period of fieldwork during which I conducted oral history interviews with several activists, based mostly out of Bhawanipatna, which is the district capital of Kalahandi, the district in which the Niyamgiri hills are partly located. The activists were male and in many cases young. A few of them came from Dalit[28] backgrounds and others came from caste backgrounds that are not officially understood to be 'backward'. The caste background of the activists did not seem to have a strong co-relation with their economic status. During the period of fieldwork in August 2011, I conducted twelve oral history interviews, several of which lasted for over two hours. I also participated in group discussions and many conversations aimed at eliciting data that would answer my research questions. In December 2012, I undertook participant observation at a protest rally which local Odia activists had organized at the foot of the Niyamgiri hills and at which the Dongaria Kondhs were also present. I conducted several short follow-up interviews, during the progress of the protest rally. In January and February 2013, I interviewed activists, lawyers and government officials based out of Delhi who had been active in the successful representation of the Niyamgiri Movement to the Indian Supreme Court – these were also oral history interviews. I have taken care to anonymize all the excerpts from the interviews given below – all of which were conducted with the local, Odia activists based out of Bhawanipatna.

4.5. Analytical-Theoretical Engagements

As per my theoretical understanding, which I find reinforced by the dynamic stratification grid developed by Guha which Spivak elucidates in her essay, the non-Adivasi Odia activists from relatively underprivileged backgrounds, who lived in the small towns around the mining project against which the Niyamgiri Movement was initiated, were differential subalterns. Similarly, I argue

[28] Communities that have faced marginalization due to their perceived position at the bottom of the Indian caste hierarchy.

that the Dongaria Kondh Adivasis who were at the centre of the Niyamgiri Movement's protests in its later stages, and worshipped the mountain on top of which the mining project was to take place, experienced the condition of true subalternity. I will analyse the relationship between these consequently categorized true and differential subalterns and will examine its implications in relation to the argumentations of Spivak's essay. Since local non-Adivasi activists and their modes of relating to the other, rather than the Dongaria Kondhs themselves, are the focus of the article's analysis – the nature of the 'true subalternity' of the Dongaria Kondhs will not be discussed in much detail. It is important to mention however, that the Dongaria Kondhs experience socio-economic marginalization relative to the Indian mainstream and possess a mythic or religious consciousness which is socio-linguistically excluded.

Much of the solidarity expressed for the Adivasis in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, was by similarly economically and sometimes socially marginalized non-Adivasi Odias, who were not schooled in solidarian/human rights discourses coming from the West/North; the critique of there being a necessary epistemological gap between them, in their role as activists, and the Adivasi subalterns they championed (Spivak, 2004), becoming, in their case, tenuous. It is further problematized by the fact that the non-Adivasi Odias in question, inhabited a mythopoeic perspective and viewed the Dongaria Kondhs as possessing mystical powers – this understanding was a major factor in their support for/protection of the Adivasi community. Also, it must be kept in mind that unlike Foucault, whom Spivak faults on these grounds, their material positionality and interests did largely coincide with those of the Dongaria Kondhs.

Material Positionalities

An analysis of the differentially subaltern nature of the local non-Adivasi Odias who lived in the small towns around the Niyamgiri Mountain and participated in the struggle against the extraction of bauxite from its summit, must necessarily be situated in an analysis of their relative spatial marginalization. Though I theorize them to be regional elite-subalterns in comparison with the Dongaria Kondhs, many of these activists had had the experience of at least economic marginalization. The district of Kalahandi where many of the activists came from and in which the Niyamgiri Mountain is partly located, is synonymous with poverty and malaria. A major organizational actor in the struggle was in fact the *Kalahandi Sachetan Nagrik Manch* – roughly translated as the Kalahandi Vigilant Citizens' Platform. This group, as well as other residents of the district capital of Kalahandi, expressed a long-felt sense of victimization at belonging to one of the most resource-rich yet 'most backward districts' of the country, and a feeling of mass oppression and frustration with the dominant economic regime. The idea of challenging the development model that had created the situation they were in, despite more than a decade long attempt for the special development of the region in light of its potential for mineral-based industrialization, was very prominent. A special, centrally administered fund called the Kalahandi-Bolangir-Koraput (K.B.K.) fund for regional development had been instituted in 1991, reportedly with the involvement of the U.S. government. The fund was aimed at developing the region in order to allow its residents to make the best use of the mineral wealth which the government foresaw would be developed by the extractive industry in the future. However, due to a corrupt bureaucracy, the people of the region claimed never to have received its benefits. Interestingly, some of the more educated residents of Kalahandi

who participated in the struggle against Vedanta Resources, saw themselves as being at the centre of a geopolitical conspiracy:

> To be a superpower one must have property, arms and ammunition and fuel. Why America attacked Muslim countries? Only for fuel…right? America wants arms and ammunition. And America does not have its own bauxite. And India is a country which is more accessible….because we are quite submissive…we are not aggressor. India was never aggressor, not today also. So the then president of America invited the chief of our country…I do not name…the prime minister, they had a discussion…they surveyed…that there is plenty of bauxite in India…that is in Odisha…and the reason is Kalahandi-Bolangir-Koraput…and the name was conceived – K.B.K…only keeping an eye on the bauxite. Today our state government is running on the money of K.B.K. only…because the fund given by central government is supposed to be used for K.B.K…but entire state government is using the money. (Local legal activist, August 2011)

Many of the local activists who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement did not have prior experience of activism, and were not professionals – they were participating in the movement for material reasons that had a direct bearing on their daily lives. The government official in charge of the NGO that was supposed to assist in development activities related to the Dongaria Kondhs, had called Vedanta Resources selfish, and the sentiment was echoed by many local activists as the primary reason why they had joined the movement against the company. Apparently, it had hired very few local people. It had promised that it would build a railway line and station for its own needs that could also be used by the people of the area – but then built this with the possibility of access only from within its Aluminium refinery complex, consequently restricting its use only to those who were employed by the company. Local dissatisfaction with the company was reported to have begun when it started the process of acquiring land for its refinery at the foot of the mountain, from local people. Apparently Vedanta Resources had given out compensation for this land in an arbitrary and high-handed manner. The rehabilitation colony into which the displaced people were shifted was also supposed to have been managed by hired thugs. Apparently, Vedanta Resources had also hired thugs to expedite the process of acquiring land for the construction of its refinery – giving them the appellation of 'social motivators'. This was another cause for the resentment the local people had against Vedanta Resources – the company's presence in the region had been accompanied by the growth of mafiaism and corruption.

It was also reported that Vedanta Resources had had an adverse effect on the local environment, and it was feared that this would only be exacerbated if it were to be allowed to mine Niyamgiri. According to activists, as well as researchers, the refinery built by Vedanta Resources discharged effluents into a pond that was very close to a source of water used by the people of the area for their daily needs (Saxena et al., 2010). The toxic red-mud that constituted one of these effluents had leaked into this water source and had affected the health of local people. Similarly, with regard to the ash pond that Vedanta Resources had constructed close to areas inhabited by local people – it was argued that this had resulted in several cases of respiratory ailments, as well as deaths. The degradation of the environment and the impact this was having on the people of the region was a major factor that motivated grass-roots level local activists to campaign against Vedanta Resources.

Environmental activism in a professional sense was however, also a major aspect of the Niyamgiri Movement. Studies conducted by Odisha-based environmental NGOs had documented the rich biodiversity of Niyamgiri, which would be in danger if Vedanta Resources were to be allowed to

mine the mountain (Vasundhara, 2009). Also, it was argued that removing the bauxite cap of Niyamgiri would have a negative impact on the natural water supply of the region, which was already drought prone. Not only did the bauxite summit hold water and feed it into many little streams which ran down the sides of Niyamgiri and converged to form the rivers that irrigated the plains below – the mountain blocked the monsoon laden winds that brought rain to the region. It was estimated that the local eco-system would face a severe blow if Vedanta Resources were to be allowed to go ahead with its plans of mining the mountain (Saxena et al., 2010). Furthermore, the fact that the mining lease area contained primary Sal (*shorea robusta*) forest, protected by a Dongaria Kondh taboo on cutting trees on Niyamgiri's summit, became another argument against the mining project, that was used in favour of the Dongarias (Padel and Das, 2010).

The campaign also received a significant amount of strength from the involvement of young college students from the college of Bhawanipatna (the district capital of Kalahandi) who got involved in the movement in 2003. Their leader, a recent graduate, accidently witnessed a peaceful protest rally consisting of local people (many of whom were Adivasi) who were protesting against the arbitrary arrest of a prominent activist who was leading the campaign against the company's acquisition of land for its refinery. He claimed to have witnessed attacks on the protestors by thugs hired by Vedanta Resources. He said that he was shocked by the merciless beating of the protestors by the thugs who were armed with cricket bats and hockey sticks, and the incident proved to trigger his leadership of an urban youth wing of the Niyamgiri Movement:

> It's a human tendency…when you see such a terrible thing going on in front of you…how would you react to it…and that is how I came into the movement…it was the thing which ignited my mind…when a project is coming for the development of a society…then how such things can go on…then I just considered things, I mean I started analysing…and then I thought, no, *something* wrong is going on…and many *other* things must be going wrong, which we do not know, which we are not able to know. (Local youth activist, August, 2011)

The young graduate later organized a team of six students studying at the district college of Bhawanipatna, and their use of innovative strategies to attract media attention to the issue, played a significant role in bringing the movement into the public eye. One such strategy was the 'leafleting' of the state legislative assembly. At that time the students were acting autonomously, though later they became part of the *Kalahandi Sachetan Nagrik Manch*. They entered the visitors' gallery of the assembly and dropped anti-Vedanta leaflets onto the elected representatives below. The incident was caught on camera and the footage created a powerful impression nationally. It also caught the attention of the South Asia Amnesty International representative, thereby linking the movement to international alter-globalization protests. Subsequent to this act of protest by local college students, international NGOs and advocacy organizations sent teams to the area to investigate the struggle with the intention (upon which they followed through) to support it in the trans-national public sphere.

In the course of my fieldwork, it also became evident to me that some of the local non-Adivasi activists who were participating in the Niyamgiri Movement were even at an economic disadvantage in comparison with the Dongaria Kondhs. I visited the home of one of the most active local youth activists and had a meal with his mother. His home, which he shared with several of his relatives in a cramped slum on the outskirts of Bhawanipatna, was far less comfortable than

any of the dwellings in the Dongaria villages. When the young activist spoke of dedicating his life to working for the Dongarias, I was bemused by his desire to help them.

Solidarity

The solidarity expressed by several of these local non-Adivasi activists with the Dongaria Kondhs, finds no equivalent in the sort of human rights activism Spivak criticizes. These activists were intellectuals. They were literate and politically consciousness (many were college educated) – they were able to theorize the reasons for the oppression that the people of their region suffered. And yet, they were in the same (sometimes worse) position materially as the Dongaria Kondhs and they cannot be put into the same category as the entitled representing subjects Spivak criticizes (Cornell, 2010). Like the Dongaria Kondhs, they felt that they could not hope to benefit from Vedanta Resources' presence in the region. However, rather than articulating their own reasons for contesting the multi-national mining company, publicly, their activism constituted an expression of solidarity with the Adivasis who stood to face the loss of the land which they considered sacred.

The local legal activist who described his region as being mired in a geopolitical conspiracy, acted against the company only when he found out that the land rights of Adivasis were being threatened.

> The point comes, what made me to enter here…in this movement. I read in the local paper, that the district collector had addressed to the local people 'this land is not yours. It belongs to the company or the government. Anytime they want they can come and throw you out'. Then I could not tolerate…I could not believe…if the collector could speak in this way to the innocent tribals who are quite uneducated, helpless persons…I felt there is no rule of law in my state…so I felt, let's not be silent. (Local legal activist, August 2011)

As he describes, after having heard that Adivasis were being intimidated into handing over their land to Vedanta Resources, he filed a petition in the High Court of Odisha, challenging this as unlawful, and this proved to be a significant landmark in the course of the Niyamgiri Movement.

Other activists, such as the youth activist whose home I visited, also described their motivations for become politically active in the campaign against Vedanta Resources, as derivative of witnessing the ill-treatment the company was meting out to Adivasis.

> When in 2002 Vedanta came, we thought that by Vedanta coming, Adivasis will get development, Lanjigarh will get development, Kalahandi will get development…because there is no industry in Kalahandi…but when we got to know that the company is committing atrocities against Adivasis, acquiring villages by force…then we thought this company is not good, we should oppose it. (Local youth activist, August 2011)

Mythopoeic Politics

The article now arrives at a point of inquiry into the reasons for the foregrounding of Adivasi concerns vis-à-vis Vedanta Resources' plans for the Niyamgiri Mountain, by local non-Adivasi activists, in the context of the larger movement against the company.

At its outset, the Niyamgiri Movement had situated itself within an environmental justice paradigm. It then went on to champion itself as a movement aimed primarily at securing the Dongaria Kondhs' cultural rights, specifically their right to claim the Niyamgiri Mountain as sacred and continue to worship it. To some extent, this shift in the Niyamgiri Movement's discursive trajectory

was strategic. As attested to in interviews, part of the reason for the foregrounding of the Dongaria Kondhs' nature-based religiosity was its capacity to attract sympathy and support abroad. At the same time, it must be noted that this kind of strategizing vis-à-vis the Niyamgiri Movement's activist discourse, was being undertaken by professional activists located in Delhi, as well as in Odisha's capital, Bhubaneshwar. I will argue that the mass base of the movement, consisting, as described earlier, of local non-Adivasi activists from the region in which the mining project was to be located, had subaltern cultural reasons for championing the Adivasi cause within the Niyamgiri Movement. These cannot be contained within the western/northern, rationalistic human rights frameworks Spivak criticizes (Spivak, 2004) – and I term their political activity as stemming from these subaltern cultural reasons 'mythopoeic politics'.

I argue that a shared material interest in preventing Vedanta Resources from operating in a region in which Adivasis and non-Adivasis were to some degree similarly marginalized, is neither the only nor the primary reason for the solidarity expressed by the latter for the former. I will attempt to argue that community, rather than class feeling/shared material interests, was an important motivating factor, in line with the conceptualization of subaltern political subjectivity presented earlier (Sivaramakrishnan, 1995). The article will now go on to explore the nature of the community feeling between the two dichotomous community groups, from the non-Adivasi perspective (beginning with its historical roots), and thereby attempt to arrive at explanations for the solidarity of the differential subaltern with the subaltern. Before doing so however, it is important to explicate what I mean by mythopoeic politics. Mythopoeic thought has been described as "a mode of symbolically structuring the world" (Cohen, 1969: 340). I understand mythopoeic politics in relation to subaltern communities, as the influence of a subaltern, mythic/imaginative past in shaping transformative action in the present (Borde, 2012a). Spivak prescribes imagining the other and existing in an ethical relationship with this other (Spivak, 2000). I discuss how this just might be the mode of solidarian action that the non-Adivasi activists in the Niyamgiri Movement have adopted in relation to the Dongaria Kondh Adivasis.

Subaltern Cultural Understandings

The socio-cultural situation of Adivasis in Odisha is a peculiar one, with tribe-caste dynamics that differ from those found in other parts of the country. Historically, in Odisha, its ruling caste-Hindu chiefs had engaged in complex, ritualized interactions with the Adivasi population aimed at securing the legitimacy of their rule. This had involved princely patronage to Adivasi traditions and rituals and their incorporation into Hinduized practices that saw the participation of the court (Pati, 2012). Attempts at securing the loyalty of Adivasis went so far as spectacles of ritualized genuflection to them that were enacted at royal courts during important ceremonies. A pertinent example would be the coronation of the king of Kalahandi – at which a chief of one of the Kondh Adivasi families would be richly costumed, and would seat the king on his lap for the duration of the ceremony (Pati, 2012). The practice is also supposed to have been followed in the kingdoms of Keonjhar and Pal Lahara. The Adivasi chief upon whose lap the king would be seated would represent the throne. In a more spectacular version of the ritual, the king would be carried on the back of an Adivasi chief to the throne, where an Adivasi priest would be waiting to receive him on his lap (Rousseleau, 2009). In some myths, Adivasis were represented as playing the role of foster parents to an exiled future king (a common theme in the Indian mythic-political imagination) –

indeed in these myths, Adivasis were cast in the role of forest kings (Rousseleau, 2009). These ritualized processes of the legitimation of political power, have been compared with those of the pre-colonial Balinese 'theatre state', where symbols rather than force, served to consolidate the allegiance of the subject population to the court (Pati, 2012).

What such an analysis overlooks however, is the historic-cultural understanding of the figure of the Adivasi as the king's elder brother. According to a myth widespread in Central India, the ancestors of Adivasis and the region's rulers were brothers. The younger of the two succeeded in riding a horse and became a king, while the elder remained a walking peasant. The myth is supposed to elucidate the cultural understanding that Adivasis were the earlier settlers of the area or 'elder' to the king. Furthermore, in some versions of the myth, despite the fact that the younger brother became a king, the elder retained his seniority and became a priest (Rousseleau, 2009). This would explain the enactment of deference to Adivasis during royal rituals, as described earlier; it was not just a matter of securing their allegiance but of expressing respect for them, which the non-Adivasi rulers of the region felt that their Adivasi subject populations deserved.

I argue that this historical legacy of expressing respect for Adivasis (albeit ritualized and gestural), is reflected in the primacy given to Adivasi concerns within the Niyamgiri Movement. It informs the 'mythopoeic politics' of its differentially subaltern, non-Adivasi participants, and it is this 'mythopoeic politics', that along with their socio-economic and spatial marginalization, marks these actors as differentially subaltern. The importance accorded to Adivasis, in historical as well as in contemporary times, by the mainstream Odia population, does not find easy sociolinguistic resolution with dominant cultural discourses in India. In other, more theoretically informed words, it would experience erasure or muting within the symbolic. As such, it cannot be designated as an instantiation of right-wing majoritarian Hindu politics. Within mainstream Hindu discourse, not only are Adivasis understood to be less developed in a material sense – they are also, as mentioned earlier, socially marginalized. Adivasis occupy a position outside the Hindu caste system and have a ritual and social life that runs counter to both the tenets of Hinduism and the social mores of mainstream Indian society.

Many of these non-Adivasi activists came from backgrounds that required them to police the sexual morality of their sisters, and yet, they were paradoxically celebratory of the Dongaria Kondhs' practice of encouraging teenage girls to enjoy sexual experimentation in the village youth dormitories in which they lived. They spoke of the Dongaria Kondhs' diet with admiration – mentioning the profusion of dishes they would serve at their feasts, without expressing aversion for the fact that buffalo meat, generally considered impure by Hindus, invariably constituted one of them. These expressions do not evince traces of a Hindutva-informed ideology (indeed, these activists were oriented towards left-wing politics), despite what is known to be right-wing Hinduism's strong (and violent) presence in Odisha (Kanungo, 2008). I argue that these activists are not just differentially subaltern in terms of their material positionality and their use of a non-western, non-rational epistemology to inform their politics – their mythopoeic politics is itself differentially subaltern, as it runs counter to hegemonic Hindu discourse.

4.6. Conclusion

I would like to conclude with the assertion that the solidarity shown to the Dongaria Kondh Adivasis, by the local non-Adivasi activists who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement, indicates a mode of relating to the other, which Spivak has ignored, despite its instantiation in the empirical realities of South Asia. Spivak's scholarly method is of course a deconstructive one (Spivak, 1988). However, she has prescribed modes of existing in an ethical relationship with the other without exploring a concrete and extant example of what this could be, outside of her own work with rural schools (Spivak, 2010).

Spivak's insistence on learning to learn from below (Spivak, 2004), demands an exploration of an extant example of what could indeed be subaltern activism. The non-Adivasi activists I call differentially subaltern are silenced by the dominant development discourse which is argued to be deaf to environmental justice struggles (Egan, 2002) in both the Global South as well as the Global North (Egan, 2002; Schroeder et al., 2008). To combat their own subalternity, they choose to use a subaltern mythopoeic politics which allows for the imagining of a relationship with the other. The Dongaria Kondhs as other, are imagined as being indeed vulnerable and in need of protection as is their general construction within the discourse of human rights. But I argue that it also allows the Dongaria Kondhs to be imagined as 'forest kings' – as the ecologically wise custodians of nature. This latter understanding of the Dongaria Kondhs reflects the ecological stewardship discourse that runs through the international indigenous peoples' movement. The politics of the international indigenous peoples' movement is argued to be less a politics of rights, than a "politics of morality" against a civilizational design based on modern rationality (Muehlebach, 2001: 424).

In summation, I argue that the activism of the local non-Adivasi activists who participated in the Niyamgiri Movement is based on a relational material positionality and a relational epistemological framework vis-a-vis the communities they represent. It does not demand "resemblance as the basis of recognition" (Birla 93: 2010) and neither can it be argued that the activists' recognition of the Dongaria Kondhs' right to protect Niyamgiri from mining is an expression of cultural relativism. Rather, I would argue that these activists seem to be responding to a mythic familial claim – a claim that can be seen as a call for protection from an 'elder brother' who is both a little more vulnerable and possibly wiser.

5. Who were the International Supporters of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India, and How and Why did they Express this Support?

Abstract | This paper discusses the role of the international support for a social movement in India known as the Niyamgiri Movement, with the help of the theory of normative cosmopolitanism. The Niyamgiri Movement was aimed at preventing the mining of a mountain which an indigenous community believed was sacred. The paper advances theoretical insights into normative cosmopolitanism and related theories, and it also contributes to previous research on the Niyamgiri Movement in India which has not examined the role of its international supporters in sufficient detail. The paper has an innovative structure which allows for a nuanced and critical understanding of normative cosmopolitanism. It uses postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak's criticism of cosmopolitan activism to qualify the analysis of the international support for the Niyamgiri Movement in terms of normative cosmopolitanism. Additionally, with the help of a comparative analysis, the paper discusses whether the concept of soft power would be more appropriately applied to the role of the governmental actors which supported the Niyamgiri Movement as against the concept of political cosmopolitanism which comes under the umbrella of the theory of normative cosmopolitanism.

5.1. Introduction

Conflicts between indigenous peoples and mining companies have been documented in each inhabited continent (Broderstad, 2014; Rasch, 2013; Dougherty, 2011; Keeling and Sandlos, 2009; Yagenova and Garcia, 2009; Hilson and Yakovleva, 2007; Downing, Moles, McIntosh and Garcia-Downing, 2002; Banerjee, 2000). This paper studies the international institutional support for indigenous peoples vis-à-vis their conflicts with mining companies, with a focus on an Indian case and with a critical use of relevant theories. The increase in support for indigenous peoples internationally has been extensively discussed (see Merlan 2009; Dove 2006; Kuper 2003; Muehlebach, 2001). An important component of this is the increasing visibility of indigenous peoples as disadvantaged minorities in internationally formulated problem frameworks (Merlan, 2009). Equally important is the acknowledgement of the "politics of morality" that indigenous peoples are seen to deploy against the ecological failures of modernity (Muehlebach, 2001: 424). These two discourses, of the vulnerability and ecological morality of indigenous peoples, reinforce each other in indigenous movements against mining, and are reflected in the international support these movements receive (Faber, 2005). Support of this kind may be categorized as a specific example of cosmopolitan activism and this paper will study its implications in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement in India.

The Niyamgiri Movement was a social movement to prevent bauxite extraction by the UK-based Vedanta Resources on the Niyamgiri Mountain in east-central India, on the grounds that the mountain was sacred to the indigenous[29] community known as the Dongaria Kondhs which lived on it (Kraemer, Whiteman and Banerjee, 2013; Temper and Martinez-Alier, 2013; Kumar, 2014). The movement saw the involvement of several trans-national advocacy organizations, which protested against Vedanta Resources by appealing to international soft law regimes. These organizations also convinced several European institutional investors to disinvest in the mining company. Following these protests, the Indian government banned the mining project on Niyamgiri with an acknowledgement of the mounting international attention that the Niyamgiri Movement was receiving (MoEF, 2010).

Studies of the internationalization of social movements have presented conceptual arguments as to why social movements internationalize (Keck and Sikkink, 1999) and how they jump scales and levels in the process of doing so (Arts, 2004). How social movements are presented or framed in a way that shows them to have an international scope is also a subject that has been explored (Kurtz, 2003). However, a critical and theoretically informed examination of the effectiveness of the internationally contextualized institutional actors and resources that play a supportive role in a social movement after it internationalizes is lacking, and this paper is aimed at filling this research gap. The international solidarity with the Niyamgiri Movement and the Indian government's response to it is an important research topic and one that other studies of the Niyamgiri Movement have not focussed on (Kraemer, Whiteman and Banerjee, 2013; Temper and Martinez-Alier, 2013; Kumar, 2014). Consequently, this paper also fills a research gap in empirical studies of the Niyamgiri Movement in India.

I have chosen normative cosmopolitanism as the primary interpretative framework with which to illuminate and discuss the effectiveness of the cosmopolitan activism in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, along with the Indian government's response to it. I employ theorizing related to the concept of soft power to present a second discussion focussing on an alternate understanding of the role of the governmental actors who were prominent in the Niyamgiri Movement. Cosmopolitan activism, i.e. the act of 'speaking for' a disadvantaged non-compatriot, has been criticized by postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak (Spivak, 2004; 1988) who argues that the consequences of such cosmopolitan activism "cannot bring about either lasting or real epistemic change, although, accompanied by public interest litigation, they may be effective short-term weapons" (Spivak, 2004: 540). She also argues that cosmopolitan activism invariably includes an unacknowledged attempt to derive some "domestic benefit" (Spivak, 1988: 293). This paper uses Spivak's critique of cosmopolitan activism to delineate a framework that would facilitate a critical examination of the implications of the international support for the Niyamgiri Movement. Spivak's theoretical engagement with cosmopolitan activism has been discussed as being both enabling and cautioning (Cornell, 2010; Kapoor; 2004). This paper will attempt to demonstrate the effectiveness of cosmopolitan activism and will use Spivak's caveats pertaining to it to caution against an uncritical celebration of the same.

[29] Indigeneity is a contested identity in India (Karlsson, 2003), though one claimed by almost 10% of the Indian population (Rycroft, 2014).

The use of a single case study to make a conceptual contribution by way of illustration, has been discussed as a valuable example of single case research (Siggelkow, 2007). This paper uses the case of the Niyamgiri Movement as an illustration of the effectiveness of cosmopolitan activism, albeit in the short-term and with a possible motivation from self-interest. It also illustrates how demonstrations of political cosmopolitanism may be alternatively interpreted as the attempt to garner soft power. Since the primary aim of this paper is to engage in a critical examination of cosmopolitan activism in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, it will present a two-toned analysis of the international support for the movement. Firstly, it will apply the theory of normative cosmopolitanism to the cosmopolitan activism that was visible in the Niyamgiri Movement and will demonstrate its effectiveness. It will then use Spivak's assertion that cosmopolitan activism can only yield short-term benefits as a starting point from which to interrogate whether this is in fact the case in relation to the Niyamgiri Movement. Spivak's emphasis on investigating possible attempts to derive an unacknowledged 'domestic benefit' while representing others, inspires another line of critique. Much of this second line of critique is accomplished with an application of the theory of 'soft power' which is appropriate to the investigation Spivak recommends. With the help of the theory of soft power, I will examine whether the expressions of political cosmopolitanism in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement were more self-interested than solidarian. It is important to mention that this paper also contributes to advancing theoretical understandings of normative cosmopolitanism, which has received less scholarly attention in recent times as compared to other strands of cosmopolitan theory, such as for example Ulrich Beck's theorization of cosmopolitanization, which he describes as the "everyday existence of cosmopolitan interdependence" (Beck, 2004: 138).

5.2. Theory

Normative Cosmopolitanism

Vedanta Resources, though a London based multinational mining company, was founded and is chaired by an Indian national, who registered the company in the UK after achieving significant entrepreneurial successes in India. One of the important criticisms directed against the company was the accusation of the management's disregard for fellow compatriots – an activist-researcher participating in the Niyamgiri Movement accuses Vedanta Resources' Non-Resident Indian chairman to have "cynically denuded" the land of his birth (Moody, 2007: 95). My choice of normative cosmopolitanism as this paper's primary theoretical lens, gains relevance when viewed against the background of what can be argued to be the adoption of a diametrically opposed stance by the management of Vedanta Resources. Further support for my emphasis on normative cosmopolitanism can be found in the argument made by cosmopolitan theorists that contemporary international civil society can be seen as a revival of older forms of normative cosmopolitanism (Cheah, 2006). In order to elucidate the concept of normative cosmopolitanism more clearly, I will first review the concept of normative cosmopolitanism in its historical context as well as some of the forms into which it has been differentiated i.e. as categorized into moral, legal and political cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism is argued to have been first propounded by the ancient Greek Cynic philosopher, Diogenes of Sinope, as a stance of critical distance from all social conventions and as proffering an individualistic, negative conception of world citizenship (Kleingeld, 2012; Ferrara, 2007). A more positive conception of cosmopolitan world citizenship was developed by the Greek Stoics, who affirmed the membership of all humans in a common moral community (Kleingeld, 2012). This affirmation contained a thesis about identity and a thesis about responsibility, i.e. it indicated that a cosmopolitan individual is one who is influenced by various different cultures, and it also indicated that cosmopolitanism guides the individual outward, from a parochial morality, to an embrace of obligations towards non-compatriots (Brock and Brighouse, 2005). The Stoic conceptualization of the stance of moral responsibility inherent to cosmopolitanism i.e. normative cosmopolitanism, left its legacy in Christian (Ferrara, 2007; Von Heyking, 2007) and secular, pre-Renaissance and Renaissance humanist understandings of a shared humanity transcending national boundaries (Kleingeld, 2012; Ferrara, 2007). Normative cosmopolitanism was inherited by Enlightenment thinkers, finding its expression in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man, and receiving further development at the hands of Immanuel Kant (see Ferrara, 2007).

Kant's position on the importance of cultural diversity and the protection of minority groups in the context of his theorizations on normative cosmopolitanism is important for this paper. Though he espouses ideas of racial hierarchy in his early work till the early 1790s, his subsequent scholarly output indicates a major change in perspective. He goes on to support the protection of a minority language in Prussia and stresses the intrinsic importance of freedom, including the freedom to choose to pursue one's own projects in different ways, as long as these are compatible with the principles of morality and right (Kleingeld, 2012). Furthermore, and with particular relevance to this paper, Kant defends cultural diversity by allowing for "a diversity of ways of life (hunting, pastoral, agricultural), calling it a matter at the discretion of those involved to choose the way they want to live" (Kleingeld, 2012: 122).

In contemporary times, normative cosmopolitanism, has been conceptually and usefully (for the purposes of this paper) differentiated along the lines of moral cosmopolitanism, legal cosmopolitanism and political cosmopolitanism (Beardsworth, 2008), among other trajectories of differentiation (Kleingeld, 2012). Moral cosmopolitanism emphasizes moral action in the name of humanity. When this takes a turn towards legal institutionalization, it constitutes itself as legal cosmopolitanism (Beardsworth, 2008). Political cosmopolitanism emphasizes the necessity of regulating interstate relations through norms rather than force (Ferrara, 2007) – this emphasis can however be derived from a realist perspective, which focuses on a power politics of reciprocal limits. According to this perspective, the "cosmopolitan subordination of politics to morality represents just another disguised form of power politics" (Beardsworth, 2008: 73). In other words, adherence to global norms may serve a nation's self-interest.

This differentiation of normative cosmopolitan theory along the lines of moral cosmopolitanism, legal cosmopolitanism and political cosmopolitanism will be employed to undertake a cosmopolitanist reading of the Niyamgiri Movement. The movement spanned more than a decade, and included many groups of domestic actors, as well as non-domestic supporters and participants. The

paper will focus on three selected aspects of the Niyamgiri Movement, in relation to its interpretation of the movement in respective moral, legal and politically cosmopolitanist terms. The first of these aspects is the role of European institutional disinvestment in Vedanta Resources and the second are the soft laws that were taken recourse to, with the intention of indicting Vedanta Resources for the negative impact its mining project would have on the Dongaria Kondhs, and its failure to take this into account/consult with the community on this. The third aspect of the Niyamgiri Movement which this paper will focus on is the Indian state's response to external pressures to support the protestors and take a stance against the mining company.

Soft Power

My use of the theory of soft power as applied to the cosmopolitan actions of the governmental actors who played a role in the Niyamgiri Movement further develops existing scholarly insights pertaining to the identity politics which undergirds the role of states that choose to act like global good Samaritans (see Brysk, 2009). Soft power is a concept developed by Joseph Nye in 1990 in reference to a nation's co-optive power (Nye, 1990) and is discussed by international relations' theorists as a way for nation-states to exert a normative influence on other nation-states without threat or force. Soft power is defined against hard power, the latter being understood to be derived from military strength and economic accumulation. The source of soft power is argued to lie in "a positive image in world affairs that endears nations to other nations in the world polity. This positive image derives from a number of sources: the domestic and foreign policies that nations follow, the actions they undertake, and/or national qualities that are independent of specific policies or actions (e.g., such as culture)" (Gallarotti, 2011: 28).

Furthermore, soft power is argued to be "rooted in an actor's ideological and cultural appeal to others" (Mattern, 2005: 587), as well as being theorized to result from a demonstration of "a pronounced respect for international law, norms and institutions" (Gallarotti, 2011: 32). The theorization of soft power as derivative of adherence to global norms indicates that it is similar to political cosmopolitanism. Given that both soft power and political cosmopolitanism can be understood as power politics and that both are related to compliance with global norms, it becomes important that the two are not confused with each other. With the help of two readings of the role of the governmental actors in the Niyamgiri Movement in terms of both concepts, I distinguish each of these concepts from the other. The use of two theoretical frames to interpret the same set of actions, allows for a nuanced and layered analysis of the issue under study, and it also clarifies the scope of each frame.

5.3. Methodology

This paper is based on empirical material consisting of qualitative fieldwork data, as well as official reports and governmental communications. Fieldwork for the paper was conducted in May 2011, August 2011, December 2012 and February-March 2013. 19 interviews were conducted with activists, of which most were oral history interviews (Thomson, 1998). The others were semi-structured interviews. I selected the interviewees with the help of the method of snowball sampling (Atkinson and Flint, 2001) and each of the interviewees constituted part of the leadership of the

Niyamgiri Movement. Many of the interviews were conducted in Bhawanipatna which is the district capital of Kalahandi where the Niyamgiri Mountain is located. A few of the interviews were also conducted in Delhi where some of the activists who were prominent in the Niyamgiri Movement were based. In addition to this, participant observation-based fieldwork was also conducted in Dongaria villages and at protest rallies, as were several conversations with individuals connected with the Niyamgiri Movement, or otherwise knowledgeable about it. I conducted my fieldwork and interviews in Hindi, English or Odiya, depending upon the preference of my interviewees and the appropriateness of the language to the fieldwork situation. Official reports and bureaucratic documents relevant to the aims of the paper were gathered from institutional websites. Some of these were also procured, upon request, as scanned copies of official documents collected by activists. Media reportage on the Niyamgiri Movement was also collated and has been used in this paper to elucidate the major developments associated with the Niyamgiri Movement.

5.4. Background to the International Support for the Niyamgiri Movement

The Niyamgiri Movement projected itself as an indigenous peoples' movement, although this was only one of its aspects, albeit a major one. Vedanta Resources first started operating in the region in which the Niyamgiri Mountain is located in 1997. It was at that time that it signed a MoU with the state government of Odisha for the construction of an Aluminium refinery at the foot of the Niyamgiri Mountain. This provoked protests from many residents of the area. Their arguments against the mining company varied from dissatisfaction with the industrial mechanisms Vedanta Resources had installed to manage and contain the polluting effluents discharged by the Aluminium refining process, to expressions of discomfort regarding the close relationship between the company and local criminal elements. In 2004, the Dongaria Kondhs who lived on the Niyamgiri Mountain and worshipped it, entered the movement against Vedanta Resources, when its plans for mining the top of the Niyamgiri Mountain for bauxite became public. Though the Niyamgiri Movement was initially as much about environmental justice issues (Schroeder et al., 2008) as it was about cultural rights, it later became focused on the threat that Vedanta Resources' mining project posed to the Dongarias' sacred land. This strategy was instrumental in garnering support for the Niyamgiri Movement internationally. Subsequent to the amassing of support for the Niyamgiri Movement, the Indian Supreme Court passed a verdict in 2013 adjudicating that the fate of the mining project on the Niyamgiri Mountain would be decided by the Dongaria Kondhs. Followed by the Dongarias' decided opposition to the mining of Niyamgiri, the mining project was banned by the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest in 2014.

In the sections below, I will relate the differentiation of normative cosmopolitanism into moral, legal and political cosmopolitanism to the general theme that is this paper's focus i.e. support for indigenous peoples internationally, and I will simultaneously present three narratives describing how each of these three variants of normative cosmopolitanism can be seen in the Niyamgiri Movement.

5.5. Moral, Legal and Political Cosmopolitanism in the Niyamgiri Movement

Moral Cosmopolitanism

Moral cosmopolitanism as an explanatory framework is appositely applied to the international support for indigenous peoples. As an internationalist category, indigenous peoples are defined in terms of "peoples who have great moral claims on nation-states and on international society, often because of inhumane, unequal and exclusionary treatment" (Merlan, 2009: 304). In contemporary times, it can be seen that these moral claims are not ignored, and it is this paper's contention that support for indigenous peoples has assumed the character of an international norm. The International Labour Organization defines indigenous peoples in its Convention No. 169 as follows:

> Tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural, and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations; (b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. (International Labour Organization, 1989: Article 1.1)

The International Labour Organization was the first international organization to turn its attention to indigenous peoples, adopting, in 1957, its Convention No. 107 – the first international legally binding instrument to focus on the rights of indigenous peoples; this was superseded in 1989, by the ILO's Convention No. 169 (Yupsanis, 2010). Following the pioneering role of the International Labour Organization, in 2007, after over two decades of preparatory work, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (Engle, 2011).

In the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, financial disinvestment in Vedanta Resources by large shareholders can be seen as expressions of moral cosmopolitanism and several of these acts of disinvestment were accompanied by assertions of support for indigenous peoples and their rights. The role of active large shareholders such as institutional investors, in improving the performance of firms, has been discussed in corporate governance literature (Welker and Wood, 2011; Admati and Pfleiderer, 2009; Guay, Doh and Sinclair, 2004). The disciplining role of these shareholders has been described as ranging from their ability to engage in private negotiations with firms with the view to influence their performance, and to engage in threats or actual acts of disinvestment/exit (Admati and Pfleiderer, 2009). An expressly moral trend, within corporate governance of this kind, is the Socially Responsible Investment (SRI) movement, which emerged in its contemporary form, in the 1960s and 1970s from the anti-apartheid and US civil rights movements (Welker and Wood, 2011). The Socially Responsible Investment movement is understood to express the following normative view:

> ...the financial portfolio should be seen as a reflection of the moral position of the individual or institutional shareowner. In considering this extension of self into the world, the investor not only looks through her or his own lens but also considers the regard of others. (Welker and Wood, 2011: S60)

In the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, corporate governance through socially responsible (dis)investment, can be seen in the role played by European institutional investors which disinvested in Vedanta Resources for what this paper argues are morally cosmopolitan reasons. Several financial institutions ranging from European public concerns such as the Norwegian Government Pension Fund, to private institutions such as the Dutch pension fund PGGM Investments, exited the firm after attempting to establish a dialogue with it vis-à-vis ethical concerns over its Niyamgiri mining project. The Church of England was another big institutional disinvestor – wielding both financial and moral clout. It is argued, that cumulatively, approximately €40 million was disinvested in protest by Vedanta Resources' shareholders[30]. The Norwegian Government Pension Fund withdrew an investment worth €8 million[31], the Church of England disinvested €5 million[32] and PGGM Investments withdrew holdings worth €13 million from Vedanta Resources and its subsidiaries[33].

The moral cosmopolitanism inherent in these acts of disinvestment is evident in the official statements made by the disinvestors. Furthermore, these statements indicate that the aspect of moral cosmopolitanism attuned to promoting cultural diversity a la Kant, was an influence in promoting these disinvestment decisions.

> Vedanta plans to extract resources from a mountain that is sacred to the local Dongria Kondh tribe. It has already built a refinery at the foot of the mountain. It says that the refinery and the mine will bring economic development to this impoverished area, but that fails to acknowledge the serious consequences of this activity for the environment and living conditions of the local population. (PGGM Responsible Investment Annual Report, 2010: 66)[34]

> …we are not satisfied that Vedanta has shown, or is likely in future to show, the level of respect for human rights and local communities that we expect of companies in whom the Church investing bodies hold shares. ("Church of England", 2010)[35]

> The Council regards the breaches of norms that have been revealed as serious human rights violations. The seriousness of the violations is aggravated by the fact that they have been perpetrated against vulnerable groups, tribal peoples in particular, whose identity, culture and livelihood are linked to their traditional land. The forced displacement may thus not only harm individuals, but cause whole cultures and communities to disintegrate. (Council on Ethics. Norwegian Government Pension Fund, Recommendations, 2007: 37)[36]

The role of these institutional disinvestors in registering their protest against Vedanta Resources, by exiting the firm, was praised by domestic activists involved with the Niyamgiri Movement. Not

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[30] Survival International. (2009, March 31) The Real Avatar: Mine - Story of a Sacred Mountain. [Video File] Accessed on 24th September, 2016 from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R4tuTFZ3wXQ
[31] Metals and mining company excluded from the investment universe of the Norwegian Government Pension Fund – Global. (2007, June 11). Accessed on 12th September, 2016 from https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/Metals-and-mining-company-excluded-from-/id488626/
[32] Church of England disinvests from Vedanta Resources plc. (2010, February 5). Accessed on 11th September, 2016 from: https://www.churchofengland.org/media-centre/news/2010/02/pr2010.aspx
[33] PGGM (2012, March 19). Accessed on 10th September, 2016 from: http://moneytometal.org/index.php/PGGM
[34] PGGM. (2010) *Responsible Investment Annual Report 2010.* Accessed on 10th September, 2016 from: https://www.pggm.nl/english/what-we-do/Documents/Responsible-Investment-Annual-Report_2010.pdf
[35] Church of England disinvests from Vedanta Resources plc. (2010, February 5). Accessed on 11th September, 2016 from: https://www.churchofengland.org/media-centre/news/2010/02/pr2010.aspx
[36] Council on Ethics: The Government Pension Fund – Global. (2007) *Recommendation of 15 May 2007.* Accessed on 12th September, 2016 from: https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/fin/statens-pensjonsfond/recommendation_vedanta.pdf

only had these institutions disinvested in Vedanta Resources, they had also attempted to influence the company's behaviour, by entering into a dialogue with it. PGGM Investments stated in its Responsible Investment Annual Report 2010, that it had conducted an increasingly intense dialogue with Vedanta Resources for two years, on the subject of the social and environmental impacts of its mining project in Niyamgiri, before deciding to disinvest in it (PGGM Responsible Investment Annual Report, 2010: 66). It had apparently attempted to organize a solution-oriented roundtable meeting with the company, along with other investors – however, Vedanta Resources had refused the invitation to attend[37].

The role of Norwegian institutions earned special mentions in the interviews conducted with domestic activists. Disinvestment in Vedanta Resources was seen as the continuation of a morally cosmopolitan trend that was earlier exemplified by the exit of a Norwegian firm, Norsk Hydro, from a consortium (Utkal Alumina) which intended to build an Aluminium refinery at another site (Kashipur) in the state of Odisha. The project was met with fierce resistance by local people (many of them indigenous) who were threatened with displacement. However, it is argued that the fiercest resistance came from the Stromme Foundation, a Norwegian Christian aid agency[38]. This institution, as well as Norwatch, a Norwegian watchdog which had also engaged in pressure tactics to break up the consortium, has earned a reputation for Norway, as expressed by domestic activists, as being very conscious of human rights violations worldwide i.e. as playing the role of an exemplary moral cosmopolitan: "...the Norway government's role...they do like this. They are more civilized. More democratic. They respond to people....other people's concerns also" (Local Activist, August 2011).

In the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, trans-national advocacy organizations had played a major role in informing institutional investors, of Vedanta Resources' excesses in and around Niyamgiri, in line with the general understanding of NGOs as performing supportive functions of this kind in the Socially Responsible Investment movement (Guay, Doh and Sinclair, 2004). Survival International, Amnesty International and ActionAid were the major trans-national advocacy organizations that were involved in such a role. They also staged protests outside the venue of Vedanta Resources' Annual General Meetings, at which its shareholders would meet – engaging with and supporting the shareholder activism of institutional investors in this way as well. Mines and Communities, a clearinghouse NGO (Guay, Doh and Sinclair, 2004) and the London Mining Network, an alliance of human rights, development, environmental and solidarity groups[39], were two other major trans-national organizations which expedited the activism against Vedanta Resources.

Legal Cosmopolitanism

Much of the legal cosmopolitanism expressive of support for indigenous peoples' rights-claims can be found to be constituted in the institutional framework of soft laws. Soft laws are described

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[37] EIRIS Vedanta Report. (2010). *Improving Vedanta Resources' governance of responsible business practices*. Accessed on 14th September, 2016 from: http://www.eiris.org/files/research%20publications/EIRISVedantaReport2010.pdf

[38] Mohanty, M. (2013, August 8). Vedanta rejection at Niyamgiri won't be the last; jinx of bauxite mining may continue. *The Economic Times*. Accessed on 14th September, 2016 from: http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-08-08/news/41202053_1_bauxite-mining-niyamgiri-roongta

[39] The London Mining Network. Accessed on 14th September, 2016 from: http://londonminingnetwork.org/about

as non-binding international norms (Guzman and Meyer, 2010) or a form of non-treaty agreement i.e. a commitment that states enter into "without concluding a formal treaty under international law" (Hillgenberg, 1999: 500). Soft laws are argued to be quasi-legal and are commonly defined to "include hortatory, rather than legally binding, obligations" (Guzman and Myer, 2010: 172). The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is such a soft law instrument. However, the ILO's Convention No. 169, being legally binding for ratifying states, cannot be categorized as such. Soft laws are the legal expression of moral cosmopolitanism and are pertinent to the discussion presented in this paper, as they constituted some of the important legal instruments deployed by the cosmopolitan actors in the Niyamgiri Movement against Vedanta Resources.

The trans-national advocacy organizations participating in the Niyamgiri Movement "externalized" (Tarrow, 2010: 176-177) the movement against Vedanta Resources by attempting to take recourse to an international soft law – the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises. The OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises are a set of non-binding recommendations that companies operating from OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries are exhorted to follow. Social movements' scholar Sidney Tarrow describes externalization as a process by which a domestic social movement is made to take recourse to international sites and mechanisms of legal redress (Tarrow, 2010: 176-177). Legal activists in India also attempted to indict Vedanta Resources for its violation of the Akwé: Kon Guidelines. These are voluntary guidelines developed by the Convention on Biological Diversity (to which India is a party)[40], for the conduct of environmental and social impact assessments regarding projects that may affect sacred natural sites or land used by indigenous communities. These guidelines, though voluntary, exert moral imperatives for countries that are parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity which had developed the guidelines. In a corporate governance context, soft laws are understood to be "socially focussed voluntary global business regulations, also referred to as civil regulations" (Vogel, 2007: 262). Soft laws are described as non-legalized standards, in which accountability operates through reputation and peer pressure (Vogel, 2007). This is the regulatory mechanism that is the assumption behind the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises. The OECD defines its Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises in the following manner and explicitly expresses its legally cosmopolitan character:

> The OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises are recommendations addressed by governments to multinational enterprises operating in or from adhering countries. They provide non-binding principles and standards for responsible business conduct in a global context consistent with applicable laws and internationally recognized standards. The Guidelines are the only multilaterally agreed and comprehensive code of responsible business conduct that governments have committed to promoting.
>
> The Guidelines' recommendations express the shared values of the governments of countries from which a large share of international direct investment originates and which are home to many of the largest multinational enterprises. The Guidelines aim to promote positive contributions by enterprises to economic, environmental and social progress worldwide. (OECD, 2011: 3)

The implementation of these OECD guidelines is designed to occur through National Contact Points (NCPs), the establishment of which is the responsibility of adhering countries. The National

[40] The Convention on Biological Diversity. Accessed on 14th September, 2016 from: https://www.cbd.int/

Contact Points are charged with assisting enterprises with implementing the guidelines and with acting in a mediatory and conciliatory capacity (OECD, 2011). Survival International registered a complaint with the UK National Contact Point for the OECD Guidelines in 2008, alleging that Vedanta Resources, a UK-based mining company had not complied with Chapter II and V of the Guidelines, relating to Human Rights and Environment respectively. The gist of these allegations of non-compliances, were related to the company's failure to engage the Dongaria Kondhs through an adequate consultatory mechanism and build trust with them (OECD, 2010).

Though the Guidelines are not legally binding, OECD governments such as the UK are committed to encouraging multinational companies operating from their territories, such as Vedanta Resources, to adhere by them. The UK National Contact Point for the Guidelines upheld Survival International's allegations and attempted to mediate with Vedanta Resources, with the intention of influencing the conduct of its operations in Odisha. However, Vedanta Resources did not fully engage with this process. Nevertheless, the UK National Contact Point for the Guidelines did issue several recommendations to the company, and furthermore, it went on to conclude in an official report, that Vedanta Resources' actions were not consistent with international instruments to which India is a party, such as the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on Biological Diversity and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (OECD, 2010).

The second soft law that was mobilized against Vedanta Resources was the Akwé: Kon Guidelines. As previously mentioned, India is a party to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) which developed these Guidelines. The guidelines are officially defined in the following manner:

> Voluntary guidelines for the conduct of cultural, environmental and social impact assessments regarding developments proposed to take place on, or which are likely to impact on, sacred sites and on lands and waters traditionally occupied or used by indigenous and local communities. (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2004)

Though the guidelines are voluntary, they are related to the programme of work on Article 8(j) of the Convention on Biological Diversity, which is a multilateral treaty. Article 8(j) of the CBD, expresses a legal cosmopolitanism, and is related to the preservation of traditional/indigenous knowledge and the equitable sharing of benefits arising from a utilization of the same (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2004).

The Akwé: Kon Guidelines were instrumentalized against Vedanta Resources by the Supreme Court Lawyer who represented the Dongaria Kondhs in the Indian Supreme Court, in which their case was ultimately heard. He indicted several authorities, ranging from the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest to the social and environmental impact assessment consultants of whom adherence to the guidelines was required, with a violation of the same. Tata AIG and Vimta Labs were the impact assessment consultants hired by Vedanta Resources to carry out social and environmental impact assessments (EIAs) in which due diligence with regard to the Akwé: Kon Guidelines was not observed i.e. an assessment, as per the stipulations of the guidelines, of the impact of Vedanta Resources' mining project on indigenous communities and sites of cultural/religious value, was not taken into account. Furthermore, as per his allegations, this misstep on the part of

the impact assessment consultants was also overlooked by the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest:

> The whole EIA report does not mention the Dongaria Kondhs at all... which Tata AIG prepared and later on Vimta Labs prepared, does not mention the Dongaria Kondhs. If they don't mention the Dongaria Kondhs, there is no question of mentioning Niyamgiri hills as a sacred area. Because see... we are party to one declaration called Akwé: Kon Guidelines for carrying out impact assessments. Now under the same system when an EIA has to be done, one of the very important parameters you need to consider is whether the area is important from cultural and other issues, religious value is there... when a forest land is to be diverted, you need to also fill up a form – that is, is this area regarded as sacred or of religious value for the locals. In both the places they have used the word 'NIL'... that's a violation. (Supreme Court Lawyer, March 2013)

Political Cosmopolitanism

Political cosmopolitanism has been described as compatible with a realist outlook on international relations and as a necessary response towards globalization i.e. it is a political perspective that nation-states in the contemporary globalized world may feel required to adopt in order to further their own self-interest (Beardsworth, 2008):

> ...with increasing interdependence between political communities, power between such bodies tends to become increasingly sophisticated and ideational. In an increasingly integrated system, that is, wielders of power must be seen to be legitimate not only in the eyes of their domestic audience, but *also* in the eyes of others (polities, peoples, individuals). Without such an extension of their legitimacy, they lose their power; or rather, political power is returned to violence and domination, which, in an interdependent world, can only last briefly. (Beardsworth, 2008: 84)

Political cosmopolitanism, particularly as an international relations theory, possesses significant value as a conceptual tool, for an examination of the international support for indigenous peoples, as well as the Indian state's response to diplomatic pressure from cosmopolitan authorities in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement. It is in fact argued that politically cosmopolitan tendencies were responsible for the birth of the international indigenous peoples' movement:

> Many elements of indigenous internationalism were launched as interstate regulatory and reform efforts. The aftermath of World War I is recognized as an important period in the development of internationalism and a context in which some of today's 'indigenous peoples' became visible as disadvantaged minorities in various problem frameworks. (Merlan, 2009: 307)

Since indigenous peoples are understood to constitute an internationalist category, states in which indigenous peoples have a demographic presence would find it difficult to ignore the global norms that pertain to indigenous peoples i.e. in relation to questions of indigenous rights, states are called upon to act in a politically cosmopolitan manner – this paper will explore such a dynamic in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement.

Two highly positioned individuals from within the Indian National Congress party, which was the majority party in the ruling coalition at the central level in India at the time when the Niyamgiri Movement was at its height, emerged as the faces of its support. The first was Rahul Gandhi, the

then General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee, who visited Niyamgiri on two occasions – on one of which he told the Dongaria Kondhs that he was their "soldier in Delhi"[41]. The second was Jairam Ramesh, who was the Congress Minister of Environment and Forest for some of the duration of the movement, and who in 2010 issued a notice to Vedanta Resources, denying the continuation of its mining project on Niyamgiri, on the grounds of its having committed legal violations[42].

In relation to the Congress party's actions, the Indian activists and lawyers who prepared the legal case against Vedanta Resources which was then contested in the Indian Supreme Court, mentioned in interviews that international pressure had a large influence on the Niyamgiri movement as the Congress party was conscious of its image abroad. When queried as to what had influenced the Congress party to start supporting the Niyamgiri Movement, activists mentioned that the international attention received by the movement, was key in this regard. The role of the Niyamgiri Movement's international constituency of support was in fact also acknowledged by the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest in an official document (MoEF, 2010). On the basis of reports by activists, it can be argued that the Congress party was motivated by the goal of winning the reputation for being a politically cosmopolitan actor.

> Media is influencing. The *international* Media. Not domestic one. What was the turning point…say… when Time Magazine did a story on the Dongaria Kondhs being the modern day Avatar. Then immediately these fellows wanted to be the saviour of them. So I think that had all the impact on it. Yeah… Bianca Jagger coming in. All that thing had an impact on it. Otherwise many other things you need to oppose. (Supreme Court Lawyer, March 2013)

The same Supreme Court lawyer later mentioned that while the Congress party was initially in full support of Vedanta Resources' mining project, to the extent that an environmental Ministry constituted during its term in office was willing to overlook important omissions in pertinent EIA reports (as previously mentioned), the political party's attitude changed dramatically after witnessing the international scope of the support for the Niyamgiri Movement.

5.6. Short-Term Effectiveness of the Cosmopolitan Activism

I will now use Gayatri Spivak's criticism of cosmopolitan activism's inability to deliver long-term gains (as mentioned earlier), to interrogate whether this was in fact true in relation to the international support for the Niyamgiri Movement. I will start by pointing out the limitations in the impact of the moral, legal and political cosmopolitanism as described and analysed in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement – from the perspective of domestically situated activists.

Though local activists had expressed praise for the role of external institutions in supporting the Niyamgiri Movement, they articulated that the involvement of external actors did also make them feel as if their movement was being appropriated from them: "The people came from the big international organizations, asked us lots of questions, took everything and then went and said

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[41] Sahu, P. R. (2010, August 27). Rahul woos anti-mine Orissa tribals. *Hindustan Times*. Accessed on 14th September, 2016 from: http://www.hindustantimes.com/orissa/rahul-woos-anti-mine-orissa-tribals/article1-591927.aspx

[42] It is 'no' to Vedanta's mine project in Orissa. (2010, August 25). *The Hindu*. Accessed on 14th September, 2016 from: http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/it-is-no-to-vedantas-mine-project-in-orissa/article591546.ece

something about us in foreign places to others – but we don't know what they said" (Local activist, August 2011).

Withholding important information from grassroots-level activists or acting in a manner that has the effect of appropriating a movement from them, can be legitimately argued to have the effect of disempowering local resistance efforts. The disempowerment of activists on the ground by cosmopolitan activists is certainly damaging to the long-term prospects of a social movement, and this criticism, by local activists, of the manner in which cosmopolitan activists operated in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, corroborates Spivak's contention that cosmopolitan activism lacks the capacity to support long-term transformation (Spivak, 2004).

As regards the impact (both short and long-term) of legal cosmopolitanism, it can be seen from its instantiation in the Niyamgiri Movement as described earlier, that the violations of the OECD Guidelines by Vedanta Resources, could do no more than cause the company to suffer reputational losses. Furthermore, activists expressed that it was in fact quite difficult to win the support of institutions on the strength of moral imperatives to comply with soft laws and take a stance against Vedanta Resources. A Delhi-based activist had narrated the story of his organization's unsuccessful attempt to get the ABN-AMRO bank to withdraw financial support to Vedanta Resources, using the argument of the imperative for the bank to comply with the Equator Principles[43] (another example of a soft law instrument), which it had adopted.

And finally, vis-a-vis the political cosmopolitanism exhibited by the Indian State in its support for the Niyamgiri Movement, it can be argued that the government's support for the movement was in the main a short term international image-management strategy. It is of significance that at the same time that the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest ratified the Dongarias' decision to ban mining on Niyamgiri, it ignored a perhaps even more vociferous protest movement against a foreign mining company's attempt to acquire land a few 100 kms away in the same state. This was a movement of betel-nut cultivating villagers against the Korean steel mining company POSCO[44]. It too had generated media attention – but the villagers threatened with displacement were not indigenous and the movement had not achieved the level of international support which the Niyamgiri Movement had received (Park, 2011). The Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest renewed the Korean steel company's environmental clearance to mine its selected site, thereby giving out the message that banning mining on Niyamgiri would not set a precedent for environmental decision-making in the country. This lack of consistency in the Indian government's environmental decision-making, does invite a questioning of its ostensibly politically cosmopolitan attitude. Political cosmopolitanism as applicable to the Indian government in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, would require a demonstration, on the part of governmental actors and institutions, of a consistent willingness to abide by international norms. However, the Indian government's attitude in this regard, vis-a-vis the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, seems to indicate that the threat of losing moral legitimacy when under pressure from external institutions, creates a situation in which domestic governments may show symbolic support for movements,

[43] The Equator Principles. Accessed on 15th September, 2016 from: http://www.equator-principles.com/

[44] Posco cleared, Vedanta loses bid for Niyamgiri project. (2014, January 11). *The Hindu*. Accessed on 15th September from: http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/posco-cleared-vedanta-loses-bid-for-niyamgiri-project/article5561906.ece

rather than institute the structural changes they demand, and still hope to gain moral legitimacy in the international public sphere and the reputation for being politically cosmopolitan actors. It is also significant that immediately after the successful conclusion of the Niyamgiri Movement, the Indian government instituted a crackdown on NGOs in receipt of foreign funding, with the view to curtail what it has been understood to see as the externally supported fomenting of political protests in India[45]. Given these actions of the Indian government, it is apt to reflect upon the concept of 'the cunning state', which encompasses practices by (arguably) subaltern states in the international sphere, that evidence an ostensible adaption to international norms and pressures, as well as a simultaneous re-interpretation of these on the ground (Randeria, 2003; Randeria, 2007). Social scientist Shalini Randeria has developed and used the term 'the cunning state' in reference to the actions of the Indian government vis-a-vis other development-related struggles, and the role of the Indian government in the Niyamgiri Movement is perhaps further evidence of the aptness of this term.

Self-Interested Agendas?

Spivak also criticizes cosmopolitan activists for their motivation from self-interest and this is reflected in domestic activists' assertions that trans-national advocacy organizations were driven by professional orientations which led them to seek out potentially successful struggles in various locations around the world and support them. As per this line of argumentation, the solidarity of trans-national advocacy organizations with the Niyamgiri Movement can be interpreted as derivative of opportunistic, rather than cosmopolitan motivations.

Furthermore, an examination of the role of the Congress party in the Niyamgiri Movement reveals that its agenda for supporting the movement may have been its motivation by the logic of a diplomatic two-level game[46]. At the domestic level, the Congress party was the majority party in the ruling coalition (United Progressive Alliance) at the central level, which was distinct from the ruling party in the state of Odisha (Biju Janata Dal). The centre's support for the opposition to the Niyamgiri mining project has been interpreted by political analysts as an attempt to win voter sympathy in a state where the majority party was not an ally of the ruling coalition at the national level[47]. From the beginning, the Biju Janata Dal was supposed to have been a strong supporter of Vedanta Resources' presence in the state of Odisha for financial reasons, legitimate and otherwise. The centre's attempt to derail the project, in ostensible response to international pressure, would therefore also allow it to score a victory in domestic political dynamics.

Since the Niyamgiri Movement lay at the juncture of pressure from domestic protest and the threat of embarrassment in the international public sphere, it offered an opportunity for a national government to gain legitimacy both abroad and domestically, if it supported the movement. It can be argued that winning such a two-level game was the motivation behind the Congress party's support for the Niyamgiri Movement. To sum up, the Congress party may not have been motivated only

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[45] Lakshmi, R. (2013, June 11). India cracks down on foreign funding of NGOs. *The Guardian*. Accessed on 16th September, 2016 from: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/11/india-crackdown-foreign-funded-ngos

[46] Das, A. (n.d.). Soldier Rahul strikes at BJD heart, stirs debate. *Current News*. Accessed on 16th September, 2016 from: http://currentnews.in/soldier-rahul-strikes-at-bjd-heart-stirs-debate/

[47] Mohanty, S. (2010, August 22). BJD, Congress fight over Vedanta. *The Telegraph*. Accessed 16th September, 2016 from: http://www.telegraphindia.com/1100822/jsp/orissa/story_12838800.jsp

by realist impulses vis-a-vis international relations (as is the less celebratory understanding of political cosmopolitanism). It may also have been trying to secure a domestic vote bank.

5.7. Political Cosmopolitanism or Soft Power?

I now query whether cosmopolitanism, as applied to governmental actors, may be better understood as the attempt to garner soft power in the international public sphere, rather than as an extension of the principles of normative cosmopolitanism. I argue that political cosmopolitanism can be understood as a sub-set of soft power, inasmuch as both political cosmopolitanism and soft power are seen as being based on an adherence to international norms. I go on to argue that a state can be seen as making a demonstration of its soft power, rather than simply taking on the role of a politically cosmopolitan actor, when its participation in an international norm includes the aspect of promoting its own ideological-cultural values. A state's promotion of its own ideological-cultural values would include a normative agenda setting component i.e. in this scenario a state would emphasize or demonstrate both the moral imperative to take certain actions, as well as what the actions should be. Normative framing by states as well as their attempt to control agendas have been discussed as forms of soft power (Rothman, 2011). With this understanding of soft power in mind I now consider actions by governmental actors that can be interpreted as an expression of political cosmopolitanism and which are also open to a deeper level of analysis and interpretation using the frame of soft power. The actions I consider for this dual reading are expressions of compliance with global norms by governmental actors and in this are reflective of political cosmopolitanism. However, these actions are also championing the values that are part of the international appeal or soft power of the states which the governmental actors represent, and as such they can be seen as an attempt to contribute to setting an international normative agenda.

An examination of the role of the institutions belonging to the two governments, Indian and Norwegian, which were the most active participants in the Niyamgiri Movement, reveals that they represented themselves not only as politically cosmopolitan actors, but as strong supporters of democracy and indigenous peoples respectively. The Indian state has been described as using its democratic make-up, as a form of soft power:

> India's growing belief that the political values enshrined in its constitution can make it attractive to others, through the pull of soft power relies greatly on its democracy, multi-ethnic make-up, the vibrancy of its civil society and the freedom of its press. But it is not yet clear how far India wishes to go in playing on its soft power credentials. India's recent diplomacy suggests that Delhi is sensitive to the value of democracy in developing ties that bind. (Chitalkar and Malone, 2011)

The Norwegian state on the other hand, with its history of strong Lapp and Sami movements which received its official recognition, along with its pioneering role as one of the core countries involved in the building of the international indigenous peoples' movement in the 1970s (Merlan, 2009), can be argued to have functioned as more than a cosmopolitan actor in relation to the Niyamgiri Movement – indeed, as actively promoting its own ideological and cultural values, and as attracting others to follow its lead i.e. as attempting to exercise soft power. It is also important

to keep in mind that in Nordic political science research there has been an emphasis on the importance of competitive identity and soft power for smaller countries such as the Nordic states that may not be in a geopolitically favourable position (Marklund, 2014).

In relation to this argument vis-a-vis the importance of exploring possible exercises of soft power by actors in the Niyamgiri Movement, the role of the Indian Supreme Court in the same context deserves attention. It was an important state actor which demonstrated support for the Niyamgiri Movement and which has also been credited on several occasions, as functioning in the capacity of a judicial activist (Chowdhury, 2011). In relation to the Niyamgiri movement it took on this role towards the end of the movement. However, not only did it acknowledge the importance of the Dongaria Kondhs' religious reverence for the Niyamgiri Mountain, on the grounds of which it accepted that mining should be denied, it also issued a verdict calling for India's first "green referendum"[48]. The Indian Supreme Court adjudicated that the Dongaria Kondhs should be allowed to decide in their traditional village councils as to whether they considered the Niyamgiri Mountain sacred, and whether mining on it should be banned. In the traditional referendums that were subsequently held, the Dongarias voted against the mining project in what was described as "a stunning example of grassroots democracy at work"[49] – consequently, and perhaps even more importantly, a legal precedence was set, for a procedure by which land disputes involving indigenous communities could be resolved. It can be argued, that the Indian Supreme Court's actions constituted an attempt to showcase the country's democratic integrity, to the eager international audience that it knew was watching, and to demonstrate its potential leadership in contributing towards setting an international normative agenda vis-a-vis democratic dispute resolution strategies. Furthermore, it is important to take into consideration that the Supreme Court had stated in one of its rulings in 2007, that the withdrawal of financial investment in Vedanta Resources by Norwegian institutions did invite a questioning of the company's credibility (SCR, 2007), i.e. the Indian Supreme Court acknowledged the attractiveness of the moral stance adopted by Norwegian institutions. Subsequent to this, in 2013 (SCR, 2013) the Supreme Court went on to facilitate a display of the power of Indian grassroots-level democracy, by passing a verdict that the fate of a multinational mining company's project would be decided by indigenous peoples in village level referendums. India's soft power strategy has been described as defensive (Wagner, 2010) and this showcasing of India's democratic tradition can be seen as a defensive soft power response to the acknowledged moral legitimacy of the actions of a foreign governmental institution.

I would like to state, that though I have interpreted the banning of mining on Niyamgiri by the Indian government, as a politically cosmopolitan response to international pressure, it would be useful to use soft power as a conceptual lens to interpret the way this was carried out. I argue that a discussion inspired by political cosmopolitanism may prove to be incomplete in relation to situations in which the issue or norm being championed reflects the ideological-cultural orientation of

[48] Sharma, D. C. (2013, August 6). India's first 'green referendum' raises hopes… and uncomfortable questions. *Mail Online India.* Accessed on 16th September, 2016 from: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2385568/Indias-green-referendum-raises-hopes--uncomfortable-questions.html

[49] Interview with Felix Padel. (n.d.). *Survival International.* Accessed on 16th September, 2016 from: http://www.survivalinternational.org/articles/3322-interview-with-felix-padel

the governmental actors in question. With this argument, I propose a conceptual clarification of political cosmopolitanism and a restriction of its applicability.

5.8. Conclusion

This paper has used the theory of normative cosmopolitanism to shed light on the mechanisms by which the Niyamgiri Movement was supported by its international constituency. By differentiating normative cosmopolitanism into moral, legal and political cosmopolitanism, the theoretical contextualization of the international support for the Niyamgiri Movement is further clarified. As a movement that is aimed at the defence of place (Dirlik, 1999) with the help of globally/internationally situated social and political dynamics, the role of its international constituency invites study. However, previous research on the Niyamgiri Movement has not examined this question in sufficient detail, and this paper fills this research gap. The paper has also contributed to a further elucidation of the concept of normative cosmopolitanism and its applicability. As such, it attempts to answer the lament of cosmopolitan theorist Pheng Cheah who argues that there hasn't been enough scholarship on the "normative implications of globalization" (Cheah, 2006: 493). However, my emphasis on normative cosmopolitanism in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement does not imply an uncritical celebration of it, and I have interrogated the extent to which actors who ostensibly express it are truly committed to its principles. The paper has taken a critical lens to the international support for the Niyamgiri Movement with the help of Gayatri Spivak's postcolonial theories. It has examined, with the help of her critiques, whether the international support for the Niyamgiri Movement was self-interested and effective only in the short-term.

The comparative dimension of this paper also introduces a critical perspective on normative cosmopolitanism. By exploring the connections between political cosmopolitanism and soft power and examining which may be the more appropriate frame for understanding the way the Indian and Norwegian governmental actors who were active participants in the Niyamgiri Movement played their roles, the paper brings the discussion on political cosmopolitanism more squarely into the dimension of realist international relations theory. This implies a questioning of political cosmopolitanism's commitment to normative principles. With the help of its comparative theoretical framework the paper also restricts the applicability of political cosmopolitanism to situations in which governmental actors are not championing the internationally espoused values of their respective states. The paper also contributes to the refinement of the concept of soft power by clarifying how it relates to and differs from political cosmopolitanism, and by further illuminating the concept with the help of its application to aspects of the Niyamgiri Movement that are pertinent to it.

6. What was the Domestic Legislation in India that was used in Support of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India, and how was it used?[50]

Abstract | This chapter discusses the legal interpretation of the Indian Forest Rights Act in the case of the Dongaria Kondh community's successful attempt to prevent the mining of the Niyamgiri Mountain in India. The Forest Rights Act includes a clause which empowers communities to protect forest land that is of cultural value to them, and effectively, this law facilitates the protection of sacred natural sites. The extent to which the Forest Rights Act is able to represent ('speak for' as well as 'speak about') sacred natural sites is a major focus of this chapter. In particular, the chapter problematizes the notion that a sacred natural site is necessarily bounded – an assumption which the Forest Rights Act makes, as demonstrated by its requirement that land-claims made under its purview should be mapped out. The Dongarias claimed to worship the Niyamgiri Mountain as well as the range of hills (in some articulations the entire Earth) to which the Niyamgiri Mountain belonged. Their reluctance to circumscribe the spatial location of their religiosity led to altercations with the officials charged with verifying their land-claims under the Forest Rights Act. At the same time, it is as a consequence of the Forest Rights Act that the Niyamgiri Mountain was protected from being mined by a multi-national mining company. The Act may not have demonstrated an expressed awareness of the complexity of the religiosity of communities such as the Dongaria Kondhs. At the same time, it was possible to invoke it to the Dongarias' advantage. The chapter conducts its analysis with the help of a discussion on the differentiation between sacred land and sacred space, Durkheim's conceptualization of the sacred-profane dichotomy as well as the concept of subalternity. It argues that laws such as the Forest Rights Act are better interpreted as per their spirit rather than their letter.

6.1. Introduction

In India, the natural environment worshipped by forest-dwelling communities is receiving recognition and protection under the Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, which was passed in 2006. This piece of legislation, which is commonly known as the Forest Rights Act, empowers vulnerable forest-dwelling communities in India to protect their "natural and cultural heritage" (Forest Rights Act, 2006: Sec. 5). This chapter explores the question of the interpretation of 'cultural heritage', in the specific legal context of the Indian Forest Rights Act. A case that illustrates the complexities inherent in such a question is that of the mobilization of the Forest Rights Act to protect the sacred Niyamgiri Mountain in India

[50] This chapter is based on a book chapter that is part of an edited volume on **Asian Sacred Natural Sites** that has been published by Routledge in 2016 and is edited by Bas Verschuuren and Naoya Furuta.

from mining. This chapter presents and discusses this case with the view to examine the implications of sacred nature that does not fit easily within site-specific boundaries.

The Indian Forest Rights Act constructs itself as an explicit critique of the legacy of colonial-era forest policy (Bhullar, 2008), and at the same time, it can be argued to draw inspiration from globalized trends in contemporary policy-making pertaining to indigenous peoples' relationship with their natural environment. As such, it is an example of an explicitly postcolonial law which demonstrates the influence of globalized discourses (notwithstanding the fact that the terms of reference for these discourses may well be set by the Global North). In the context of a volume on Asian sacred natural sites, it is important to highlight this dual perspective, which involves looking back at a colonial past and forward to an active participation in globalized dynamics, as this is a perspective that many Asian nations share. The legal landscape at the global level was sympathetic to the rights of indigenous peoples during the period when the Indian Forest Rights Act was discussed and passed – it occurred during the UN double decade on indigenous peoples, and came into force contemporaneously with the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, by the UN General Assembly. To initiate a quick comparison with similar policy instruments at the global level, the ILO (International Labour Organization) Convention No. 169 states in its Article 13(1) that "it recognizes the special importance for the cultures and spiritual values of indigenous peoples of their relationship with the lands and/or territories that they occupy or otherwise use" (as cited by Yupsanis, 2010: 441). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples also emphasizes culture and collective human rights related to land and territory (Engle, 2011). Another example of institutionalized support for indigenous peoples' spiritual/cultural relationship with land at the global level is the Akwé: Kon Guidelines, which was developed by the Convention on Biological Diversity (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2004).

With a focus on the Indian Forest Rights Act and the instance of its interpretation in the context of the movement to save the Niyamgiri Mountain from mining, this chapter examines whether (though without doubt praiseworthy) institutionalized support for indigenous peoples' relationship with land as enshrined in the Forest Rights Act, may be based upon invalid assumptions, stemming from an epistemological disconnect with the cosmo-vision of indigenous peoples.

6.2. The Dongaria Kondhs and their Sacred Site(s)

The Dongaria Kondh tribe in India, which is generally understood to be indigenous[51], came to the attention of domestic and international activists when their sacred land was threatened by mining (Kraemer, Whiteman & Banerjee, 2013; Kumar, 2013). Vedanta Resources, a UK-based mining company, had initiated a project to mine the summit of the Niyamgiri Mountain for bauxite – several Dongaria villages surrounded the mining lease area (Temper & Martinez-Alier, 2013). Subsequent to this, the Dongarias became involved in a movement against Vedanta Resources – a movement which articulated its central focus to be the protection of the Dongarias' sacred site from the aims of the mining company. The Forest Rights Act was one of the important pieces of

[51] Indigeneity is a contested identity in India (Karlsson, 2003), though one claimed by almost 10% of the Indian population (Rycroft, 2014).

legislation that was invoked to settle the matter. Since the Forest Rights Act granted tribes like the Dongarias the right to protect their 'cultural heritage', much of the legal wrangling surrounding the case focused on the attempt to define what this 'cultural heritage' was.

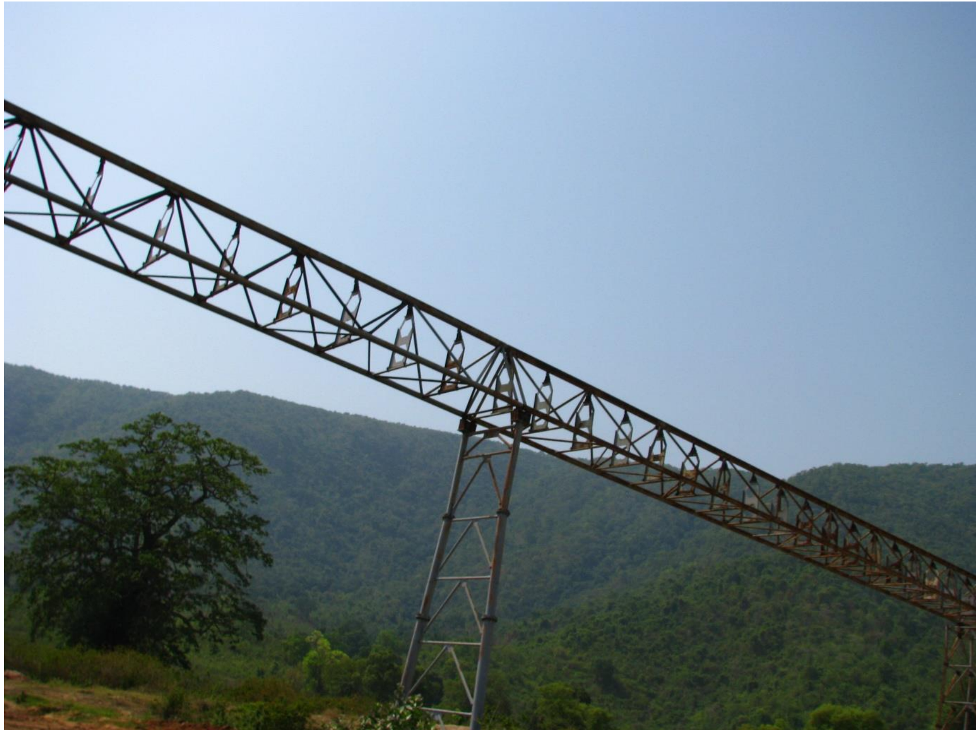
In anthropological writings prior to the mining company's foray into the area, the Dongarias were represented as mainly worshipping nature, as embodied by the Earth Goddess. Small shrines dedicated to the Earth Goddess were described to be present in Dongaria villages (Hardenberg, 2005). Anthropological accounts also mentioned several other deities to be worshipped by the Dongarias. A sky-god called Niyamraja was said to be the most important of these, and was described as being the king of the Dongarias, from whom they claimed descent (Jena et al., 2002). There does not appear to be a clear consensus as to whether Niyamraja is believed to have a specific abode on Niyamgiri, the entire Niyamgiri range of hills (a hill range of which the Niyamgiri Mountain is a part), or the highest peak in the Niyamgiri range of hills which was called Nimagiri. Activists supported the Dongaria Kondhs in making the argument that the Niyamgiri Mountain which was planned for mining by Vedanta Resources, was their sacred natural site. Lawyers arguing on behalf of Vedanta Resources tried to assert in court that Nimagiri, not Niyamgiri, was the Dongarias' sacred natural site (Foil Vedanta, 2013). This contestation of the spatial focus of the Dongarias' religiosity was further complicated by contradictory statements that were made in regard to it, by a young Dongaria man who had initially been an important participant in the Niyamgiri Movement. After a few years of participation in the Niyamgiri Movement, he switched sides and started speaking against it. After initially emphasizing the importance of Niyamgiri as a sacred site, he later went on to assert that such an emphasis was misleading (Temper & Martinez-Alier, 2013). There are also indications that activists projected their ideas of the Dongarias' spirituality onto the tribe. Activists belonging to ActionAid, a trans-national advocacy organization, were reported to have organized mass worship ceremonies on top of the Niyamgiri Mountain. This was initially criticized by local activists, who argued that mass worship was inconsistent with Dongaria culture. Later, these local activists went on to organize their own version of these ceremonies, after recognizing that they had political potential (Kraemer, Whiteman & Banerjee, 2013). It can be argued that the Dongaria Kondhs were subaltern actors in the Niyamgiri Movement. Subalternity is argued to be the condition of being spoken for or about by others, as experienced by marginalised groups, along with the experience of not being heard (Spivak, 1988). It is theorized to be the result of a consciousness that is at odds with mainstream understandings (Sivaramakrishnan, 1995). The Dongarias were spoken for and about by activists, as previously mentioned. However, they did get a chance to speak for themselves when the Indian Supreme Court passed a verdict emphasizing that the question of the Dongarias' sacred site should be decided by the tribe itself. At this juncture, the Dongarias asserted that the Niyamgiri Mountain was sacred to them, as was the entire Niyamgiri range of hills. Following this, a ban was issued with regard to mining on Niyamgiri – however, the ban did not extend to the entire Niyamgiri hill range, though the range was claimed as sacred by the Dongarias. The cultural understanding that the whole Earth or an entire range of hills is sacred and must be protected, can be argued to be a subaltern understanding – one that cannot fit into mainstream discourses and one which therefore goes unheard.

Fig. 1: Activists at a rally organized to protest against Vedanta Resources' mining project on Niyamgiri. Source: Radhika Borde

6.3. Sacred Land and Space, and the Ambiguity of Mapping

The confusion surrounding the specific focus of the Dongarias' religiosity may have also been due, in part, to the fact that their religiosity has been reported to have been at one time internally divided. An anthropological account from the 19th century mentions the prevalence of sects within the tribe – each sect worshipping different deities (Hardenberg, 2005). All of this may have contributed to the ambiguity regarding the Dongarias' sacred site, resulting in debates as to whether the whole Earth was sacred to them, whether the hills they lived on were sacred to them, and so on. The government is reported to have understood the small shrines dedicated to the Earth Goddess which were to be found in the Dongarias' villages, to be the 'cultural heritage' of the Dongarias within the purview of the Forest Rights Act. During the process of verifying what the Dongarias 'cultural heritage' was, arguments broke out between the government officials appointed for this purpose and the Dongarias. During these verificatory processes the Dongarias maintained that the entire Niyamgiri range of hills was sacred to them (Jena, 2013). This claim was only reluctantly accepted by government officials, and at the same time, it did not become a valid legal basis for instituting a ban on mining on the entire range.

Fig. 2: Conveyor linking the Niyamgiri Mountain to Vedanta Resources' refinery. Source: Radhika Borde



The confusions arising from the attempt to delimit the spatial scope of the Dongarias' religiosity are not without precedent. In a similar case in Columbia, the U'Wa tribe fought against Occidental Petroleum's attempt to drill oil from the land which the tribe considered sacred. A crucial point of disagreement between the tribe and the company was the geographical extent of the land which the U'Wa could claim enjoyed the protection of the tribe – the company maintained that its exploratory oil well was located outside the U'Wa's territory (Arenas, 2007) and the U'Wa asserted that they were against "OIL EXPLORATION AND DRILLING ON OR OFF THE LAND" (as cited by Arenas, 2007: 134) that was legally recognized as theirs. Furthermore, the U'Wa were against the extraction of oil per se, as they believed that it was the blood of the Earth, and that the removal of oil from the Earth would result in the destruction of a cosmic equilibrium, which they, as a tribe, were charged with maintaining (Lee, 2008).

It is perhaps needless to mention, that any ambiguity surrounding the geographical dimensions of the land venerated by a tribe as sacred, is at odds with the requirements of most legal structures and is in most cases incommensurable with them. This is illustrated by a statement of the Canadian Supreme Court, which declared in its verdict in a case of recognition of indigenous rights that "the court must take into account the perspective of the aboriginal peoples, *but that perspective must be framed in terms cognizable to the Canadian legal and constitutional structure*" (as cited by Byrd and Rothberg, 2011). In relation to the instrumentalization of the Forest Rights Act vis-à-vis the Niyamgiri case, the Dongarias may claim to worship the entire Earth or all the hills they live

on, but such a religious understanding may be incommensurable with a piece of legislation such as the Forest Rights Act which grants forest-dwelling peoples rights to cultural heritage which need to be subsequently claimed as geographically demarcated sites. An important aspect of the claims-making process under the Forest Rights Act is the delineation of a map of the claimed area by the village council or Gram Sabha under whose jurisdiction the area falls (Forest Rights Act, 2006: Sec. 6). There have been studies of similar requirements to map land-claims, in other contexts such as the Philippines, in which indigenous peoples are also seen to negotiate government provisions that allow for a degree of control over indigenous territory. These studies reveal that the mapping process can be both empowering for indigenous communities as well as a means by which indigenous peoples' perception of land-claims are standardized, and the peoples themselves are schooled in state-sanctioned cartographic techniques (Bryant, 2000; 2002).

Fig. 3: A view of a stream beside a Dongaria Kondh village on the Niyamgiri hill range. Source: Radhika Borde

It can be argued that the epistemological disconnect between indigenous peoples' understandings of territory as against mainstream ideas of the same, becomes starker when the territory in question in believed to be sacred. In other words, sacred natural sites can be argued to occupy a point of conceptual rupture between indigenous and non-indigenous world-views. Native Americans and Australian Aboriginals are reported to aver that all land is sacred to them and that within this generalized understanding of the sacredness of nature, some places are understood to be special, or as it were, more sacred (Hubert, 1997). Furthermore, as for example in the Australian context,

many of these understandings of the sacredness of nature are described as being difficult to translate as per the cartographic requirements of mainstream legal systems:

> White people generally would think of sites as things that can be pinpointed on a map. A site can be distinguished from its surroundings, just as the eyes of a potato can be distinguished from the rest of the vegetable. Laws to protect sacred sites seem to assume this characteristic. Yet, Aboriginal usage is often less exact. The same word, for example, may function as the name of a clearly identifiable feature of the landscape and of a more or less extensive area in which that feature is located. (Maddock, 1983: 131)

Furthermore, anthropologists have argued that it is important that sacred land is not conflated with sacred space – for various reasons, such as the often ambiguous nature of the boundaries of sacred land, as well as its abstract or idealized quality (Sosis, 2011). It is perhaps these finer distinctions between sacred land and sacred space that laws such as the Forest Rights Act ignore. It is also possible that sacred natural sites are resistant to classification as either land or space, and they may occupy a conceptual 'grey area' in this regard. Sacred natural sites are both sacred land and sacred space. That they are sacred space can be seen in the fact that taboos and restrictions are applicable to them – it is by an adherence to certain prescribed rules of behaviour that it is argued that sacred space is humanly constructed, as opposed to sacred land which is more of a mental construct (Sosis, 2011). The Dongaria Kondhs do observe certain taboos and restrictions in relation to the hilltops of the Niyamgiri range of hills. Neither hunting, nor the cutting of trees is permitted on them (Temper and Martinez-Alier, 2013). It is quite possibly a consequence of these observances that the Niyamgiri hills can boast of the rich biodiversity (in terms of both flora and fauna) they that are reported to possess. The biological diversity of the Niyamgiri range is in alignment with the findings of other studies on sacred natural sites (Verschuuren et al., 2010). The Niyamgiri hills are reported to constitute the natural habitat for animals such as the leopard and tiger and their importance as wildlife corridors has been emphasized by studies commissioned by the Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest. In recognition of their high biodiversity value, the establishment of a wildlife sanctuary and elephant reserve, in the region of the Niyamgiri hills, has also been proposed by the government (Saxena et al., 2010). At the same time, the Niyamgiri hills are also sacred land and are believed to be the kingdom of Niyamraja from whom the Dongarias claim descent. This mythical kingdom is estimated to extend across roughly 115 square kilometres of hilly terrain (Jena et al., 2002). Taboos and behavioural restrictions do not apply to the entire extent of this territory, but this does not mean that it is consequently profane. As a sacred land, the idea of the Niyamgiri hills as a sacred kingdom which the Dongarias believe to have inherited is important, and it is within this sacred land that certain areas are humanly constructed as sacred spaces by religious observances. It can be argued, based on the complexity of the Dongarias' conception of the Niyamgiri hills as a sacred site, that sacred natural sites in general, may trouble the sacred-profane dichotomy that sociologist Emile Durkheim has propounded as being central to every religion (Durkheim, 1915). Durkheim's axiomatic proposition in this regard has been critiqued by several scholars (Goody, 1961; Evans-Pritchard, 1965; Stirrat, 1984) – to this can be added a critique stemming from the inapplicability of a strict sacred-profane dichotomy to sacred natural sites such as the Niyamgiri hills.

Fig. 4: A view of the Niyamgiri Mountain. Source: Radhika Borde

Pinpointing the exact location of culture is a difficult task, but laws such as the Forest Rights Act require just this. The assumption that a boundary can be drawn around what is sacred and what is not, may well be a derivation of Durkheimian logic. Durkheim's dichotomization between the sacred and profane has been critiqued in its application to several Asian contexts (Stirrat, 1984; Orrù and Wang, 1992), but it may remain unquestioned by laws such as the Indian Forest Rights Act. At the same time, the Forest Rights Act is a powerful piece of legislation that has allowed tribes like the Dongaria Kondhs to assert their rights over the land they hold sacred, in opposition to claims over that very same land by a multi-national mining company.

6.4. Conclusion

The Indian Forest Rights Act can be argued to be a piece of legislation that is oriented towards mainstream ideas of religiosity and legal constructs. A Durkheimian sacred-profane dichotomy can be seen in the assumption it makes that the cultural heritage of a community is necessarily bounded. Subaltern religiosities as pertaining to nature would be incommensurable with such an act. At the same time, the Forest Rights Act remains the most powerful piece of legislation that indigenous communities in India can use to secure their rights to protect their sacred natural sites. Since the institution of the ban on mining on Niyamgiri, which took place in 2014, the government has attempted to propose amendments to the Forest Rights Act, with the view to facilitate the sort

of development that the Forest Rights Act had been successful at obstructing[52]. There have also been attempts by the provincial government to organize a process by which the Dongarias could re-consider their decision on the sacredness of Niyamgiri and their consequent opposition to its being mined[53]. None of these attempts have been successful, but the fact that they have been made is testimony to the power of the Forest Rights Act.

Fig.5: The forest on the Niyamgiri Mountain. Source: Radhika Borde

Nevertheless, the disjuncture between the spirit of a law that stands firmly behind culturally-inspired conservation and the law's inclusion of clauses that may be at an epistemological remove from the culture it aims to protect, is problematic for perhaps all the parties who would attempt to invoke it in the case of a dispute. Whether a law such as the Forest Rights Act is mobilized in support of the communities it was legislated for, becomes then a question of judicial interpretation. In the Indian context, the Supreme Court has acquired the reputation of taking on the role of a judicial activist (Chowdhury, 2011). Judicial activism refers to the "pro-active role played by the judiciary in ensuring that rights and liberties of citizens are protected" (Chowdhury, 2011: 1056). The Indian Supreme Court did take a sympathetic view of the Dongarias' case against Vedanta Resources, but whether it will adopt the same stance in a consistent manner, in other instances in which the Forest Rights Act is invoked, remains to be seen.

[52] Aggarwal, M (2014, September, 17) Will not hesitate to amend Forest Act, says Environment Ministry. *Daily News and Analysis*. Accessed on 11th January, 2016 from: http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-will-not-hesitate-to-amend-forest-act-says-environment-ministry-2019248

[53] Satapathy, D. (2015, October, 16) Odisha wants Niyamgiri gram sabha polls again. *Business Standard.* Accessed on 11th January, 2016 from: http://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/odisha-wants-niyamgiri-gram-sabha-polls-again-115101500923_1.html

The emphasis on the importance of the spirit rather than the letter of the Forest Rights Act, begs the question of what can be argued to encapsulate the former, i.e. its spirit. The answer to this is perhaps best summed up as follows:

> A citizen's rights-based framework of democratic forest governance, built on the integral relationship between rights and duties is the leitmotif of the FRA. By making conservation of the natural environment not merely a duty of the forest right holder, but also a right of communities protecting their forest resources according to their traditions, the Act seeks to transform the current state of alienation of the tribes and other forest dwellers. 'State forests' will thus make way for 'People's forests', preserved and protected by the right holding individuals and communities themselves through their democratic institutions as citizens of the forest. (as cited by Bose, 2010: 14)

The spirit of the Forest Rights Act is as much about the protection of forests as it is about the protection of community rights over them. It is based on the premise, after repeated instances of observation that validate it, that forest-dwelling communities tend to conserve forests (Bose, 2010). This has been seen to be true in the case of the Niyamgiri hills and is showcased by the rich biodiversity that they are seen to possess (Saxena et al, 2010). For the Forest Rights Act to be applied in accordance with its spirit, instances of forest conservation by local communities need to be recognized, and valorized over and above activities such as mining, which may yield economic returns, but which incur heavy costs in terms of a denuded landscape and destroyed ecosystems. Legal wrangling over the fine print and clauses of the Forest Rights Act misses the point of what the act stands for. The extent to which communities can claim Forest Rights is perhaps better determined by the extent to which forests have been conserved by them, than by the extent to which such claims can be seen to adhere to legal stipulations.

6.5. Discussion and Recommendations

A discussion on the extent to which the Forest Rights Act is supportive of the forest-dwelling communities for whom it was intended, can begin by an unpacking of its success at representing these communities. The term representation must be subsequently parsed apart to reveal its reference to political representation (i.e. speaking for someone) as well as representation as signification (i.e. speaking about someone). In the context of the Indian Forest Rights Act, its attempted representation of forest-dwelling communities includes both these implications. Scholars with an interest in investigating the politics of activism in relation to marginalized communities have underscored the importance of analysing both these implications of representation, without conflating one with the other.

With regard to re-presentation, it can be argued that there is a general consensus among scholars that it is not possible to re-present the consciousness of someone else, let alone a person from a marginalized background with an epistemological orientation that is in most cases at variance with that of the person doing the representing (Castree and MacMillan, 2004; Spivak, 1988). This is borne out by a perusal of the Forest Rights Act, and its requirements in terms of mapping claims to land of cultural heritage value etc. These requirements indicate that the Forest Rights Act is not framed from the same epistemological perspective as that of forest-dwelling peoples, and in its expressed understanding of their relationship with land, it is unable to re-present their consciousness.

However, speaking for someone, or representing a marginalized person in a political sense, is something that scholars have not been able to disavow as being valuable (Castree and MacMillan, 2004). And it is in this that the Forest Rights Act can be deemed successful i.e. it has been used to speak for marginalized forest-dwelling communities. It can be recommended that for further instances of its successful implementation, it is important that the role of the Forest Rights Act in terms of representing forest-dwelling peoples (and the forests they subsist on and protect) in a political sense is given greater importance. In other words, the spirit of the law must take precedence over its letter, i.e. the importance of the conservation of forests by and for forest-dwelling peoples must be emphasized. It would in any case be difficult for forest-dwelling peoples to find that the complexities of their relationship with their natural environment are adequately signified or re-presented by the legal clauses of the Forest Rights Act.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

The argumentations and analyses presented in this thesis are shaped by the intersections between the disciplines of geography and postcolonial studies (Robinson, 2003; Nash, 2002; Spivak, 1998), and the thesis attempts to contribute to both these fields. Ways of representing the world and the politics inherent to representation have been key concerns in both disciplines (Jazeel, 2014; Castree and MacMillan, 2004; Spivak, 1988) and the thesis has focused these concerns onto the issue of social movements against the acquisition of indigenous land for mining. It has discussed how activists, institutions and policies at various scales and levels (local, domestic, international, and global) influenced the success of the Niyamgiri Movement which was aimed at safeguarding the Niyamgiri Mountain in India from mining for the primary reason that the indigenous Dongaria Kondh community which lived on it believed that it was sacred. It has also compared the representation of the Niyamgiri Movement with the representation of the anti-mining movement on the island of Palawan in the Philippines. The representation of indigenous peoples in the context of activist support for them, has been described by the geographer Sarah Radcliffe (Radcliffe, 2014) as a research topic that is still underexplored. This thesis has turned its attention to this topic, and has bifurcated it into an investigation of the solidarian support for indigenous peoples (how activists speak on behalf of indigenous peoples i.e. how they represent their interests), and an investigation of how indigenous people are portrayed/represented by activists as well as by themselves, in the context of social movements against mining.

The thesis has gone beyond adding to the already extensive literature on social movements against mining on indigenous land (Broderstad, 2014; Rasch, 2013; Dougherty, 2011; Keeling and Sandlos, 2009; Yagenova and Garcia, 2009; Hilson and Yakovleva, 2007; Downing, Moles, McIntosh and Garcia-Downing, 2002; Banerjee, 2000), and has focused on clarifying, interrogating, integrating and defining concepts that could be useful for an understanding of this research topic.

The thesis has asked (and hopefully answered) five questions that are key to furthering the understanding of how indigenous peoples are spoken about and for in the context of social movements to prevent mining on land that is culturally or spiritually significant to them. To reiterate, the thesis focuses on the Niyamgiri Movement in India and the anti-mining movement on the island of Palawan in the Philippines and uses an in-depth study of these cases to present arguments that are more generally relevant to social movements against mining on indigenous land, as is the accepted role of case study research (Becker, 2014; Siggelkow, 2007 and George and Bennett, 2004). The five questions that this thesis is concerned with are as follows:

- How did the Intersection of Geographical Scales Impact the Representation of the Social Movements against Mining on Indigenous Land, in India and the Philippines that this Thesis Studies?
- How did Popular Culture Influence the Representation of the Nature Religiosity of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India?

- Who were the Local Supporters of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India, and How and Why did they Express this Support?
- Who were the International Supporters of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India, and How and Why did they Express this Support?
- What was the Domestic Legislation in India that was used in Support of the Indigenous People in the Niyamgiri Movement in India and how was it used?

The research that is aimed at addressing each of these questions is presented in this thesis in the form of four journal articles and a book chapter that have each comprised a research chapter in the thesis following the introductory chapter. These chapters are summarized below to guide an overarching understanding of the scope of the thesis. In this summary there are some overlaps with the brief outlines of the chapters that were presented in the introductory chapter of this thesis. However, I think it is necessary to remind the reader of the empirical and theoretical focus of each chapter along with the findings and arguments presented in them, before distilling some of the ways in which the thesis may have contributed to the larger academic conversation that has been so useful in developing conceptual pathways by which to answer the questions which this thesis is concerned with.

7.2. Research Summary

In **Chapter 2**, the Niyamgiri Movement was analysed in terms of its discursive construction, and was compared with the anti-mining movement on the island of Palawan in the Philippines, which was also analysed in similar terms. It was seen, that in regard to both the Niyamgiri Movement in India and the anti-mining movement on the island of Palawan in the Philippines, discursive interaction between local and global scales and levels, played an important role in how these social movements were represented or framed.

Framing theory as adapted by social movement scholars (Snow and Benford, 2002; Benford and Snow, 2000), was used to drive the analysis of representation in the comparison of the Niyamgiri Movement with the anti-mining movement on the island of Palawan in the Philippines. It was used in conjunction with theorization on internationalization (Tarrow, 2010; 1999), to develop a concept of internationalized framing. This concept refers to the framing of the Indian and Philippine anti-mining social movements, in globalized terms – this is with particular relevance for the construction of the indigenous peoples within these social movements as custodians of nature. The chapter discusses globalized discourses of indigeneity that refer to the ecological consciousness of indigenous peoples, along with an examination of the institutionalization of these discourses. The inclusion of these discourses by social movements against mining on indigenous land in the Global South, were analysed with reference to a discursive dynamic known as internalization by which local struggles re-frame their agendas as having a universal component (Tarrow, 2010; Della Porta and Tarrow, 2005). The concept of internationalized framing was developed and used to denote the dynamic by which globalized discourses are internalized by local struggles, which are then re-framed as participative in globalized processes of change.

The main findings and arguments of this research chapter are as follows:

- Multi-scalar and multi-level activism can characterize social movements that champion indigenous issues.
- Social movements against mining on indigenous land frame themselves in ways that show themselves to be both global and local/domestic in scope.

In **Chapter 3**, a close look was taken at the representation of the religiosity of the Dongaria Kondhs at the global and local scale. The Niyamgiri Movement was framed in terms of a movement to protect the sacred land of the indigenous Dongaria Kondhs, following a significant impetus in this regard from the international activists who were supporting the Niyamgiri Movement. The chapter analyses some examples of the representation of the Dongarias' religiosity. These representations proved to be extremely effective in furthering the goals of the Niyamgiri Movement i.e. banning mining on Niyamgiri's summit. The implications of these representations in relation to the Dongaria Kondhs, are discussed with the help of the insights provided by postcolonial scholarship on subalternity (Maggio, 2007; Alcoff, 1991; Spivak, 1988). An analysis of the effectiveness of one of these representations, was undertaken with the help of Baudrillard's theories of seduction (Merrin, 2010; Smith, 2007; Baudrillard, 1993).

The main findings and arguments of this research chapter are as follows:

- The strategic use of popular culture in social movements against mining on indigenous land is effective and can even influence the stance that a government takes on an issue. Additionally, representational strategies that render indigenous subalterns more mainstream are also effective in relation to the amassing of support for them.

Chapter 4 is an analysis of the local support for the Dongaria Kondhs in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement. The empirical focus was on the local activists living in the region around the Niyamgiri Mountain, who acted as the Dongaria Kondhs' representatives and championed their cause against the mining of the Niyamgiri Mountain. The chapter attempted to understand why these activists chose to represent the Dongarias, rather than themselves, when they had their own reasons for protesting against the mining project. In the process of facilitating such an understanding, the chapter also debated Gayatri Spivak's contention that the political representation of subalterns is necessarily embedded in a Northern tradition of activism (Spivak, 2004). The chapter understood the activism of the locals who lived around the Niyamgiri Mountain to be epistemologically distinct from Northern traditions of activism and termed it subaltern mythopoeic politics. It explored this subaltern mythopoeic politics through an examination of the cultural-historical understandings that bind the locals of the region to the Dongaria Kondhs and obligate acts of support, as discussed by scholars of Odisha's culture (Pati, 2012; Rousseleau, 2009).

The main findings and arguments of this research chapter are as follows:

- Activists who support indigenous subalterns may not necessarily be socio-economically empowered and may possess non-rational reasons for doing so – as such their activism must be distinguished from the Northern tradition of human rights activism which Spivak criticizes and argues is almost universal (Spivak, 2004).

In **Chapter 5**, the international support for the Dongaria Kondhs in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement was critically analysed in terms of normative cosmopolitanism (Beardsworth, 2008; Ferrara, 2007; Cheah, 2006). Additionally, with the help of postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak's criticism of cosmopolitan activism (Spivak, 2004), the chapter undertook an interrogation of this international support i.e. it explored whether the support indicated a deep commitment to the principles of normative cosmopolitanism or whether these could be better understood as shallow gestures. It also examined the efficacy of these arguably cosmopolitan acts of support, in the long term. In addition, the chapter also questions whether the governmental institutions that attempted to play the role of cosmopolitan actors in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement, could also be interpreted to be making a show of the soft power (Gallarotti, 2011) of the nation-states they represented.

The main findings and arguments of this research chapter are as follows:

- Cosmopolitan activists who support indigenous movements may be motivated by self-interest. However, activism of this kind may be effective in the short term. Additionally, governmental actors who support social movements may be doing so in a way that allows them to accrue soft power gains.

Chapter 6 is an exploration of how law and cartography played out in relation to each other, in the context of the Dongaria Kondhs' cultural rights-claims to the Niyamgiri Mountain. The Dongaria Kondhs claimed the Niyamgiri Mountain (as well as the entire range of hills of which the Niyamgiri Mountain is a part) as their sacred natural site. Such a claim receives recognition under Indian law. However, legal stipulations in this regard necessitate that such claims are accompanied by clearly demarcated maps. The chapter discusses how the Dongaria Kondhs, like indigenous peoples the world over (Maddock, 1983), had an ambiguous cartographic understanding of the land that they claimed was sacred to them. The chapter discusses the implications of this ambiguity, and recommends how progressive legislations aimed at benefitting indigenous peoples in the Indian context could adapt to create space for such indigenous geographical understandings.

The main findings and arguments of this research chapter are as follows:

- The geographical boundaries of the sacred natural sites indigenous peoples revere may be ambiguous, and the legal resources that are aimed at protecting these sites should take this into account.

7.3. Reflections on the Thesis' Possible Theoretical Contributions

As previously mentioned, the thesis attempts to explain, interrogate, integrate and define concepts and theories that could prove to be useful for an understanding of social movements, and particularly activism in relation to indigenous peoples' struggles.

Explanation of Concepts and Theories

An important contribution of this thesis lies in its attempt to elucidate the theory of normative cosmopolitanism (Beardsworth, 2008; Ferrara, 2007; Cheah, 2006). It discusses, in line with the

work of other scholars, how the concept of normative cosmopolitanism can be applied to contemporary international civil society (Cheah, 2006), and how it should be distinguished from cosmopolitanization, which is understood to be the result of the mixing of cultures following processes of globalization (Beck, 2004).

The thesis also explains the conceptualization of internalization by social movements' scholar Sidney Tarrow (Tarrow, 2010). An important nuance that is inherent to this concept is its applicability to situations in which global norms are both absorbed and reflected. Following such a process, social movements do not just include and vocalize globalized discourses – they also show themselves to be participating in globalized processes.

Differential subalternity is a concept that was described in one of the earlier works of Ranajit Guha (Guha, 1982), who is one of the founders of an important collective of scholars working on issues of subalternity. The concept of differential subalternity has not since been taken up or debated by scholars to any significant extent, and this thesis attempts to fill this lacuna. The thesis discusses and refines the concept of differential subalternity and it also describes what the ethics and politics pertaining to groups which may be termed differentially subaltern could be.

Interrogation of Concepts and Theories

An important theoretical argument which this thesis attempts to interrogate is Gayatri Spivak's contention that human rights activism is necessarily shaped by northern epistemological traditions (Spivak, 2004). The thesis attempts to query whether this argument is in fact valid for all instances of activism that are to be found in the Global South. Alongside this questioning of Spivak's arguments, this thesis uses some of her critiques of cosmopolitan activism to initiate an interrogation of whether normative cosmopolitanism does in fact stem from self-interested motivations.

The thesis has brought the theorizations of Jean Baudrillard (Merrin, 2010; Smith, 2007; Baudrillard, 1993) into dialogue with the theories developed by scholars of subalternity (Maggio, 2007; Alcoff, 1991; Spivak, 1988), by demonstrating how these theories can be put to use in combination to analyse strategic representations of indigenous peoples. In spite of the fact that all of these theories have been influenced by Marxism, that they are similarly focused on issues of representation and that they give primacy to ontologies and non-rationalistic epistemologies, there has been no attempt to apply these theories in combination as far as I have been able to explore, and this thesis attempts to take a step in this direction.

The thesis has attempted to integrate the concepts of political cosmopolitanism and soft power by arguing how political cosmopolitanism may in fact be a sub-set of soft power, inasmuch as the adherence to global norms is understood to be one of the determining characteristics of soft power (Gallarotti, 2011) as well as the defining characteristic of political cosmopolitanism (Ferrara, 2007).

Definition of Concepts

The thesis has attempted to argue for the usefulness of the concept of internationalized framing, which is a concept that it has tried to define and distinguish from other concepts that are related to it. Internationalized framing refers to a process by which social movements are re-framed as international in scope by bridging issues of domestic concern with issues that are championed

globally, and by demonstrating how a social movement may in fact be championing issues of global as well as local importance.

The thesis has attempted to develop and define the concept of subaltern mythopoeic politics in relation to the politics of differentially subaltern activists. There has been some debate amongst scholars of subalternity as to whether the politics of subalterns is different from the politics of elites. Partha Chatterjee, an important scholar of subalternity, has termed the politics of subalterns the politics of 'political society' as opposed to the politics of 'civil society' (Chatterjee, 2004). However, such an understanding does not encompass the non-rational epistemologies which this thesis argues are motivating the politics of subalterns. In order to address this omission, the thesis emphasizes the importance of mythopoeia in regard to the politics of subalterns.

7.4. Reflections on the Thesis' Methodology

This thesis is an example of how a multi-method approach may be taken towards data-gathering. The thesis has used multiple research methods to achieve a clearer understanding of representational issues vis-à-vis social movements against mining on indigenous land. Since it was the research context which determined some of the research methods which were used in the thesis, this thesis can also be argued to be methodologically situated in the tradition of bricolage research (Rogers, 2015).

Oral history interviews were essential tools for gathering data in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement in India, as the fieldwork was conducted almost a decade after the onset of the movement. Activists had therefore had several years of experience as participants in the movement, and some of the student activists whom I interviewed had grown to maturity in the course of the movement – they had been undergraduate university students when they had begun participating in it. Before I started conducting fieldwork, I understood that it was important to uncover the several motivational layers for these activists' involvement in the Niyamgiri Movement, as well as changes in these over the course of time and with their experiences of activism. This was also the case for activists who were not students when they had begun participating in the Niyamgiri Movements. I had been trained in the oral history interviewing technique prior to conducting the fieldwork for my PhD, and I was able to spot its potential for uncovering the kind of data I needed and realized my interviewees could yield. I understood also that data collected through oral history interviews needed to be supplemented with participant observation, in order to facilitate the interpretation of the data and consequently obtain richer insights from it. My experiences as a participant observer in protest rallies etc. as mentioned in this thesis are however only a part of my entire experience as a participant in activism against mining on indigenous land. As noted in the introductory chapter, I had worked as a professional activist in an NGO that was involved in supporting indigenous social movements against mining in the Indian state of Jharkhand which lies adjacent to Odisha. It is important to emphasize that this experience contributed to the process of gathering and analysing data for this thesis. On the one hand it facilitated a deeper analysis of the data I gathered through the oral history interviews I conducted with activists who had participated in the Niyamgiri Movement. On the other hand, the oral history interviews I conducted were in many senses facilitated by my previous experience as an activist. While conducting fieldwork, my status

was similar to that of a member researcher (Anderson, 2006) as discussed in regard to auto-ethnographic fieldwork methodologies. However, in the thesis I also make use of other research methods that were chosen after reviewing the empirical situation pertaining to the Niyamgiri Movement. For example, an overview of representational issues pertaining to the Niyamgiri Movement revealed that media reportage of the movement was an important source of data on representations of the Dongarias by activists. I decided therefore to make the collection and analysis of media reports one of my key research methods. Presenting this overview of the process that guided my choice of research methods could prove to be useful to scholars who are investigating related themes from a similar positionality as mine was.

7.5. Contribution of the Research to Practice: Potential Social Impact

This thesis makes a contribution to an understanding of the practices of activists who represent indigenous peoples in anti-mining social movements – and a potential contribution to the self-understanding of such activists. The thesis analyses practices of activism at the institutional level, as well as at the level of individuals. It can be envisioned that this thesis will be read by professional activists and activist-researchers based at the trans-national advocacy organizations that were supporting the Niyamgiri Movement, as well as at the local organizations which were active in this regard. I would also like to go further and add that I will be disseminating my research findings amongst these activists, as I have maintained the contacts I had created with them as a researcher. I am also a member of the steering committee of an International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) specialist group that is active in the area of the overlaps between culture and nature. I edit the newsletter of this group and I will also try and disseminate my research findings through this medium. The findings of this research project vis-à-vis the inequalities experienced by local activists with regard to informational flows from international activists, could potentially change the activist practice of trans-national advocacy organizations. The thesis discusses the frustration of local activists who describe how international activists would take information from them on the subject of the Niyamgiri Movement, and would then go on to represent the movement at the international level, without informing local activists of the content of these representations. I would like to think that this thesis could help international activists become more sensitive to the implications of their practice, for activists on the ground.

The thesis has also explored the internationalized framing of social movements against mining on indigenous land. I would hope that with greater awareness of such a discursive dynamic, as this thesis aims to disseminate, there would be an impetus to reverse the direction in which the inspiration for such practices of framing are derived. As per my understanding, there is a need for more context-rich and specific discourses vis-à-vis indigenous peoples' relationship with land, at the international level. It is not enough for local movements to include those aspects of the globalized understanding of indigeneity that have cultural resonance with their contexts, into their discursive strategies. The complexities inherent in the understanding and construction of indigeneity at the local level need to inform the globalized discourses in this regard, and in an explicit manner. It is to be hoped that activists participating in localized indigenous social movements make an effort to allow their context-specific understandings of indigeneity to travel to the global level (see Karls-

son, 2003; Muehlebach, 2001), and it is also to be hoped that there is a reciprocal receptivity towards such understandings. It is to be seen for example in chapter four of this thesis, that the interaction between indigenous peoples and the mainstream Indian population is a nuanced one, and cannot be understood exclusively in terms of dynamics of oppression. It is important that nuanced understandings such as these travel to international arenas where they may be able to inform a more nuanced vision of the situation of indigenous peoples in contexts in the Global South.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is an urgent need to engage with both mining companies and environmental and social impact assessment consultants, on the necessity of ensuring that the Akwé: Kon Guidelines are not violated, as they were seen to have been done in the case of the Niyamgiri mining project. More concretely, it would be important to formulate an advocacy-based project (as I am currently working on), focused on explaining the necessity of avoiding omissions of natural sites that are sacred to indigenous communities in the environmental and social impact assessment reports commissioned by mining companies. These omissions and the consequences they had were extensively discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis, and it is hoped that the chapter could prove to be useful to all the parties who experienced the consequences of the violation of the Akwé: Kon Guidelines.

7.6. Trajectories of Future Research

An important research project that can be envisioned to take off from the research project that has resulted in this thesis, is an exploration of the tensions between local and international activists who make common cause in their support for indigenous peoples. There has already been some research on this topic (see Kraemer, Whiteman and Banerjee, 2013; Smith, 2002), but I can foresee several gaps that future research could fill.

It would also be important to examine and explain the similarities in understandings of indigeneity in different Global South contexts, as well as the similarities in such understandings that can be found in a comparison between the Global South and North.

Another research project that could take off from this thesis would be an examination of the romanticization of indigenous peoples by actors and institutions situated in the Global North. Again, some research has already been conducted on this (Hames, 2007; Barnard, 2006; Pieck, 2006; Appadurai, 1996) – however, a possible future research project could extend the scope of analysis to include a detailed exploration of the appeal of the lifestyles indigenous peoples are popularly understood to have.

Finally, the research invites future researchers to address the question of how the representations of indigenous peoples by activists who are not indigenous, are received by the indigenous peoples themselves. This is again a topic that has been researched (Kraemer, Whiteman and Banerjee, 2013; Kamat, 2001) – what is needed however, as per my understanding, is for further theoretically informed studies that confront representational actions and agents in this regard, with those who are represented.

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Summary

Support for indigenous peoples has been increasing over the last few decades. This can be seen internationally, as well as in several domestic contexts. The support for indigenous people has been linked to the increasingly prominent impetus to conserve the Earth's biodiversity and environment. Indigenous people are being recognized for their role in protecting the places in which they live in and that they value in cultural or spiritual terms. This recognition has partly fuelled the support for indigenous lifestyles and the related management of resources. These traditional lifestyles are also presented by activists from within these communities, as a critique of mainstream development. This is echoed by the many activists and activist organizations involved in supporting indigenous people's causes across the world.

A cause that indigenous people have often rallied around is the resistance towards mining on indigenous land. This is a cause that has attracted a significant amount of support, particularly when the land in question had spiritual or cultural value for an indigenous community. Accordingly, there have been several success stories of resistance towards mining on land that indigenous people believed was sacred, in several different continents. This thesis focuses on such narratives in the Indian context. It examines how, why and to what effect, local and international activists got involved in supporting a movement to protect the Niyamgiri Mountain in east-central India from bauxite extraction by Vedanta Resources, a multi-national mining company. The Niyamgiri Mountain was believed to be sacred by the Dongaria Kondh community which lived there and which is generally understood (though not officially recognized) as an indigenous community. The movement, which this thesis refers to as the Niyamgiri Movement, was finally successful – since the mining project was banned by the Indian government. In addition to a focus on this movement, the thesis also compares this movement with the anti-mining movement on the island of Palawan in the Philippines.

Indigenous peoples constitute minority groups in many of the countries in the Global South. It is also common for governments in the Global South to promote mining as an economic development strategy. This has led to frequent conflicts between indigenous peoples and mining companies. In some of the countries in the Global South, such as the Philippines, indigenous peoples are given official recognition. Whereas in others, such as India, there are affirmative action programs targeting groups claiming indigenous identity, as well as special legislations aimed at protecting their land, although no official recognition of the indigenous identity of these groups exists. Despite this, in contexts such as India there is often a general cultural understanding that groups which claim an indigenous identity are in some way 'primordial' – to use a word that translates best from the Indian context, in which the terms Adi Vasi (Original/Primordial Dwellers) or Adim Janajati (Primordial Tribes) are commonly used for such groups.

Given that there is at least some degree of cultural acceptance (if not an official recognition) of the indigenous identity of some of the groups that are entering into conflicts with mining companies, an important question relates to the reasons why local activists may get involved in supporting

indigenous struggles against mining and how they may understand indigeneity in this context. Another important question is related to the laws that are applicable in local contexts and which may be used to support the struggles of groups that claim indigenous identity. The Forest Rights Act in India is such a law and the thesis explores how it was used in the context of the Niyamgiri Movement. Finally, it is important to consider how people who are not indigenous and who may not have an activist orientation, can be made to take a sympathetic view of indigenous struggles against mining. In the context of the Niyamgiri Movement in India, this thesis explores how creative representations by activists translated the nature religiosity of the Dongaria Kondhs into familiar terms that mainstream popular discourse in India could identify with.

In the thesis, the comparison of the Niyamgiri Movement in India with the anti-mining movement on the island of Palawan in the Philippines examines the way in which social movements in two different nation-state contexts engage with globalized discourses pertaining to the linkages between indigenous issues and conservation discourses. For a deeper examination of the way indigenous people are represented by globalized popular discourses, the thesis examines how images from Hollywood were used to generate sympathy for the Dongaria Kondhs' cause in the Niyamgiri Movement. An examination of the international activism which supported the Niyamgiri Movement and which has been effective in bringing about the success of the movement i.e. the banning of the mining project on Niyamgiri, is another important focal point of the thesis.

A commitment towards exploring the activist politics that is relevant to the lives of indigenous peoples has inspired this thesis, which seeks to understand effective activist strategies and identify problematic ones in relation to the protection of land with cultural or spiritual value for indigenous peoples. Keeping this in view, it explores the insights provided by different theories, in order to use these to contribute towards orienting activist practice towards greater effectiveness as well as higher self-reflexivity.

Biography

Radhika Borde is a lecturer at the Metropolitan University of Prague and a visiting lecturer at the Institute of Political Studies at the Charles University in Prague. She is also a steering committee member of an IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) specialist group focusing on culture and protected areas. She has published on the themes of social movements against mining, the use of revisionist mythology by marginalized groups, new eco-religious movements and the intersections between culture and nature. She has been a peer-reviewer for several international academic journals and has also presented at various international conferences. She has supervised the theses of Bachelor's students at the Cultural Geography research group at Wageningen University.

Radhika Borde has also had the experience of organizing a workshop and other events at the IUCN World Parks Congress in Sydney, 2014. She is involved with contributing to the development of IUCN policy and is part of a group that is developing a set of IUCN Best Practice Guidelines for the inclusion of culture and spirituality in protected area management. She has lectured at an international course on protected area governance which was co-organized by (among others) the Food and Agricultural Organization of the UN and the University of Turin, Italy - several environment and development professionals participated in this course. Prior to starting work on her PhD, Radhika Borde has also worked as an activist in the state of Jharkhand in India in relation to issues concerning mining, indigenous peoples, land acquisition and the environment. She has also founded and is involved with a social entrepreneurship venture aimed at reviving and promoting indigenous and local crafts in India.

Radhika Borde
Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)
Completed Training and Supervision Plan

Name of the activity	Department/Institute	Year	ECTS*
A. Project related competences			
Policy Agenda Setting and Issue Framing, PAP 52306	WUR	2011	6
Oral Histories and Life Stories	Huizinga Institute	2012	3
Pre-fieldwork project workshops with international activists	Adivasi Koordination	2012	1
B. General research related competences			
WASS Introduction course	WASS	2011	1
Qualitative Research Methodology, YRM 60806	WUR	2011	6
Organizer of annual PhD Day of GEO Group	GEO-WUR	2015	1
Peer Reviewer for 4 Academic Journals	Environmental Politics; Journal of Contemporary Asia; Nature and Culture; Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies	2011 2013 2014 2016	2
Steering committee member of IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) Specialist Group; Editor of Newsletter of the group (published 3 times a year)	IUCN Specialist Group on Cultural and Spiritual Values of Protected Areas	2013-present	4
C. Career related competences/personal development			
"Sacred Land and the Politics of Voice"	International Sociological Association conference, Buenos Aires, Argentina	2012	1
"Two-level games in policy-making related to the acquisition of indigenous land for mineral development projects in India, the Philippines and Guatemala"	Interpretative Policy Analysis conference, Wageningen, The Netherlands	2014	1
"Echoing Voices: Environmental Protests by Adivasis with Trans-national Support and Reform Responses by the Indian Government"	Central University of Jharkhand conference, Ranchi, India	2012	1
Guest Lecture titled "Indigeneity as Nostalgia for the Earth Mother	Goethe University, Frankfurt	2013	1
Guest Lecture titled "Theorizing Resistance to Land Acquisition for Development by Indigenous Peoples"	GEO-WUR	2014	1
Supervision of 3 BSc Theses	GEO-WUR	2015	2
IUCN reviewer for UNESCO Nomination of European Trans-boundary mining heritage site	IUCN	2015	2
Pre-fieldwork internship with foreign institution	C.C.L.	2012	2
Part of team that organized workshops on the cultural significance of nature at the World Parks Congress, Sydney	IUCN	2014	2
Total			**37**

*One credit according to ECTS is on average equivalent to 28 hours of study load

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