International Institute of Social Studies

Erasmus

Necessities Shaping the Advocacy Actors from Different Backgrounds to Form a Coalition:
Examining the interaction of Anti-liquor groups in Tamil Nadu

A Research Paper presented by:

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(INDIAN/INDIA, TAMILNADU)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

GDP
(GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY)

Specialization: Public Policy and Management

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The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2024

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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Contents

List of Tables

List of Appendices

List of Acronyms

TN	Tamil Nadu
TASMAC	Tamil Nadu State Marketing Corporation
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
AIADMK	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
PMK	Pattali Makkal Katchi
VCK	Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CM	Chief Minister
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework

Acknowledgement

Abstract

This study focuses on the different advocacy actors in Tamil Nadu who seek to influence the government for complete alcohol ban in the state through advocating actions like ant-liquor protests, filing cases, expressing their views in public speeches, legislative assemblies, interviews, etc. Those advocacy actors include women groups, social activists, and political members. Though these actors are socially, politically, and gender-wise diverse, they come together, collaborate, and coordinate in advocacy actions against alcohol sale. This study tries to unveil why should they collaborate for one common policy objective of prohibiting alcohol despite of their differences. There are various cases where actors within a policy subsystem with shared beliefs collaborate for a policy change, but this is unique as they are naturally different and present their problems in different ways but come together in a coalition for a common policy objective. This provides a different dimension on how society, politics, and policy operate. To reveal it, the main questions asked in the research are how different advocacy actors present their views about their positionality on alcohol sale and what are the necessities for these different actors to collaborate in a coalition through coordinated advocating strategies. These questions are addressed qualitatively by collecting the data from the advocacy actors and by analysing the advocating events against alcohol sale in Tamil Nadu. The analysis of these collected data through Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) reveals that the shared opponent (TASAMC), common interest (of banning alcohol for the wellbeing), and the necessities or the dependence of each actor on the other actor(s) made them to collaborate and coordinate together, so that they can have multiple wins on their advocating attempts against alcohol sale. The study encourages for the similar research to study on the similar widespread cases around the world to understand how interaction and coalition of different advocacy actors work in various contexts.

Relevance to Development Studies

This topic relevant to Development Studies insofar as it presents the interaction and collaboration between different advocacy actors in a society, which reveals how different factors and necessities are influencing those actors to develop various strategies inclusively and sustainably, so that they can have multiple wins and achieve their policy goal.

Keywords

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH

India, being a quasi-federal system of government has a state called Tamil Nadu in the south of the nation's geographical landscape. Though situated at the bottom, it stands as one of the well-developed (Statistics Times, 2024) and well-preforming (Ministry of Rural Development, 2024) Indian states. Unlike other coastal states in India, Tamil Nadu's contribution for its development was proportionally due to its unique ideological and political atmosphere that nurtured the literacy, social justice, economy, and infrastructure of the state. Despite this development, there have been debates, arguments, and protests happening in the state on several issues and the one among them is the burden of alcoholism (Vangala, 2016). The words 'liquor' and 'alcohol' are interchangeably used to mention the alcoholic beverages and spirits. Though its monopolization and regulation techniques were almost similar to other states, the deep-rooted advocating actors, the dynamic history and the politicization of the state's alcohol and related policies leaves a lot of interesting research puzzles to solve which triggered me to select one among them and to work on it. This introduction chapter of the research aims to provide what the interesting puzzle is, what is its background, and what is the research objective and questions that will help to solve the puzzle. Additionally, the outline of this research paper in which the research has been delivered is also provided in this chapter.

1.1   Research Background:

In the year 1983, the then ruled state government of Tamil Nadu established a state-owned company called Tamil Nadu State Marketing Corporation Ltd. (TASMAC), "primarily to eradicate the menace of illicit liquor" (Rajasekaran, 2022). This initially bought Indian Manufactured Foreign Liquors (IMFLs) like alcoholic beers and spirits from minimal private manufacturing companies and sold it to the tendered private liquor outlets, but later became monopolized in the year 2003 by also taking over all the liquor retail outlets in the state under its ownership and named them as TASMAC (the name pronounced for both the state-owned liquor company and its retail outlets). This establishment of TASMAC is the starting point where liquor and politics of the state were intertwined, the state started to peak its economy and social welfare, and the already deep-rooted actors who opposed and advocated against the sale of alcohol also got increased. These actors include mostly women groups, social activists, and political parties and leaders. While these actors problematized the *availability* and *accessibility* of alcohol as the reason for domestic violence, social crimes, and addiction in the state, the experts, and the government countered their arguments by highlighting the concerns on economic fall and illicit liquor entrance in the state, if banned. However, the further expansion of TASMAC outlets and the increased atrocities by the drunkards in the state triggered the anti-liquor groups (women, social activists, and political parties) to engage in actions against the government and the TASMAC outlets. While several states in India have been experiencing anti-liquor protests in the recent past, for various reasons like ideological, religious, and societal disturbances, Tamil Nadu has been witnessing similar protests since July 2015, demanding for complete prohibition of alcohol in the state (Karunanithi, 2020, p. 140). Notwithstanding, these protests altered the state's political climate by leaning it more towards the alcohol related societal issues and included it in the election manifesto and in political campaigns. On the other hand, the prevalence of bootleggers, bribed officers, and the dependence of state's major income on TASMAC's revenue made the government reluctant to ban or prohibit alcohol in the state. Few experts like journalists and economists also showcases the aftereffects of completely prohibiting alcohol or liquor sale in the state.

1.2   Justification of the Research:

Though the TASMAC was primarily established to eradicate the existed social evils of illicit alcohol, its outcome caused paradoxical effect of *welfare through revenue* and *social crimes* from prevailing liquor sale in the state. While paradoxes are *inevitable* (Haines, 2011, Ch. 2) and not unique only to the case of Tamil Nadu, the research on that would need an extensive approach encompassing complex methodology, data collection, approach, and time. As mentioned before, after the establishment of TASMAC, there had been the prevalence of opposing arguments and stance against its establishment condemning the government's arguments, for e.g., the then ruling politician's justification of utilizing the revenues of TASMAC for state's welfare was denied by few social activists countering it as a wrong theory (ANI, 2022). Similar oppositions had also been raised by different actors like women groups and politicians. These actors had taken their stance much stronger in banning and selling liquor in the state through arguments, debates, statements which were expressed in anti-protests, public speeches, media interviews, etc. While the alcohol ban aiming actors concern on the social crimes, nuisance and domestic violence which are against the 'social justice', the actors supporting the alcohol sale highlight the state's revenue and illicit liquor prevention. As we witness here the two camps arguing for and against the sale of liquor in the state of Tamil Nadu, they can be tabled as:

Camp 1: Against Alcohol Sale	Camp 2: For Alcohol Sale
Actors: Women Groups, Social Activists, Political Parties	Actors: Government, Ruling political party members, Journalists, Economic and Social Experts
Venues for expressing their arguments: Protests, Rallies, Campaigns, Public Speeches, conferences, media Interviews, Courts, and legislative assembly.	Venues for expressing their arguments: Media Interviews, debates, and legislative Assembly.

Table 1.1: Competing Camps for and against alcohol sale in TN

Of these two competing camps mentioned in Table 1.1, we can witness different actors arguing for and against the sale of alcohol in the state. On the other hand, though both the camps have few similar venues to express their arguments like media interviews and legislative assembly, other spots like protests, rallies, campaign are not utilized by actors in the camp who argue for alcohol sale. These unsimilar venues of camps reveal the fact of togetherness and coordination among the actors in expressing their arguments. That is, the absence of protests, rallies, and campaigns in the camp for alcohol sale shows that they lack in expressing their arguments as a group, rather their views were individually delivered in interviews or debates. For e.g., a senior journalist named Subramaniyan, during an interview by Puthiyathalaimurai news channel, individually delivered his view that total prohibition of alcohol is bad and impossible as it always resulted in violations (Puthiyathalaimaurai, 2024). On the other hand, though legislative assembly gives the political actors, who are arguing for alcohol sale, a chance for collectively expressing their views, it was mostly used as a spot to counter the arguments or questions of opposition party members and to settle the raising concerns through the counter statements of respective ministers. For e.g., In the year 2021, a criticism by an opposition party member against the opening of liquor outlets during the pandemic in the TN legislative assembly was countered by the then minister of TN Prohibition and Excise department stating that it was opened only in the districts where the COVID cases were low (Neerthirai, 2021). Whereas, while we look on the venues like protests, campaigns and rallies which are used by the actors in the camp against alcohol sale to express their views or arguments, the people come together and jointly express their concerns through chants, boards, blockades, etc. For e.g., In the year 2019, a group of women "staged a road blockade at

Perumampalayam against the TASMAC shop after its inauguration" (TNN, 2019). Another two differences to be noted from the two opposing camps are that:

i. Though the views of the actors who argue for alcohol sale problematize the possible economic and societal aftereffects of banning alcohol, their arguments were emerged and expressed to 'counter' the arguments raising against alcohol ban and as an advocating strategy to influence or change the government policies related to liquor. Which means, they are 'countering', rather not 'advocating' for a policy change. Whereas the actors who argue against alcohol ban not only stops with criticizing the government and delivering their views, but they also engage in actions like conducting protests, filing petitions, etc. against alcohol sale intending to influence the government for a policy change related to liquor. They problematize their existing problems from TASMAC and through these strategies they advocate to the government for a complete prohibition of alcohol in the state of Tamil Nadu. This means, they are not 'countering' or only 'criticizing', rather 'advocating' for a change in the policy. And so, these actors can be called as 'advocacy actors'.

ii. In the year 2020, during the pandemic period, the political parties, social activists, and the women organized and collectively conducted wide range of protests and blockades across the several districts of the state (TNN, 2020). Though we discuss earlier that the actors arguing against alcohol sale do it in a group by coming together, the engagement from the above event further reveals that they not only get together within the actors, but also with different actors raised their arguments against alcohol sale and intends to completely prohibit it from the state. That is, not only women, or politicians, or social activists separately form group and engage in protests, but also all these three actors (women groups, politicians, and social activists) collaborate, coordinate, and engage in activities against alcohol sale seeking to influence the government for closing liquor shops in the state, which is not witnessed among the actors in the other camp who argue for alcohol sale. As these advocacy actors tries to influence the government decisions through coalition and strategies at different venues, they can be also called as 'advocacy coalition', 'advocating strategies', and 'advocating venues'.

There are evidences of successful advocating incidents or events conducted by the collaboration and coordination of these advocacy actors which resulted in few minor changes by the government like closing few liquor outlets, altering the liquor related policies, etc. However, their advocacy is still in process as their aim was to completely ban alcohol in the state. While we look at these collaborating actors, they are socially, politically, economically, and gender-wise different. For e.g., Not all social activists are involved in political activities or has a drastic economic condition; not all politicians are women and are tortured by the drunkards. The puzzle now here is, despite of these differences, how and why do these different actors come together, collaborate, coordinate and advocate to the government for a same motive of prohibiting alcohol in the state. Different actors might have different problems like domestic violence by drunkards for women, public atrocities and raising social evils for social activists and politicians. But why should they collaborate and form as a coalition which the other opposing camp didn't do? While these advocacy actors are socially, economically, politically, and gender-wise diverse, there is something that brings these different actors together and to advocate for one common goal, which is the prohibition alcohol in the state. I am interested in investigating and understanding what brings them together, if it is value, or ideology or something else. This research is thus aimed to reveal it by analyzing and interpreting the collection of related data.

1.3   Research Objective and Research Questions:

As discussed previously, based on the existing puzzle on the coalition of different advocacy actors, the main objective of this research is:

"To understand how different advocacy actors who seek to influence the liquor related policies in the state of Tamil Nadu come together and stick to the common position on the issue of alcohol prohibition in the state, despite of many differences between them".

To achieve this research objective, it is important to address the puzzle with related research questions, which has been set upped as:

1. How do different advocacy actors who argue for complete prohibition of alcohol in the state of Tamil Nadu present their views, positionality, and policy objective on alcohol ban in their advocating statements and arguments?

2. Why should these advocacy actors come together in a coalition, coordinate, and seek to influence the policy subsystem to attain their common motive of prohibiting alcohol in the state?

CHAPTER 2
REVIEWING THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE

Before dealing with the analysis and interpretation of the collected data to understand how different actors in the advocacy coalition come together and collaborate to advocate for complete alcohol prohibition in the state of Tamil Nadu, it is necessary to find out under which theoretic lens can the collected data be theoretically viewed to achieve the research objective. To find that, it is essential to know about the historic and political context and views on alcohol, and the formation and evolution of different advocacy actors and their debates with the objective of banning alcohol in the state. This Chapter initially presents the historic story of how alcohol was portrayed by the people of Tamil Nadu and the then leaders, where has the political transformation happened, and how this transformation led to the formation of different advocacy actors protesting for alcohol in the state of Tamil Nadu. From this historical approach and the engagement of related literatures, the chapter further provides the establishment of theories and concepts which would be useful to analyze and interpret the collected data to answer the research questions and to achieve to the objective of this research.

2.1 Historic Views on Alcohol in Tamil Nadu and its Politicization:

As Tamil Nadu is a state in the country of India, it's better to start by slighting touching Indian historic views on alcohol. A social science and language professor Gopalakrishnan Karunanithi (2020, p. 130) in his journal explains the alcohol consuming practices in ancient India and the socio-economic implications of these in contemporary times. Though he quoted from few ancient texts that religiously and socially encouraged the serving and consumption of alcohol, he also mentioned the arguments that completely object its consumption. Hasan (1922, cited in Karunanithi, 2020, p. 130) states that the treatises of Hinduism on dharma, composed by Apastamba and Gautama, lay stronger prohibitions against the use of alcohol. Shifting to ancient Tamil literatures, notable poets like Thiruvalluvar has also stood for abstinence expressing the evils of consuming alcohol (Karunanithi, 2020, p. 130). Though the implications of these ancient views on alcohol doesn't shape wholly the contemporary arguments against alcohol sale, there must be few shades of it falling on the currently prevailing advocacy actors against alcohol sale in the state of Tamil Nadu.

Switching to the recent history of evolution of the advocacy actors and their views on alcohol sale, the political conditions before the establishment of TASMAC has a major role. It was the time when C. Rajagopalachari served as the Chief Minister (CM) of Madras Presidency (present day Tamil Nadu) in the year 1937. Being inspired from Gandhi's ideology of *non-alcoholism*, Rajagopalachari believed in complete alcohol prohibition and so wanted to completely close the toddy and sarayam/arrack shops in the presidency (News7 Tamil Prime, 2024). *Toddy* is a fermented natural alcoholic beverage extracted from the palm and coconut trees with less alcoholic content (Wikipedia, 2024). Locally called *Sarayam* or *Pattacharayam* or *Country Liquor* or *Arrack* on the other hand is a distilled alcoholic drink extracted not only from fermented saps of coconut flower or sugarcane or fruits but also mixes with some other ingredients like grains and are involved in the process of brewing, which is heavier than toddy (Thiruththamizhththevanaar, 2017, p. 17). However, Rajagopalachari used the phased stage strategy for closing toddy and arrack shops in the presidency and so did that district wise. While Rajagopalachari's process was paused with closing the toddy and arrack shops in only four districts as he had to resign his post for political reasons, 'Omanthur P. Ramaswamy Reddiar' who took charge after few years continued and carried the prohibition process to the next level by completely closing all the toddy and arrack

shops in the Madras Presidency. It was followed by the succeeded chief ministers P. S. Kumaraswamy Raja, K. Kamaraj, M. Bhakthavatsalam, and C. N. Annadurai (News7 Tamil Prime, 2024). The reign of Kamaraj was considered as the "Golden Period of Tamil Nadu State" (Magendran, 2021). Though everyone believed the ideology of *non-alcoholism* and followed complete alcohol ban in the state, no one could compromise with the sale of alcoholic drugs for medical purposes. While this limitations on trading drugs for medical purposes were considered as necessary one, the related crimes like illegal drug stagnation, trading, and excessive usage had also been occurred. This created few tensions for the government. On the other hand, the raising economic crisis was also the problem faced during their rules. Though these problems emerged in Tamil Nadu all the ruled chief ministers of the state from Rajagopalachari to Annadurai strongly believed their stance on complete alcohol prohibition and did not attempt at any time for lifting it (News7 Tamil Prime, 2024).

While Kamaraj was praised for his golden regime, C. N. Annadurai was considered as the iconic figure of liquor free Tamil Nadu who strongly believed in prohibition even at the drastic economic situation of the state. This can be revealed from Annadurai's statements:

"Mathuvilakkilirunthu kidaikkum varumaanathaivida thaaimaargalin magizhchi porunthiya kudumbangal thaan tamizhaga arasukku mukkiyam" (Thiruththamizhththevanaar, 2017)

This Annadurai's famous Tamil quote is translated as, "It's the happiness of women which is most important for the government of Tamil Nadu than the revenue from lifting alcohol ban in the state". This presents his strong opposition against alcohol sale. His another popular saying about liquor sale was translated by Times of India as "*state raising money from liquor is akin to melting butter in the hands of a leper*" (Kannan, 2015). This approach of political figures against alcoholism in history has great impact on the formation of advocacy actors and their views on alcohol sale who currently coordinate and advocate against its sale.

It was the first time that the state of Tamil Nadu had a *Dravidian* rule with C. N. Annadurai as the chief minister, who was the leader of the political party called *Dravidia Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)* which believes and runs the state of TN under the *Dravidian* ideology and related principles. *Dravidian* ideology was developed and was refined in a socio-political milieu which opposes the Brahminical dominance on Indian public administrations, Casteism, Superiorization of Sanskrit/Aryan culture and prioritized in glorifying the Dravidian/Tamil identity and culture (Pandian, 1994). Few principles of this ideology include *self-respect* and *social justice*. This relates to the advocacy actors who are arguing against alcohol sale as they problematize the domestic violence of women from their drunkard husbands as 'social injustice' that affects the principle of Dravidianism and so criticizes the Dravidian governments that are consecutively ruling the state for 57 years. Annadurai in the year 1967 dreamt to have a regime based on *Dravidian* ideology and as so carefully handled the alcoholic culture in the state. His unfortunate death replaced him with 'M. Karunanidhi'. Karunanidhi who also strictly followed the non-alcoholic principle initially, postponed the ban on alcohol in Tamil Nadu for the first time after several years in 1971. The reason was that the then Union government of India under the Prime ministership of Indira Gandhi promised to offer funds to Indian states where alcohol is banned. When approached for the fund by the TN chief minister Karunanidhi, his demand was rejected denoting that the fund was planned be provided only to the Indian states where the alcohol prohibition was newly implemented but not for Tamil Nadu as the prohibition was in practice for a long time. This ignorance letter from the union government was an important turning point in the history of Tamil Nadu's alcoholic culture. The drastic economic condition and the ignorance from the union government forced Karunanidhi to postpone the ban on alcohol in the state for a while. However, after several criticisms and strong objections against the postpone, Karunanidhi closed all the toddy and arrack shops in the state and announced complete ban on alcohol in the year 1974. (News7 Tamil Prime, 2020). From Rajagopalachari's rule (1937) to C.N. Annadurai's rule (1969), though the economic crisis and illicit liquor market prevailed, the domestic violence of women from their drunkard husbands and the

sufferings of economically weaker sections from alcohol addicted men were considered and prioritized by all the chief ministers until Annadurai. They believed that 'existence of alcohol' as the reason for such problems and so did not want to run alcohol sale in the state (was revealed from mentioned Annadurai's quote). Whereas Karunanidhi's postponement of alcohol ban highlighting the state's economic problem and union government's fund rejection as the reason, reveals his considerations on state's 'economic problems' rather than social effects. This decision back to alcohol ban due to political pressures reveals his consideration on the 'political menaces' over social and economic problems. This was the first political transformation to be witnessed in the history of alcohol prohibition in Tamil Nadu. However, this is not the only one. "The history of prohibition in Tamil Nadu is characterized by oscillating periods of enforcement" (Kaviarasu, 2023, p. 12). After a split from *Dravidia Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)*, M. G. Ramachandran (popularly called as M.G.R) started a new political party called *All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)* in the year 1972 with the same *Dravidian* ideology. M.G.R, being a movie star who had huge fan base and popularity across the state, became the CM of Tamil Nadu in the year 1977. Even though he initially stood very strong against alcohol sale like Annadurai, implemented strict punishments for illicit alcohol crimes, and gained the hope of the people, he couldn't withstand the financial pressure. He lifted the existed ban on alcohol in the state and established state-owned company called TASMAC in the year 1983 with an aim to generate revenue for the state and to regulate the drinking habits of alcohol consumers and addicts (News7 Tamil Prime, 2020). We can here witness this balancing approach to address the economic and societal issues of the state. Though M.G.R did this to balance the existed problems, the follow up political situations did not favor for the real objective of establishing TASMAC which was to generate revenue and to regulate the excess alcohol consumption and addictions of the drunkards. While TASMAC during its establishment in the year 1983 was partially monopolized, the follow up regimes of *DMK* under 'M. Karunanidhi' and *AIADMK* under 'J. Jayalalitha' altered the policies and made TASMAC as a completely monopolized state-owned company in the year 2003 which buys Indian Made Foreign Liquor (IMFL) like alcoholic beverages and spirits from the contracted manufacturers and sells it to its own liquor outlets in the state. On the other hand, the arrack and toddy sale were banned by 1991 to avoid the menace. Thus, the arrack and toddy were replaced by IMFLs. The profit growth from TASMAC's revenue was not little but it became more and more each year. While the consecutive regimes of *DMK* and *AIADMK* took steps to monopolize TASMAC until 2003, their consecutive regimes in Tamil Nadu after 2003 took steps to increase the profits and revenue from TASMAC by increasing the liquor outlets, extending the contracts from manufacturers, and establishing elite bars in the state. In the year 2001 there were around 4,500 TASMAC outlets in the state, whereas in the year 2020 it was around 5,300 (News7 Tamil Prime, 2020). "Before takeover of Retail Vending by TASMAC, the turnover of TASMAC was Rs. 3499.75 Crores. The turnover has increased to Rs. 7335 Crores during the year 2005-06. The additional turnover was Rs. 3835.25 Crores and the growth rate was 109.59%" (TASMAC, 2017). As the profit from TASMAC increased the economy of the state, on the other hand it has decreased the living standards of the people in Tamil Nadu (News7 Tamil Prime, 2020).

2.2   Reviewing the Literature:

The historic and political implications mentioned above had provoked the women groups and social activist to take a stance against alcohol sale and triggered them to advocate for it aiming to have a liquor free state, like the one that existed during Kamaraj's and Annadurai's rule. Over the extended period, "both parties have engaged in a cycle of alternating between implementing and rescinding prohibition measures. Because of these "oscillations in government policy, a significant portion of the state's population, particularly those from poor backgrounds, has developed alcohol dependence. Furthermore, a substantial number of adolescents have also succumbed to this detrimental habit" (Kaviarasu, 2020, p. 13). Prevalence of injustice can be witnessed here which would

have triggered the actors to advocate firmly against the alcohol sale. Karunanithi (2020, p. 140) says that no protests or temporal movements against alcohol were reported in the earlier periods of Tamil Nadu as the "proportion of alcohol-related crimes and violent incidents including domestic violence were insignificant". This reveals that the increase in proportionality of alcohol related crimes resulted in the emergence of anti-liquor protests, where the advocacy actors decided to extensively involve in the process of eradicating alcohol from the state. Karunanithi (2020) provides a series of anti-liquor protests and similar advocating incidents from 2015 to 2020 where women groups, social activists, and politicians were collectively witnessed in a coalition with a common motive of closing all the liquor outlets in the state of TN. The reasons for these advocating actions have also been mentioned by Karunanithi (2020) as the prevalence and seriousness of social issues which are against women, economically weaker families, and youngsters. Statistics and case studies were also highlighted to reveal the intensity of the prevailing alcohol-related issues, which triggered the actors to advocate against its ban. The arguments include the 'personal disorganization' of habitual drinkers of the working class who after consumption causes problem to his wife and children (economically, physically and mentally), the relation of alcohol and violence, a case from Tirunelveli (a southern district in Tamil Nadu), where a women was killed brutally by his drunkard women during his domestic violence as she refused to give him money for drinking, early death, injuries, fatal road accidents, damage to equipment, frequent absenteeism, a lack of punctuality, a loss of efficiency, loss of production, low morale, weak productive relations, and the like (Karunanithi, 2020). Though there wasn't any direct mentioning of this relation between advocacy actors and prevailing seriousness of the issue, the arguments of Karunanithi (2020) tries to reveal this relation in few parts of his research article. Other than mentioning the serious social problems as a cause for different actors to involve in advocacy against alcohol sale, no discussion was done on the paper about the reasons for collaboration or coordination of these actors. Similar arguments and data have also been presented by Kaviarasu (2023) on his research article where he argues that the oscillating alcohol related policies and its politicization have series of alcohol related problems. He stresses on the prevalence of policy oscillations and fluctuations of DMK and AI-ADMK government's alcohol related decisions which were indented for the political motive rather than the people's welfare. His paper highlights different stages of politicization of liquor in history and in contemporary Tamil Nadu and reveals its consequences as the reason for the state's major population to indulge in alcohol consumption and in committing related crimes, and the remaining population to advocate against its sale in the state. Though policy oscillations, government's fluctuating decisions on alcohol prohibition, and intertwining of alcohol issues with politics were emphasized by Kaviarasu (2023) as the reasons for the formation and engagement of different advocacy actors against alcohol sale, no engagement has been dealt with the reasons of different advocacy actors to collaborate and coordinate. There were also extensive literatures that study the cases of liquor problems in Tamil Nadu, the prevalence of anti-liquor protests, and the engagement of different advocacy actors in the advocating events. With an attempt to express from the views on alcohol from the perspective of public health care, research on epidemiology of alcohol consumption in Kancheepuram district of Tamil Nadu was done. Quoting the national and international stats, Eashwar *et al.* (2019) in their epidemiological study of alcohol consumption mentions the harmful effects of alcohol consumption which includes alcoholic liver disease, cardiomyopathy, neurological complications, poor work efficiency, loss of tasks performing skills, AUD leading to suicidal thoughts and attempts, also homicides. The paper concludes by mentioning about the healthcare activists, who red flag the current alcohol policies of the government of Tamil Nadu as inadequate and vulnerable, meaning that the government is also one of the reasons for the increased proportion of alcohol consumptions and its harmful effects (Eashwar *et al.*, 2019). Despite the presence of different advocacy actors who contempt government's alcohol sale in the state, the research has narrowed down by concentrating the perspective from one of the advocating actors.

It is very much essential for the researchers to narrow down and focus more on the septate entities like the above literatures which extensively discussed about each of the advocacy actors who argue for the alcohol ban in the state, that is, the women groups, social activists, and the politicians, and discussed about their advocating actions and coordination strategies. Though they already mention the presence collaboration and coordination of these different advocacy actors, no research papers or articles attempted to unveil the reason why these advocacy actors come together and coordinately involves in their advocating actions like protests to influence the government's decision on alcohol sale in the state. Several researches have either narrowly or broadly expressed the reasons for the formation different advocacy actors against alcohol sale and how each actors problematize or politicize the alcohol related issues, but no research was attempted to find if there were any similarities or dissimilarities in the representation and problematization of alcohol issues by the different advocacy actors. This gives an opportunity to understand the reason behind the coalition of different advocacy actors, in the case of Tamil Nadu's alcohol prohibition advocacy. However, not specific to the case of Tamil Nadu, there are theories and concepts that were used to unveil, understand, and to solve similar research puzzles. Emil Juslin (2023, p. 7), with an aim to explain the reason for the presence or the absence of the occurrence of a policy shift in EU alcohol policy, he did an analysis that defines the existed coalition in the policy subsystem, their priorities, and the reasons for their influence on policy. Even though this research too failed to unveil the reasons for the coalition of different advocacy actors but rather aims at finding if the policy change was done or not, the paper leaves with a theorical framework, which is a tool used to extensively understand about the advocacy actors like the reason for their coalitions, advocating strategies, stability, coordination strength and defections. The theoretical framework used in the research was 'Advocacy Coalition Framework' (Justin, 2023). The further expansion about this theorical framework and its related concepts would reveal how it will be used as a theoretical lens by viewing, analyzing, and interpreting the collected data to answer the research questions and to achieve the research's main objective.

2.3 Advocacy Coalition Framework:

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) was created in the early 1980s by Paul Sabatier intellectually inspired from co-researchers (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 186). The initial evolution of the ACF began with experiments and theoretical hypothesis on learning about the push of several administrative and other actors finding the paths for policy change, which then was modified and clarified by adding concepts like *individual*, the *belief system*, and the *policy subsystem* and the overlapping and nested properties, *weak/strong coordination* of coalition actors, *mature/nascent subsystems*, policy preference, etc. (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). Over evolution, though the complexity of the ACF framework was needed to be better altered for the futuristic evolution and modification, the usage of this framework's one or more subcomponents by the analysts became increasing. However, the distinct works of analysts who used ACF lie on the three theorical foci of *coalitions, leaning,* and *policy change* (Weible *et al.*, 2011, cited in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 188). It was also said that these theoretical foci did not change the theoretical logic of the ACF framework and so will be used by the future analysts (Sabatier, 1998, cited in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 188). Though the whole Advocacy Coalitions Framework (ACF) was clearly designed in a theoretical structure to study how the formed coalition groups triggers and pushes the government to change their decisions resulting the changes in institutional rules, policy change and the change in the external subsystem events, the purpose for our study concretely focuses on the subcomponent of *coalitions* in the ACF which was mentioned as one of the three majorly used theorical foci by analysts who uses ACF.

2.3.1 Application of Assumptions:

Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is basically a theorical framework or structure that act as a theoretical lens or a tool to apply, experiment, and explain how the coalitions of advocacies push or influence the government for a policy change. The complex framework of ACF has tools to explore how and under what opportunities are the advocacy coalition formed, how to they fix their policy goals or objectives, how long and stable are the coalitions existing, how are they managing their coalition stability, and how their influence on the policy change is affecting the external sub-system events. Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, (2014, p. 189) describes this framework by its "assumptions, scope and basic categories of concepts". One of the assumptions that was used to describe the framework says, "Individuals are boundedly rational with limited ability to process stimuli, motivated by belief systems, and prone to experience the '*devil shift*'." (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 190). This was further explained that as the individuals were instrumentally motivated by goals but was unclear how to achieve them (Simon, 1957, cited in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 191) and so simplifies the world with their belief system (Munro and Ditto, 1997, cited in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 191). Applying our case of Tamil Nadu, which has a coalition of different advocacy actors for alcohol ban raise question why they collectively believe and align on 'banning the alcohol in the state' rather than believing on any other ways like stopping men from consuming, or responsibly drinking, or being self-dependent and self-resistance from the drunkard husbands and the drunkard's atrocities. The data from the interviews and the reference from the historic and political perspectives of Tamil Nadu on alcohol sale would better answer why their stimuli and stance were shaped in such a way. Further the framework explains the belief system as three-tire structured system which includes *Deep core beliefs* (based on normative values), *Policy Core Beliefs* (bounded by scope and topic to the policy subsystem), and *Secondary Beliefs* (instrumental means for achieving the desired outcomes) (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 191). With respect to our case of Tamil Nadu, though the advocating groups for alcohol ban move their advocating strategy through emotional claims and sensitive statements, their main policy objective was to completely prohibit alcohol TN. Their objective is straight into the topical component of the policy subsystem. This means that their initial belief starts from the normative values influenced by the emotional and sensitive cases, that is to protect family and society from drunkard husbands, social crimes, etc., beginning from *Deep core beliefs*, and then sets up the agenda of 'banning alcohol in the state', revealing their *Policy core beliefs*. Additionally, they advocate concerning the overall serious problems caused so far, affecting the *social justice* and claims 'alcohol availability' as the main basic cause to the problems and so asks for the preferred solution of completely banning it from the state. This therefore can be sub-structured as "*Normative Policy Core Belief*" (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 191). However, some of the ways for completely closing liquor outlets in the state can be considered as a mean for achieving the advocacies' policy objective, for e.g., the *AIADMK* (*All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam*) political party during the 2016 election campaign promised to implement phased abolition project of TASMAC resulting in complete prohibition, if came into power; this phased model includes reducing the working hours of the liquor outlets, closing few liquor retails and bars, and opening the rehabilitation centers (Kannan, 2021). This can be considered as one of the means kept forth for achieving the policy goal of advocating actors, which fall under *"Secondary Beliefs"* (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 191). This interpretation gives us a proper picture that how the belief system of the advocacy actors is structured under various needs and their goals. However, the reason why all the three advocacy actors – the women group, the social activists, and the political parties – had the same belief and aligned together will be broadly analyzed and discussed in the analysis part of the research with the help of the collected data.

Another assumption that was used to describe the ACF is, "*Subsystems are simplified by aggregating actors into one or more coalitions*" (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 191). This simply means that due to the existence of hundreds of actors in a subsystem advocating for a policy change, ACF suggests the analysts to organize them as coalitions. Accordingly, the advocacy actors in the coalition for advocating complete alcohol ban in the state contains the following actors:

Actors Advocating for Alcohol Ban
1. <u>Women Groups</u> – this includes all women from lower and middle class (economically, socially, and geographically from both urban and rural), and the organizations in the state who strive and advocate for women's welfare.
2. <u>Social Activists</u> – this includes all men and women who concern and advocate for the societal related problems, in this case against the alcohol related problems in the society.
3. <u>Political Parties</u> – this includes all the political parties in Tamil Nadu which joins and advocate for policy change against selling alcohol in the state. Few well known political parties who consistently advocate for such policy change includes *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)*, *All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)*, *Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK)*, *Welfare Party Tamil Nadu*, *Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK)*, and *Tamizhaga Vaazhvurimai Katchi (TVK)*. Though the parties are subjected and evidenced for their positionality change and transformations, they still believe and advocate for alcohol ban, and not all political parties are subjected to such change.

Table 2.1: Actors Advocating for Complete Alcohol Prohibition in TN

In table: 2.1, the actors from different groups are aggregated into single coalition as they are collectively taking part in advocating actions like protests, rallies, etc., though they evolve from different backgrounds and has distinct socio-economic political status. Jenkins-Smith, St. Clair, and Woods (1991) says that aggregating actors in such coalition would raises question about "degree of cross-coalition interactions" (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 191). We already know that some of the political parties in the above coalition are subjected to deviate from this positionality. However, I believe that such positionality drifts by political parties would not affect the coalition as they have intense and unforgettable emotional experiences, especially for women, and the collaboration and coordination strategies of the actors during the advocating actions like protests are strong that there were evidences that most of their anti-liquor protests resulted in success. This will be however proved from the collected data in the analysis part of the research.

2.3.2 Coalition Hypotheses:

Jenkins-Smith *et al.* (2014, p. 195) mentions few of the traditional hypotheses about the advocacy coalition from Sabatier and Weible (2007) which propositions how the advocacy coalitions behave, act, sustain or fall during their process of attempting the policy change. Of the few mentioned hypotheses which were said as successful and failure for different cases, two of them were picked for our case to analyze and understand how the coalition of different advocating actors for alcohol ban is happening and is maintaining/sustaining in a long-term coalition.

1. *Coalition Hypothesis 1: "On major controversies within a policy subsystem when policy core are in dispute, the lineup of allies and opponents tends to be rather stable over periods of a decade or so."* (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 195). While there were raising controversies, oppositions, politicization, positionality drifts occurring over the issue of alcohol in the state and on the related policies, I assume that the advocacy coalition which argue for total alcohol ban in the state still stand together and strive for their common policy objective. This will be proved by analyzing and interpreting the collected data from different advocacy actors in this coalition in the later part of the research. While Jenkins-Smith *et al.* (2014, p. 195) says that "defection is not uncommon", the reasons for such member's change has been already mentioned in the historic views, however, how this common defection is not affecting the collaboration of advocacy actors in Tamil Nadu's will be discussed in the analysis part and will be proved if the coalition is stable or not.

2. *Belief Homophily Hypothesis*: This has been termed for the simple assumption that "coalitions form based on shared beliefs" (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 196). While most of the studies tend to prove this hypothesis, it gave raise to two new implications. One is that, several factors including "resources of others" (Matti and Sandstrom, 2011, cited in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 196), "interests" (Nohrstedt, 2010, cited in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 196) and "trust" (Henry, Lubell and McCoy, 2011 cited in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 196) affects the coalition's formation and stability. And the another is that "coalitions are shaped more by shared opponents than by shared beliefs" (Henry, Lubell and McCoy, 2011 cited in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 196). The analysis and interpretation of the collected data will tend to prove if these implications fit to the case of Tamil Nadu.

2.3.3 Concepts of ACF:

As mentioned earlier, the evolution of Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) developed over time by modifying and clarifying concepts. This ACF deals with and provides various concepts which will be used in the interpretation phase of the research. Though few of them were mentioned and engaged before, the following also includes their explanation:

- *Policy Subsystem:* Cairney and Weible (2015, p. 93) defines *policy subsystems* as "topical area, geographical territory, and the policy actors involved". This simply means the network of actors involved in the specific policy area which are tended to be influenced by the advocacy coalition. For our case of advocacy actors who seek to influence the liquor related policies, its policy subsystem is the 'TN Prohibition and Excise Department' which entitles stakeholders like the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Minister, Secretary General, Commissioner and other bureaucrats under this particular department, the related MLAs (Members of the Legislature Assembly), the state owned company 'TASMAC' which also comes under this department and related stakeholders including consumers, employers, etc. It is advocacy actors in and around this policy subsystem who seek to influence it.

- *Advocacy Coalition:* This can simply be explained as; "Belief + Coordination = Advocacy Coalition", (Michael R, 2019), with respect to the advocating actors.

- *Strong/Weak Coordination*: This is basically to account the level of collective actions of different advocacy actors in a coalition (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999 cited in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 187).

- *Devil shift*: This is one of the most interesting but simple concepts of ACF, which was often witnessed practically in the case of TN advocacy actors and their coalition who seek to influence liquor related policies. *Devil shift* simply means the tendency of the actors to "exaggerate the power and maliciousness of their opponents" (Sabatier, Hunter, and MacLaughlin, 1987 cited in Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, p. 191) which would result in segregating high competence of the actors to push against their opponents, demolish them and to achieve their policy goal. The practical impression of this will be depicted lately in the analysis part using the collected data from interviews and media.

In this chapter, the historic portrayal on alcohol was provided which tells the flavor of politics, and the reviews of related literatures unveils why different advocacy actors were formed and why are they advocating for alcoholic ban in Tamil Nadu. With the understanding of contextual background of the case, 'Advocacy Coalition Framework' as a theorical framework was selected to view the collected data for achieving the research objective, and the applications of the theory and the related concepts has also been described. The following chapters of data analysis and discussion will be delivered using few of the conceptual words described in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

"The term *methodology* in a broad sense refers to the process, principles, and procedures by which we approach problems and seek answers" (Bogdan, Taylor and DeVault, 2016, p. 3). Though the data from primary or secondary collected method is the necessary one for analyzing and interpreting in research, it is necessary and important to explicitly present the process involved in the data collection and the procedure of its application in the research. Bogdan, Taylor and DeVault (2016, p. 3) say that it was the methodology which explains everything of the research conductors, his assumptions, interests, and goals that greatly influence which methodological procedure does the research choose for his research. Notwithstanding, with an interest to start the research in a specific dimension of the topic, the decision about choosing the methodological procedure and the alteration in its application largely shaped the dimension of my research to be focused within the specific topic. For e.g. Initially, an attempt was made to study the ambiguities of the policy makers in Tamil Nadu who design policies for liquor related policies in the state amidst of the continuous protests and debates that rose for prohibiting and selling alcohol in the state. To study this pressurized situation of the policy making bureaucrats and the techniques used to tackle them, Multiple Stream Approach (MSA) developed by 'John Kingdon' was selected as a theoretical lens to analyze; "MSA is a lens or framework [...] that explains how policies are made by government under conditions of ambiguity" (Zahariadis, 2014, p. 25). However, the attempt was given up as the policy bureaucrats in the department were not ready to give their interviews, which later encouraged me to study the specific topic on alcohol in Tamil Nadu (TN) itself from in a different dimensional view. After several discussion with my supervisor, my concentration shifted on studying and understanding about the different advocacy actors that seek to make a policy change in the policy subsystem related to liquor in TN, which also shifted my data reliance more on both interviews and media.

As mentioned earlier by Bogdan, Taylor and DeVault (2016, p. 3), it is research conductor's interest that influence the choice of methodological procedure to be used. As I am interested to understand about the people in the advocacy coalition, that too the people who has a deep-rooted history in the society and has a high capacity or strength to hold different groups in a single coalition for share policy objective for a long term, it is very much important to take in hands a qualitative approach to study them. Bogdan, Taylor and DeVault (2016, p. 7) refer qualitative methodology as a research procedure to descriptively produce "*people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior*". The individuals or the actors, including women groups, social activists, and the political parties who are present in the advocacy coalition for influencing the policy subsystem with a shared policy objective of banning alcohol in Tamil Nadu have their own reason/motive and background for the formation and for such coalition. The usage of alcohol in the state and its effects has been viewed differently by each group, by every individual. Despite of this difference, there is something common that aligned different individuals, different groups in a single entity and single coalition that gave them a strength and capacity to collaborate and influence the policy subsystem with coordinated strategy and action. To find such difference and similarity in each advocacy actors, application of qualitative methodological approach is very much necessary. "When we reduce people's words and acts to statistical equations, we lose sight of the human side of social life. When we study people qualitatively, we get to know them personally and experience what they experience in their daily struggles in society" (Bogdan, Taylor and DeVault, 2016, p. 9). Revealing their views or arguments descriptively triggers us to view their representation of their motive in our own perspective using the theoretical framework and concepts, giving the already existed data a new dimension of understanding. For e.g., Qualitatively collecting the data of advocacy actors who argue for closing liquor shops in the state and descriptively analysing them reveals

the possible reasons behind them for their necessity to collaborate and coordinate specific strategies to influence the liquor related policies in the state. This also reveals their motivation for collaboration and coordination, and the possibilities of any defections to occur within the coalition.

"Social scientists rely on verbal accounts to learn about social life" (Bogdan, Taylor and DeVault, 2016, p. 102). To learn the social experience of people from their verbal accounts and to achieve the research's objective, the most apt one is 'Interviewing'. Qualitative interviewing refers "nondirective, unstructured, nonstandardized, and open-ended interviewing" (Bogdan, Taylor and DeVault, 2016, p. 102). To understand the perspectives of advocacy actors on their experiences, views with alcohol problems, and collaborations with similar minded advocacy actors to address it, *in-depth interviewing* (Bogdan, Taylor and DeVault, 2016, p. 102) with open-ended questions has been conducted. To illustrate the advocating actions and venues, recorded interviews from YouTube videos has also been collected. This is a mix approach of primary and secondary data collected where few interviews were done by the researcher myself through WhatsApp call with the selected respondents and other few from the interviews and experience shared by the related advocacy actors in media and TV channels in which the type of questions asked to them and their response aligned with my questionaries and expected answers/data. During the selection process of such interviews from media, they were chosen in unbiased manner and was not aimed to alleging or judging them, rather aimed to extract the content or data that are needed to understand about their stance with respect to liquor sale in TN. This extraction is to analyze and add a different perspective to those advocacy actors' coalition formation and coordination strategy that allows them to be in effect for a long-term. Using such data, for e.g., using interviews, especially from political party members or political leaders will reveal the changing positionality of the political parties who are involved in the anti-liquor coalition, which will help me to understand the chances of defection of the coalition and such sensitive statements will be cross checked with other sources too. Apart from this, to validate their behavioral strategies and actions that were attempted to influence policy change in the subsystem, a 'content analyses' of denoting or highlighting such events, protests and incidents that occurred in the past will be presented during the analysis. For e.g., the anti-liquor protests, what kind of protests, what were the statements delivered in those protests and who are the advocacy actors involved in those protests, etc. Thus, the data collection process for the research comprises two things:

i) The collection of data like the statements, arguments, experiences, and stance of advocacy actors who advocate for banning alcohol in the state through conducted interviews and recorded YouTube interviews of those actors.

ii) The Collection of anti-liquor incidents in Tamil Nadu like protests, rallies, etc. from news articles, channel, and judgement copy.

The list of interviews collected directly from the respondents by me with a focus to collect (i) mentioned data are:

Total number of interviews conducted: 5.

Interview Type: Open-ended interviews.

Interviews from Women Group: 2

Interviews from the personalities of Political Parties: 2

Interview from an Educationalist: 1

3.1 Conducting Open-ended Interviews:

From the chosen respondents, the questions were asked to them via WhatsApp call. The questionaries are attached in Appendix A. Those questions asked during the interview were inspired from the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) explained by Jenkins-Smith *et al.* (2014). The

questions are composed with the aim of collecting answers related to the formation of advocacy actors against alcohol sale in the state and the reason for the origination of the respondent's or his/her group's stance on alcohol sale. The experience during their contribution for policy change and the applied strategies were also asked. Their answers covered a wide range of information which were mostly useful and necessary for the research. "All perspectives are valuable in the sense that there is something to be learned from them" (Bogdan, Taylor and DeVault, 2016, p. 26). That is why, an open-ended interview was conducted.

3.2   Criteria for Selecting Interviewees and Sources:

With an aim to understand the coalition formation of advocacy actors and their coordinated strategy in influencing the policy subsystem, the collection of data was focused on collecting experience from the actual advocacy actors who worked in the real ground of advocating against alcohol sale in the state.

➢ While women have a majority role within the coalition advocating for alcohol ban, their experience and views on alcohol are necessary and so has been collected. The two women from whom I conducted the interviews belong to a women-based organization called 'Womens Collective' (WC), Tamil Nadu. Womens Collective is a "Not for Profit Organization of more than 100,000 women members spread across 19 districts in Tamil Nadu, which is working for all round empowerment of the marginalized particularly women, children, and elders, especially in rural areas" (Womens Collective, 2024). One of the interviewees who is named Ms. Sheelu is the president of Womens Collective (WC) and Ms. Lidvin, another respondent, is the one of the members in the organization Apart from voice call interviews, the interviews shared by women on two different TV channels, posted in YouTube, about their views on alcohol sale has also been collected. Selection of two different media was intended to balance any media bias.

➢ On the other hand, the data collection from the politicians who has a political strength to oppose and take the argument up to legislative assembly is also important. The politician from whom the data has been collected is Mr. John Thangam. He is the Kanniyakumari District Secretary of AIADMK (*All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam*) party, which is the current opposition party in Tamil Nadu legislative assemble. *AIADMK* established TASMAC in the state, and it was the party that for the first time added phased stage of alcohol ban in the state as one of the important electoral promises in its election manifesto agenda and started campaigning for it in the year 2016 (Deepalakshmi K., 2021). On the other hand, Tamil Nadu branched National party named *Welfare Party,* which has no history of being elected in any elections in Tamil Nadu and has no engagement with *Dravidian* ideology but still holds its hand with women group and coordinates with them for the same motive against alcohol sale, has been selected for data collection. It is collected from Mr. Abdul Rahman – the leader of that party. However, the data collection of political actors not only from voice call, but also from the interviews in YouTube has been collected to add up the strength on revealing how they view alcohol and position themselves in it. The other politicians from which the data has been collected from the YouTube interview videos posted in distinct channels includes Mr. Anbumani Ramadoss – leader of *Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK)* party and Thol. Thirumacalavan – leader of *Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK)* party who has major roles in arguing for their policy motive through protests and filing cases in the court. And so, they have been selected for the research.

➢ Like women groups and political parties, the social activists who are the individuals, but are also sometimes in groups, also has a significant role within the coalition like writing petitions, notices to the government officials, etc. that encourages closing alcohol in the state. An educationalist who had experience in the engagement of anti-liquor protests was considered

as an apt one for this research and so data has been collected from him. He doesn't want to reveal his name. Likewise, one more social activist with similar motive has also been selected from the media interview which is available in YouTube as video and is used for the analysis.

➢ To understand the coordination of advocacy actors with evidences, the advocating events like protests has also been selected for analysis. As these data can only be collected from media or news articles, the concentration was done on selecting the venues. Advocating events takes place in several strategies, in several venues. For the research purpose, three different venues from three distinct sources have been selected and analyzed to understand why different advocacy actors coordinate and how this coordination represents their coalition.

Thus, the data has been selected and collected from extensive sources but with required criteria for analysis and interpretations in the research.

3.3   Chart of Data Selection:

Views of Advocacy Actors on Alcohol		
Advocacy Actors	**No. of interviews and mode**	**Sources**
1. Women Groups	2 – online interviews 2 – media interviews	Thanthi TV, Puthiyathalaimurai – YouTube
2. Social Activists	1 – online interview 1 – media interview	Kumudam TV – YouTube
3. Political Parties	2 – online interviews 2 – media interviews	Mobile Journalist, Puthiyathalaimurai – YouTube
Advocating Events		
Venue 1	Anti-liquor protests	Times of India
Venue 2	Legislative Assembly	The Indian Express, Times Now, and India Today
Venue 3	Court	Judgement Copy – High Court of Judicature at Madras

Table 3.1: Data Selection Chart

CHAPTER 4
ANALYZING THE DATA

While the historical views and the political context of different advocacy actors who take part in the coalition of advocacy for complete alcohol prohibition is well described in the previous chapters, this chapter aims to answer the research questions to achieve the research objective, which is to understand how different advocacy actors combine with a common motive of complete alcohol prohibition, despite of their various difference. In the previous chapters, the enlightenments on the formation and evolution of advocacy actors and politics were described from the literatures. However, to understand how contextually different the advocating actors are, it is important to analyze their formation and evolution from the views of individual actors and occurred advocating incidents. This understanding then helps to answer the research questions of how they collaborate and why do they make coordinated advocacy actions. This chapter provides the analysis and findings of the collected data, which initially unveils the formation and evolution of individual actors, and then will deliver how different advocacy actors present their views, positionality, and policy objective on alcohol ban, and what is the need for the coalition of these advocacy actors.

4.1   Formation and Evolution of Advocacy Actors:

Chapter 2 clearly unveils who the advocacy actors are, including the women groups, the social activists, and the political parties. Though the historic views on alcohol and the engagement with literatures describes the wide range of social problems as the reasons for the provocation of these advocacy actors, its evolution is not much discussed. The description about the formation and evolution of each advocacy actors is essential as it relates to the research question, like understanding the contextual background of each actor will help to answer the question how they collaborate and stay coordinated despite of their different contextual background. In that sense, the following analysis of the collected data describes the distinct formation and evolution of each advocacy actors.

➤   Formation of Women groups and Social activists:

While I interviewed two women from Womens Collective, Ms. Sheelu, the president of the organization said:

> *"We used to go for raid with police and confiscate illegal goods and all that. So, at that time we facilitated government to cancel the license of the illegally selling people. However, in the year 2003, the government took over the complete monopoly of TASMAC, during Jayalalitha's period. Since then, the TASMAC sale started growing, and we were not able to move even a bit with that. So, we engaged into protests. And with all the protests and all that, the government says that we will slowly reduce the number."*

From this, it is clearly seen that the women group began to participate in alcohol regulation activities even before the complete monopolization of TASMAC. While there were data for the engagement women in such activities in the late 90s, there wasn't evidences of women group or social activist's major participation role in the advocacy process against alcohol. As the prominent political figures like Kamaraj and Annadurai at that time strongly believed on non-alcoholism and represented women and their possible sufferings from alcohol sale, there were no need of women groups or social activists' major role. However, when TASMAC was established and when it was witnessed that the purpose of TASMAC's establishment has been misled by the consecutive politicians in power, the engagement of women and social activists' (*"we"* mentioned by Ms. Sheelu in her interview also includes social activists) became much significant. As said by Ms. Sheelu that

when TASMAC was completely monopolized in the year 2003, there were no way for them (the women groups and social activists) to participate in the activities within the government's system to check the transparency. And so, when the company was monopolized, and when the crime activities by alcohol consumers grew, also with the increase in liquor outlets, they started engaging in protests, rallies and similar activities which were aimed for complete prohibition (Karunanithi, 2020). This shows how women groups and social activists were formed and started engaging in the behavioral strategies together to achieve their goal. While the formation of women groups and social activist were almost similar, it is necessary to know how each of them present their views on complete alcohol prohibition and why they form into single coalition group with coordinated activities. This will be delivered in the later part of this section.

➢   Evolution of Advocating Political actors:

In the year 1981 before establishing TASMAC company, M.G.R led government lifted the ban on alcohol. This was severely criticized by Karunanidhi, the leader of *DMK* and the then opposition party. However, when Karunanidhi led *DMK* came into power, no actions for alcohol prohibition were taken, rather the actions were taken to strengthen TASMAC. Similar strengthening was done by DMK and *AIADMK* in its consecutive turn. In 2003, TASMAC was monopolized by *AI-ADMK* led government. After monopolization, both the Dravidian parties in their consecutive regimes altered liquor related policies like increasing the outlets and establishing elite bars. This continued until *AIADMK* announced about complete prohibition in its election manifesto agenda in the year 2016. While the TASMAC outlets were increasing on one side, the protests of women, social activists and other political parties were also becoming popular on other side (News7 Tamil Prime, 2020).

From this, we can clearly see that both Dravidian parties (*DMK and AIADMK*) strengthened the monopolization power of TASMAC during their regimes but opposed when they were in opposition. As the protests against TASMAC's dominance also became popular, the opposing Dravidian party when not in power tends to align with the protestors. This is how the topic of alcohol started intertwining with politics and the political actors came into the coalition. Though the Dravidian parties had consecutively seated in the regime and if we assume that their alignment with the coalition group is for political motive, there were also other political parties that align with women groups and social activists for complete alcohol prohibition which has never been seated in the regime, nor had a chance to attain legislative power though won in coalition, and had a major role during the advocating activities against TASMAC. Those political parties include *Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK)*, *Welfare Party Tamil Nadu*, *Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK)*, *Tamizhaga Vaazhvurimai Katchi (TVK)*, and many other small parties. The interviewee Ms. Sheelu said,

> *"the government says that we will slowly reduce the number. Then the people went to court and the court ordered to close all the liquor shops on the highways. Then the government then closed the liquor shops on the highways, but they opened the door on the sides."*

Here, *"the people went to court"* though mean all the protesters, the petition was initiated by an advocate named K. Balu from the political party called *Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK)* which filed the case for the closure of all liquor shops in the state and national highways in TN and got a favorable order in 2013 (DC Correspondent, 2016).

Though the topic of alcohol in Tamil Nadu was politicized due to the engagement of political parties and politicization of liquor policies by Dravidian parties, their role in the advocacy coalition along with women groups and social activists with a common motive of completely prohibiting alcohol has a major part that is very much essential to be discussed.

4.2   Representing the Advocacy Actors:

It is now clear that who the different advocacy actors are, how are they formed, what are they advocating for, and what their advocating strategies are. The following engagement of the collected data, as per selection criteria mentioned in the methodology, aims to provide how different advocacy actors present their views and positionalities on alcohol sale in the state.

➢ Women Groups

➢ Social Activists

➢ Politicians

➢   Women Groups:

To present the views of women groups on alcohol sale, their statements and positionality about alcohol sale will be analyzed from the collected data from conducted online interviews and the interviews of women given to channels which are available in the YouTube. This includes 2 conducted online interviews and 2 media interviews from YouTube.

While asking to Ms. Lidvin, who is the member of Womens Collective Tamil Nadu, about the need for the advocacy against alcohol sale, and what her and her organization's stance on it, she said:

"Alcohol is injurious to state, to home, to health. […]. Of around 4 million widows in Tamil Nadu, 75% of them became widow due to the loss of their drunkard husbands. […]. 'Money' is prioritized over people's health by the governments [….] wherever the alcohol related crimes or incidents happen, women are the only victims. Women are the sufferers. Protests and similar actions are our only weapon now. Our organization had perished lot of illicit liquor brewing shops and organized several anti-liquor protests. Coordinated actions with other social activist and some political parties will also take place often."

Ms. Sheelu – the president of Womens Collective Tamil Nadu said:

Consuming even small amount (of alcohol/liquor) could also lead to post-addictions. […]. It is a very long existing demand from all the women's organization and the federation and all. All our protests and demands were ignored by the governments, and so, we are now trying to work on panchayat levels. […]. If you ask the village women, they will say that they don't want any of these freebies, rather they want total prohibition. They definitely prefer complete ban over freebies because whatever freebies are provided, they are coming through TASMAC's revenue."

The women groups are the advocacy actors who are not only limited to women in women-based organization, but also the women who participate in advocating actions with the similar motive of complete prohibition. In that sense, the following are the statements of women interviewed by 'Thanthi TV' and was published in its YouTube channel in the year 2016.

Woman 1 (Thanthi TV, 2016):

"The situation of liquor shop is so disturbing to the people. While it is disturbing the school and college students, the atrocities of drunkards in their families are also so bad. This TASMAC should completely be taken off from the state."

Woman 2 (Thanthi TV, 2016):

"Closing liquor shops will be so much helpful for the people, especially to poor and women. When the poor people work and come with the limited wage, it has been wasted in the TASMACs. With the economic burden, the poor women are also suffering from domestic violence."

Similar kind of interview was also conducted to women by a news channel named 'Puthiyathalaimurai' and was published in its YouTube channel in the year 2024.

Woman 1 (Puthiyathalaimurai, 2024):

"More than the income, it is alcohol that you can see more in my family and so expenses are not manageable. With this economic struggle, I am also forced to go to work. At this scenario, it is alcohol that is impacting our family. If this alcohol is not there, then the family could be so good. How fast the government is closing the TASMAC, that fast 'we' the women will be benefited."

Woman 2 (Puthiyathalaimurai, 2024):

"When men drink and fight with their wives in their homes, the children are getting affected so much mentally. This changes their (children's') mind sets. They couldn't concentrate on their studies and will affect their future. If the drinking does not occur, then the family will be good, and the children will get a smooth environment to study. So, it should be banned."

All the presented statements above from women represents the women group, who are the advocacy actors in the coalition that is aiming for complete alcohol ban. From the statements of women, we can witness that they all illustrate domestic violence, economic depression, physical and mental impacts, societal crimes, and atrocities as the major problems. All women are deeply concerned with the impacts of alcohol on their lives. They emotionally express their and their same-gender's experiences. And they blame the existence of alcohol as the reason for their struggles, for the exploitation of their safety and dignity. All women agrees that they don't suffer if the alcohol doesn't exist. This led them to believe that the existence of TASMAC as the reason for their sufferings and so wants it to be closed and completely banned.

➢ **Social Activists:**

To unveil the views of social activists on alcohol sale from the collected data, the statements and positionality of two activists is presented and analyzed. This data is collected from the conducted online interview and from the interview of a social activist to a news channel which is available in the YouTube. This includes 1 conducted online interview and 1 media interview from YouTube.

An educationalist from the Kanniyakumari district of Tamil Nadu, who often participates in the anti-liquor rallies and conferences shares the reason for his stance against alcohol sale in TN. He said:

"When I got a chance to meet and talk with few prisoners in Palayamkottai, I noticed 90% of their crime's basic reason was that they consumed alcohol before doing the crime. Most of them even stated that and felt guilt. […]. I came to the decision that it is not the consumer's fault, but it is government's overlook that pushes the people to drink. […]. While there are so many remedies to overcome mental and physical problems, the government can look for ways to provide such remedies instead of alcohol, and there is no drought for alternative incomes in our prospered Tamil Nadu other than TASMAC. [...]. Alcohol prohibition will save the lives of many fathers, will lead our society to travel in a good path, will produce efficient youngers, and will reduce the crime rates in our state. […]. I believe that the consistency of the anti-liquor protests and actions will one day definitely push the government to ban alcohol in the state."

During the COVID period, a media named 'Kumudam' interviewed an intermediate school-teacher, who is an active activist demanding for complete alcohol prohibition and delivers his demands through giving anti-liquor speeches and writing letters to the government for complete ban. This interview was conducted by the Kumudam media person through video call due to the lock down condition prevailed at that time and the recorded video was published in its channel in the year 2020. He expressed his views on alcohol as:

"We get nothing unless we ask, that is why we should keep on asking for complete prohibition until it happens. […]. If the next generation should live happy and good, then the liquor shops must be closed. While the revenue

from TASMAC has a considerable portion, the expenses from the effects of alcohol crimes should also be considered. [...]. While our state has a good amount of human resource, the alcohol shops are suppressing them with addictions and is blocking the usage of human force, especially youngster's strength which is important for our state's welfare, for our state's growth. That is why the alcohol shops must be closed. We can find alternatives for revenue, but not for human resource, not youngster's stamina. [...]. In this pandemic lockdown, there have been a lot of changes from the people, especially from drunkards who is altering their drinking habits. Though others come back, the closure of liquor shops should be closed forever. [...]. Human resource is the real source for state's welfare, not the income from TASMAC." (Kumudam, 2020).

From both the interviews, it is clearly witnessed how different these social activists are from the women groups in a way that they view the alcohol problems from the perspective of state level, and from the public level. While women groups concentrate the impacts of alcohol on their families, which means in the family level, the social activists concentrate the impact on the state level. They fear for the generation of youngsters, for the welfare of the state, for the welfare of the people. They concern on the crimes happening in the society from drunkards that is affecting the public, and the youths. While the state is already having human resources, these alcohol culture tends to suppress them, the social activists say and believe. They argue that for the state to be welfare and the available human resource to be properly used, the alcohol sale should be stopped and banned.

➢ **Politicians:**

Political parties are another most important advocacy actors in the coalition advocating for complete alcohol prohibition. To engage with their views and positionality on alcohol sale, the data has been collected from the conducted online interviews and from the speeches of the politicians given to the public that were recorded and published in the YouTube channels. This includes 2 conducted online interviews and 2 public speech videos from YouTube.

Mr. John Thangam is the Kanniyakumari District Secretary of *AIADMK* party, which is currently the opposition party in TN legislative assemble. He said:

"There are lot of problems prevailing in the state due to alcohol sale for women, for vulnerable, etc. But the current government is not even taking a single step for that amidst of the protests. [...]. It is true that alcohol ban will bring revenue loss and illicit liquor entrance in the state, however, this can be ignored if the prohibition is done in phased manner. [...]. Another reason that the government is not stopping alcohol sale is because of the profits from liquor manufacturing companies which are in contract with TASMAC. [...]. Apart from protests, our leader and our party members raise the issue in the legislative assembly. With our push in legislature, there have been lot of changes happened related to the liquor policies. [...]. We will forever stand for the people's goodness and fight against evil powers."

Mr. Abdul Rahman is the leader of *Welfare Party* branched in Tamil Nadu. This party has never been in power so far in Tamil Nadu's legislature but have participated in wide range of advocacies and protests addressing the people's issues from alcohol. He said:

"Our stance on alcohol is to completely ban it in our state. If TASMAC is closed, then how will they fill their pockets? This is common to both DMK and AIADMK governments. This should be fought against. If the governments really had concern on people, they would try to slowly prohibit it, rather they are now increasing the number of elite bars, clubs, etc. [...]. Effects of alcohol is extracting human efficiency, impacting on health, family, society, and this must be stopped for our people's well-being. Slow by slow process can definitely eradicate alcohol from our society. [...]. It's our society triggering consumers. So, it our duty to change it. We should for that first fight against these powers. When access is low, how will the people drink? Accessibility increases the chances for drunkards to drink. Less accessibility lowers the number of drunkards."

Mr. Anbumani Ramadoss is the leader of *PMK* party. Though won in few elections through party coalitions, this political party is very famous for organizing wide range of protests, especially

against liquor sale in which most of them has been successful. A year ago, while giving a public speech about menace of alcohol, he said:

> "*The motive of Prohibition and Excise department should be finding ways to prohibit alcohol, not expanding it. Annually the revenue from TASMAC is increasing. This is not something to be proud for our state. It's such a shame that the people of Tamil Nadu are increasingly getting addicted to alcohol annually. This is not welfare. […]. The normalization of alcohol has brought to a condition where the Tamil Nadu youths couldn't survive without liquor. He couldn't think, or stand, or work without it. […]. All these should be fought.*" (Mobile Journalist, 2023).

On 2ⁿᵈ October 2024, the *VCK* organized a huge public conference against alcohol and the leader of that party Thol. Thirumavalavan gave a public speech about his views and positionality on alcohol. This was covered by various news channels. Puthiyathalaimurai was one among them and it published it in its YouTube channel. He spoke:

> "*Though VCK as a party have objection against Gandhi's political ideologies, it accepts his ideology on non-alcoholism. […]. The vulnerable like women and poor are the suffers. Though many states had failed to ban it, TN should learn from them. It's a long-term protest and demand, but it should not be stop for any reasons. VCK will always stand for people's side.*" (Puthiyathalaimurai, 2024).

From the above four arguments of political actors, we can understand how they view alcohol culture in the state of Tamil Nadu and took a stance against its sale. The views of political actors on alcohol sale in the state also differ from other two actors as they view it in the political perspectives. It can be denied that they don't consider the problems of the people, but the emphasize on the government's criticism is more by the political actors than the other two actors. This gets interesting that there are chances that this exaggeration of the government by the political actors would trigger other actors to lean more for the collaboration and coalition with the politicians. However, though the emphasize and stress of the mean of the problem differ for each actor, the objective was similar among all the actors, which was to completely prohibit alcohol in the state. Thus, these politicians believe that the alcohol sale in the state happens for the government's profit prioritization and so, this needs to be fought by pushing the government to completely close TASMAC through advocating actions.

4.2.1 Analyzing the Representation of Advocacy Actors:

From the statements presented by all the three advocacy actors in the coalition of complete alcohol prohibition, it can be understood how they view alcohol sale in the state of TN. Though the views look similar, different emphasize of each actor on the social aspects can be witnessed. From the statements, it unveils that they commonly advocate against alcohol sale, they commonly concern about the alcohol related problems in the state, they commonly criticize government for the occurred destructions, and they commonly consider state-owned TASMAC as their opponents. However, the dissimilarity found is the emphasize provided by these actors in their statements.

  i. Women Groups – the name of this actor itself says that from which perspective it views its arguments on alcohol sale. All the statements and arguments given by the women group started with the concerns on their gendered suppression by the alcohol drunkards. They first prioritize their problems like being beaten by the husbands, left as widows, suffering economic depression in the family, and getting worried about their children. Only then they talk about the social crimes, government's overlook and wanted the TASMAC outlets to be closed. The arguments from women's perspective were kept forward by the women actors who engage in the advocacy with other actors for alcohol ban in the state. Here they represent and emphasize on women who are being affected by alcohol consumers.

  ii. Social Activists – there could be personal or social reasons as the starting point for the social activists to position their stance against alcohol sale. However, when they come into their

main phase of their argument, they concern much on the society and the public, which can be witnessed from the above statements. They highly consider the resources of human, especially youngers, the welfare of the public, the state's development as the precious institutions of a state and prioritize their suppression from the alcohol sale. This doesn't deny their concerns on women, but it unveils that their concerns were not only limited to women. They argue from the perspective of societal well-being and advocates for alcohol ban for the state to get relief from all sorts of societal crimes. However, they also criticize government as the reason and so participates in advocating actions.

iii. Politicians – while women groups and social activists socially and gender-wise view the problems of alcohol sale, the politicians view it politically. This is explicit from their statements. As discussed from the other actors, the politicians also different on emphasizing the problem. Most of the statements in their argument aims to criticize the government. Though they argue that they wanted the TASMAC to be closed for the people's welfare and for the vulnerable's upliftment, their dominating stresses on the condemn on government unveils their perspective of politically viewing the problem. However, this does not unveil that whether they advocate along with women and activists for the political gain or not, as in the history of Tamil Nadu only the two Dravidian parties (*DMK* and *AIADMK*) have been in power and politicized the demand. This cannot be generalized for all the political parties in TN who advocate against alcohol sale. However, how they view their stance on non-alcoholism from the political perspective matters and it has been unveiled from their statements.

From the above derivations, it can be seen how different actors in a same coalition diversely emphasize their concerns on the problems. This reveals that they viewed the problem from social, gendered, and political spheres and met at a single point of commonality which was to resolve these problems by completely eradicating alcohol from the state, which means, their common interest is 'to ban alcohol for the well-being of the state'. This is why, though the advocacy actors differ from their perspectives, their common interest on banning alcohol tends to collaborate them together. Despite of their different social, political, and gender-wise views on alcohol sale, they are all common with their opponent (The TASMAC) and policy objective (to ban alcohol in the state).

4.3   Advocating Events by the Actors:

It is well presented by different advocacy actors that how they view and position themselves on banning alcohol in TN. However, to reach the research objective, it is also important to understand what the necessity is for the actors to collaborate and coordinate. As they commonly share their policy objective of banning alcohol in TN, analyzing some of their advocating incidents like protests, campaigns, etc. in which they tried to influence the policy subsystem to achieve their policy objective would reveal why they should collaborate and coordinate. These advocating incidents, through evidence, shows what happens when they coordinately advocate for the same common objective, in which the need for their coalition lies. As discussed in the methodology, three venues have been selected for the analysis to understand the coordination strategy of the advocacy actors.

➢   Venue 1 – Anti-liquor Protests:

In the year 2020, during the pandemic times, all the liquor shops in TN were shut for more than a month. However, it was reopened soon during the disease's spread itself. As a contempt, a wide range of protests had been erupted throughout the state organized by political parties, social activists, and mostly lead by women groups. In the districts of Trichy, Madurai, and Coimbatore, "a day after political parties and anti-liquor activists registered their protests against the reopening of TASMAC wine shops, the protests by the general public, led mostly by women, erupted at several places demanding the closure of the outlets" (TNN, 2020). This eruption of protests took place in

several villages and so made tensions around the state and for the government. Though the police tried to calm them down and made few group arrests, the protesters stood still until the police and officials called for a peace talk. The arguments of the protesters addressed the reopening of TASMACs in the pandemic situation as an action against public's safety, triggering the temptation of drunkards who forgot about liquor for a month, and the government's insane priorities on profit over public health at this drastic pandemic situation. Though the protests in few spots were ended with police aggressions, other spots had a negotiated ending marking the success of protesters by accepting their demands. In Trichy, "officials of TASMAC, revenue department, and the police tried to pacify them, but the protestors stood firm. Finally, a peace committee was convened, and it was agreed to shift the two shops in one month" (TNN, 2020). In Ariyalur, "the police tried to convince them […] the officials agreed to close the shop" (TNN, 2020).

➢ Venue 2 – Legislative Assembly:

In June 2024, it was claimed that over 60 had been dead due to hooch tragedy in Kallakurichi, a district in Tamil Nadu. There were raising arguments that the affected were economically poor who went for cheap illicit liquor as those were cheaper than state's TASMAC selling liquors (Menon, 2024). The raising number of deaths, the cries of families, and the political agitations forced the *DMK* led government to make immediate response to the tragedy. One of those political agitations was delivered by the opposition *AIADMK* party in Tamil Nadu (TN) legislative assembly. As a sign of protest against the tragedy, the *AIADK* members wore black dress to the assembly for discussion. Not only *AIADMK*, but also the other minor opposition parties like *BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party)* and *PMK (Pattali Makkal Katchi)* created a lot of rackets on the floor of the house. All of them said that they want a detailed discussion on the tragedy (Times Now, 2024). The *AIADMK* did multiple walk outs from the assembly and got suspensions from the sessions for creating ruckus in the assembly (PTI, 2024). However, these political agitations were calmed down after the government passing amendment in the Tamil Nadu Prohibition Act, 1937 in the assembly which was "to enhance the punishment term and quantum of fine for offences like manufacture, possession and selling of illicit liquor that endangered lives" (PTI, 2024).

➢ Venue 3 – Court:

While there were protests going on around the state of TN for the closure of TASMAC outlets by the women groups, social activists, and politicians and most of them were success, a petition was filed by an advocate K. Balu, who is a social activist and a member of *PMK* party, in the Madras High Court against the state of Tamil Nadu and related government institutions to close all the liquor shops in the state and national highways in the year 2013. Though the case was appealed by the state of Tamil Nadu to the Supreme Court lately, the judgment favored the petitioner with the order to close all the liquor shops in the national and state highways. "in a public interest litigation initiated by the petitioner, the Supreme Court took note of accidents on highways on account of liquor consumption causing irreparable trauma of loss, pain, suffering and death, and issued the following […]. All States and Union Territories shall forthwith cease and desist from granting license for the sale of liquor along National and State highways […]. The prohibition […] shall extend to and include stretches of such highways which fall within the limits of a municipal corporation, city, town, or local authority […]" (K. Balu v. the State of Tamil Nadu, 2018).

4.3.1 Analyzing the Advocating Events:

The above evidences of the advocating events/actions clearly exhibit how different advocacy actors widely engage in the advocating activities collectively or separately in different venues. Though in the venues like in legislative assembly and in court the advocacy was presented by separate

actors, their presentation represents the policy motive of the whole advocacy actors in the coalition. The reason for their separate presentation was due to the admission criteria, for e.g., only political was eligible and allowed to advocate in the venue of legislature, though they represent the common ideology of the coalition group. However, we can clearly witness the registration of political parties and social activists for organizing protests and their engagement with women group to jointly advocate for the collective issue and resulted in few successes. Though not all their wide ranged protests resulted in accepting their demand, this huge, coordinated strategy pulled the attraction of the entire state and pushed their opponents to engage in actions favoring their demands of closure of liquor shops. Similar thing happened with the issue of hooch tragedy where the cries and political objections created tensions and forced the government for the amendment. From this we can clearly derive the need for the coalition of advocacy actors against alcohol sale as their intensity of coordination gave them a winning situation most of the times and increasing their chances to sustain in their common policy motive with same coalition strategy for influencing the policy subsystem. The evidences of the advocating events by the actors reveals two necessities for their coalition:

1. To succeed in the attempts of influencing the policy subsystem with coordinated strategies.

2. To sustain the strength of the coalition to have similar multiple wins.

3. To share and collectively use their resources during advocating actions for the success.

These necessities benefit all the advocacy actors in the coalition advocating for alcohol ban. As seen earlier how different advocacy actors view alcohol ban from political, social and gender-wise perspectives, and each emphasize on different social aspects like women's suffering, societal distress, and political maneuver from alcohol sale, to address these highlighting social problems, the advocacy actors collaborate and coordinately do advocating actions like protests so that each of the actors can collectively succeed in their attempts of influencing the policy subsystem and tries to sustain in the same coalition so as to have multiple wins during the multiple advocating attempts. Also, the success of this coalition through coordinating strategies encourages the advocacy actors to sustain in the same coalition so that they can often initiate and organize similar advocating actions to achieve their policy objective from several small but coordinated successful attempts. Another thing to be derived by also encompassing the historical and political nature of the advocacy actors is that, when the advocacy actors stand separate, they would be showcased as less powerful. For e.g., women group's advocacy could be sensible but cannot be politically supported and influenced; the arguments of social actors could be logical, but no sensitivity can be created during their advocating actions; the political parties could show their political strength during advocacies but can be ignored due to lack of emotional supports and evidences. However, when the sensitivity of women groups, the logical arguments of social activists, and the political strength of politicians get together, they can collectively bring success in their advocating attempts through collaboration and coordination. Thus, they share and collectively use their resources (of sensitive setup, logical arguments, and political power) during their coalition to succeed in their attempts, which means they bring their 'resources' together in the coalition during the advocacies. Thus, we can derive that based on these needs, the advocacy actors (women groups, social activists, politicians), though diverse (socially, economically, politically, and gender-wise), come together, stick, and collectively seek to influence the policy subsystem (TN Prohibition and Excise Department) with a common policy objective of completely prohibiting alcohol in TN.

In this chapter, the formation, collaboration, and coordination of the different advocacy actors were extensively analyzed using the collected data and the findings of the analysis were also delivered. This was done with an aim to answer the research questions and to achieve the main objective. However, to validate the findings, it is very much important to theoretically discuss it with the selected theoretical framework and related concepts. The following chapter will provide with such discussion to achieve the main objective of the research.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSIONS ON THE FINDINGS

From the previous chapters, it is very much clear that to achieve what objective the research is traveling by encompassing the historical and political context of the puzzle, selection of appropriate theory, collection of data, and its analysis. Though the findings from the data analysis were found, it must be viewed through the selected theorical framework and needs to be discussed with the related concepts. This chapter aims to do that discussion and to deliver how the research objective is achieved by answering the research questions. As the application of ACF (Advocacy Coalition Framework) is previously described in chapter 2, more of the discussion of the findings will be concentrated on the chapter.

Recalling the objective of the research, the aim is to understand how different advocacy actors come together, coordinate and collectively seek to influence the policy subsystem despite of their contextual diversities. And to achieve this objective, questions like how different advocacy actors view and position themselves on alcohol ban and what is the need for coordinated advocating strategy has also been asked. Though the theorical application from the 2nd chapter provides how the advocacy actors structure their *core belief*, the finding from the previous chapter delivers how their perspectives differently view the alcohol problems. While "*Belief Homophily Hypothesis*" (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 196) provides two implications of coalition's formation and stability which are affecting factors and shared opponents, the following engagement with the findings tend to prove it.

> Implication 1: From the different views of the advocacy actors, it was derived that though each actors emphasize the policy problems distinctly, they all encountered a common shared interest which was to 'ban alcohol for the welfare of the state'. Though each actor is differently experienced by the policy problems, the factor of 'common interest' has affected the coalition to form and indulge in the advocating activities. Another factor that tends to affect the formation of this coalition was the 'natural collaboration of resources'. From the collected evidences of advocating actions by the actors, it was derived that when they engage in advocating events, like protests, together they naturally support each other actors with their inbuilt resources like sensitivity, logical arguments, and political power. This collaboration of resources and its successful outcomes triggers the actors to collaborate. Thus, the availability of diverse inbuilt resources in each actor is considered as one of the affecting factors for the formation of this coalition.

> Implication 2: While talking about the opponents of each advocacy actor, all points out the government owned TASMAC as their main opponent. Which means, if TASMAC company is closed, then the government stops selling liquor and the culture of alcoholism will be eradicated from the state. To know if or not the shared opponents shaped the coalition, the views of the different actors and their advocating events need to be recalled. In the statements of all the three actors, they express that TASMAC's are used as a profiting tool by the government. Also, the actors, especially the politicians, exaggerate the power and maliciousness of the TASMAC triggering the intensity of the actors to fight against it. This is what called as "devil shift" (Sabatier, Hunter, and MacLaughlin, 1987 cited in Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, p. 191).

Their shared opponent (TASMAC) is used as an exaggeration tool in the advocating statements for the advocacy actors to act more vigorously against the opponent. This can be showcased in the advocating actions. The collection of data about the advocating events evidenced few actions like protests, petitioning case, and legislative actions were all done against TASMAC for it to be

closed. This further strengthens the argument that the shared opponent is seen as a necessary element for the formation, and also stability, of actor's coalition.

From the above theoretical discussions of the findings and data, both the implications proves that the formation of the coalition of advocacy actors who seek to influence the policy subsystem is affected by the factors like 'common interest' and 'natural collaboration of resources', and is shaped more by the 'shared opponents', hence proving the *Belief Homophily Hypothesis*.

From the historic and political backgrounds of the formation of the advocacy actors, it was witnessed that the positionality drifts especially by the Dravidian parties (*AIADMK* and *DMK*) had happened a lot in the coalition against alcohol sale, when one of the two parties possess the regime. This has been found as a dispute within the advocacy coalition against alcohol. "*Coalition hypothesis 1*" (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 195) argues that when a policy core belief is in dispute, the opponents would tend to be stable. In our case, though one of the Dravidian parties in coalition had a core belief of banning alcohol and it changes in when attaining power, this does not affect the other actors, rather brings *devil shift* among the actors. Though politicization happens in the policy subsystem, the presence of common interests, inbuilt resources, and the strong coordination among the actors does not lead the coalition to become weak, nor the opponent to become strong. Though "defections are not uncommon" (Jenkins-Smith *et al.* 2014, p. 195), the case of advocacy actors in Tamil Nadu manages to keep the coalition strong and stable based on following factors:

1. Coalition Strength: Within the advocacy coalition, there are three actors who represent different aspects in the state. Women groups representing women, social activists representing society and political parties representing the politics. All the distinct representatives come together, and they form this coalition. This also unveils its strength of proportionality. This coalition strength, both quantitative and qualitative, of the actors doesn't lead the coalition to fall even few of its defect.

2. Actor's Necessities: As derived in the previous chapter, for the necessity of the actors to have multiple wins in the advocating attempts, and to collectively utilize their distinct contextual resources, they try to maintain in the coalition by often organizing and engaging in some coordinated advocating events. These collective necessities of the actors don't affect the stability of the coalition, though few defects from the group.

Along with the above discussed coalition strength and actor's necessities, other attributes like common interest, common opponents, and common policy objective also contributes for the advocacy coalition in TN to be in stable, despite of any defections. Thus, though provable for other case studies, the case of Tamil Nadu advocacy coalition which strives for banning alcohol denies the theory of *Coalition hypothesis 1* in the realm of Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF).

The engagement of the findings with the theories and concepts tends to extensively answer both the research questions. The similarities and dissimilarities in the views of advocacy actors from the collected data presents how common and different the advocacy actors are. Their views present multiple perspectives on alcohol sale elucidates that though they look the problems of alcohol sale on the aspects of gender, society, and polity, they come to a point where all of them collectively align in a common interest of banning it from the state. This gives a lead to the answer of second questions which was to understand the necessity for the actor's coalition. Though diversified from the views and backgrounds, all the advocacy actors had their necessities to successfully influence the policy subsystem. Along with the common interest, opponent, and policy objective, the need for the multiple successful attempts and the collective utilization of the resources, prompts the advocacy actors to collaborate and coordinate, despite of their diversified emphasize on the views on alcohol sale. This is why they come together in a coalition, coordinate, and seek to influence the policy subsystem to attain their common motive of prohibiting alcohol in the state. This description and the extensive discussion of it with the theory and concepts above clearly guides how the research objective has been achieved. Bringing back the research puzzle, which was that how and why the different actors (women groups, social activists, politicians), despite of

the social, political and gender-wise diverse, come together, collaborate, coordinate and advocate to the government for a common motive of prohibiting alcohol in the state. Through investigating the political history and collected data from the advocacy actors, it is well understood that though disparities on viewing the problems of alcohol sale exhibit, the need for the successful attempts of influencing the policy subsystem through coordinated and collaborative means stimulates the different advocacy actors to come together, stick, and collectively advocate for a common objective of prohibiting alcohol in the state of Tamil Nadu, despite any of their differences.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

With an aim to achieve the research's objective of understanding the occurrence coalition of different advocacy actors for a common policy banning alcohol in the state of Tamil Nadu, despite of their differences, the above discussion chapter clarifies how the formation and the necessities of the advocacy actors (women group, social activists, and politicians) influence the occurrence of their coalition by coming together, collaborating, and coordinating with same advocating strategies despite of their differences. Application of Jenkins-Smith *et al*'s (2014, p.196) *Belief Homophily Hypothesis* theoretically proved how other factors and shared opponent has shaped formation of the policy subsystem actors. And on the other hand, the application and denial of the "*Coalition hypothesis 1*" (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 195) projects that coalition strength and the actor's necessities would never let coalition group to go weaken despite of any defections, positionality drifts, political motives, etc.

In the process, it starts with finding what the puzzle is out there in the case of Tamil Nadu's anti-liquor protests and debates. Though it was vast and widely spread in Tamil Nadu, it is also not uncommon to any other Indian states. In the year 2016, the Bihar government brought a complete ban on manufacture, transport, sale, and consumption of alcohol all over the state (Press Trust of India, 2024). Before that, there were several movements and protests carried by women to ban alcohol in Bihar, which triggered Nitish Kumar, the Chief Minister of Bihar, to campaign for a complete prohibition in the 2015 state election, if he wins (Zumbish, 2019). Unlike Tamil Nadu, the promise was satisfied with the ban. But its after-effects led to hundreds of hooch deaths and prevalence of illicit liquor trades in the state (ETV Bharat English Team, 2024). While anti-liquor protests and advocating groups in other Indian states were formed and shaped by social, cultural, and religious factors, the case in Tamil Nadu stands unique as it was shaped by the historic context and the political dynamics of *Dravidian* actors, which has been illustrated in the earlier chapters. Despite of socio-economic and political differences, the strong coalition of different anti-liquor advocacy actors in Tamil Nadu illustrates how their commonality of opponent, policy objective, and resource dependence triggered them to come together, collaborate, and coordinate for a policy change.

However, the case in TN is one among many, which in this research has been theoretically viewed through Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). The conceptual discussion from previous chapter has revealed how and why advocacy actors from different backgrounds collaborate for a common policy objective. The engagement of similar researches with many other cases will reveal how different advocacy actors in their coalition form, collaborate, and work together during their process of influencing the government policies in diverse contextual cases. Further, such researches would also unveil in which historic, political, social, or economic context of the cases the results would differ or not. These researches about the interaction and coalition of advocacy actors from different cases on different contexts will lately provide a framework on how different advocacy actors should collaborate for a win if they have any commonality, despite of their different backgrounds.

Though, this research doesn't provide if or not the sale of alcohol in TN is needed; or doesn't illustrate the intensity of possible wins of the anti-liquor coalition in TN, it tends to solve the puzzle about the coalition and collaboration of different advocacy actors, despite their differences. Additionally, it has also presented a methodological approach for carrying similar researches to understand about the advocacy actor's interaction and coalition in similar wide ranged cases.

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Appendix A: Draft Open-ended Interview Questions:

1. What was/is your belief or stance on liquor/alcohol?

2. What are the actual problems related to (or) around liquor and TASMAC that makes it sensitive, especially in Tamil Nadu? What are its origin and background, and why is it problematized?

3. What are the general arguments, or thoughts, or stands, on TASMAC, liquor and related policies of TN? Are there any unspoken concerns or sides?

4. Who are the other advocacy groups, and influential actors shaping the liquor related policies in TN? What stimulates them for the raise?

5. Are there any coalitions of advocacy groups for or against the policy? If so, what similar/common factors make them to collide, or sometimes to split or recede?

6. What are some of the major events in politics of TN – for e.g., election, change of interests on political groups – in last 10 years? And which of those events, had a significant influence on liquor, TASMAC related policies and making process?

7. Do you or your advocacy group has any experience of contribution for the policy change, or influenced the decision-making process of the govt authorities for the liquor related policies in TN? If so, what are those policies and what tactic, or strategy, or advocacy mechanism/technique did you use for the push/change? What triggered you for the stimulation of the policy change?

8. What are the changes/alterations in the policy outcomes made by your, or your advocacy group's strategic influence? How did they affect the society and what are those changes in the society related to liquor and alcohol?

Appendix B: Other Views and Statements of Women on Alcohol Sale in TN:

These following presentation of remaining data were collected from a YouTube video which was posted by a news channel named 'Puthiyathalaimurai' on 14 September 2024 [Available at: https://youtu.be/IcG0CCzF7CQ?si=VG_acoCZCEQf3fxs].

Woman 3: *"Why should there be liquor shops? Look there how many youngers are standing to get liquor in that shop. There are so many who has lost their life. I am one of the examples for that. I lost my life. What other example is needed to explain the effects of alcohol?"*

Woman 4: *"it is the children who are getting impacted from the effects of alcoholic violence. We are afraid of them. While we, the women, are sad due to our conditions from our drunkard husbands, we are so much afraid that this would affect our children mentally."*

Woman 5: *"Everyone are saying to ban and ban alcohol, but no effort for that is happening. We should not only stop the people who drink, but we should stop the one who starts to sale it. The government itself is promoting alcohol by increasing the liquor shops and establishing elite bars. First this should be stopped. Then only we can stop the alcohol consumers."*

Woman 6: *"the drunkards are torturing their wives and their children's life is getting affected. These drunkards drink and lie here and there half naked in the road and talk abuse words to the ladies. These are unbearable. If the liquor shops are banned, then the families will be happy. My family also will be happy, we have bad experiences."*