

UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE

Faculty of Political Science

Belgrade, November 2019

At the meeting of the Department of International Studies, held on 6 September 2019, the Master Thesis Defense Commission (hereby the Commission) for the candidate Katarina Lević was formed with the following members: Prof. dr Dušan Spasojević, assist. MA Milan Krstić and prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović. The Council for the Second and Third Cycle of Studies has accepted the proposal made by the Department.

After reading the master thesis, the Commission is submitting the following report.

R E P O R T

The master thesis of Katarina Lević entitled "Social Movements and Protection of Common Goods: Cochabamba Water War" is comprised of three chapters next to the Introduction, the Conclusion, and the list of references.

In the Introduction the candidate defines her research aims and discusses the reasons for choosing topic of social movements and their role in the protection of the common goods. She underlines the importance of local voices and emphasizes social movements as one of the possible ways to make influence on the decision-making. The candidate presents her aim to explore the adversary conditions in which social movements emerge in order to protect natural resources, the main opponents that stand in their way, as well as the actions they perform in order to succeed. Results of previously mentioned research should provide a framework for elaboration of the case study of Cochabamba Water War – which represents one of the most famous social movement' struggles over natural resources.

In the first chapter, the candidate starts with the theoretical framework, especially regarding the common-pool resources (CPR). Here she elaborates the idea behind the common-pool resources and the importance of their common and sustainable management, safe from the private interest and profit-based economy. She further presents different models of management, proposed by Ostrom and Hackett, who focused their researches on models of appropriation and common governance over the CPR, as an alternative to the existing theories which they considered to be insufficient and non-adequate for the CPR' management. Then, the candidate focuses onto the elaboration of water as a common-pool resource, emphasizing some important facts which relate to the amounts and cleanliness of the remaining reserves of

fresh water and the importance it has for the living beings. It especially focuses on the number of people who are already feeling some consequences of the water scarcity around the world and the predictions about water as the cause of future conflicts. The candidate here presents the models of water management, provided by Shiva and Ostrom, who both recognize it to be a common good and a non-tradeable resource, contrary to the widely accepted view of water as one more source of profit, made by the corporative business. Further elaboration of the right to water, recognized by several documents of the United Nations, and the value that water has for the indigenous culture of the Andean communities, provides a wider picture of the importance that water has for the region of Cochabamba, Bolivia, where the mentioned Water War occurred in 1999.

In the second chapter, the candidate presents a brief development and the main ideas of capitalism, including of the property rights, division of labor, self-interest-related desire for advancement and the idea of free market, relating to the works of Reisman and Friedman. She later emphasizes the study of Klein, who wrote about the negative aspects of the imposition and development of capitalism in developing countries around the world – a process that did not bypass Bolivia. The candidate presents the relation of capitalism towards the common goods, which is reflected in the idea of constant advancement, made thanks to the development of the new ways of extraction and use of natural resources that are available to the humanity. She later elaborates the negative consequences of such a view, especially in regard to natural resources which lack an alternative in nature (such as clean water and air), illustrates the opposing opinions of different authors (such as Reisman, on one hand, and Shiva and Hackett, on the other) and mentions the growing corporative business relating to the water privatizations and bottling. The latter is further described through the presentation of water privatization' models, which include a web of corporations, international finance institutions and different types of contracts, as well as the presentation of several privatization examples.

In the third chapter, the candidate focuses on social movements, relating to the theory presented by Diani. Following this, the candidate presents the distinction onto the old and new social movements, emphasizing the latter one through the demonstration of theories made by Offe, on one hand, and Della Porta and Diani, on the other. Both theories defined certain common characteristics which may be observed within the analysis of social movements, and which are used for the analysis of the social movement from Cochabamba. Simultaneously, the candidate presents the position of social movements towards the natural resources, by focusing on the rise of environmentalism and its two main phases (radical and revolutionary),

as well as several examples of the successful struggles against the river-dams and water-bottling.

Chapter four is dedicated to the case study of the Water War, which occurred in Cochabamba, Bolivia during the 1999/2000. At the beginning of this chapter, the candidate provides a brief history of neoliberalism in Bolivia, starting with the 1950s, and the structural and political changes through which the country went until the 1990s, when the Water War emerged. She presents the gradual rise of dissatisfaction, reflected in different protests and struggles that occurred in the meantime, which clearly show how the stage for the Water War began to prepare few decades before it actually happened. In the next part, the candidate devotes to the presentation of the movement' formation, which gathered people coming from different socio-economic groups, occupations and with different aims into the one single battle – for the preservation of water from the foreign appropriation. Through the history of articulation of the movement and the Water War itself, she explored and presented the actors which participated (movements Fabriles and Pueblo en Marcha, farmers, workers' unions, professionals, students, media, businessmen, etc.); the issues that caused the rise of people in Cochabamba; the values that gathered them and made them act; the organization within the movement (model of assemblies); and the actions that were performed in order to attract more supporters and make an influence on the decision-makers. At the end of this chapter, the candidate presents the main achievements of the struggle of the social movement in Cochabamba, which succeeded in defending its' water from the foreign privatization, but also brought some positive institutional changes, such as institutionalization of indigenous customs and right to water. Besides achievements on the level of state, the candidate also emphasizes the influence that the Water War in Bolivia had on the international level, including the recognition of water as fundamental human right and the creation of the regional cooperation in the management of natural resources.

In the discussion chapter, the candidate presents the social movement which is currently struggling to defend the rivers from the derivative hydropower dams on the territory of Serbia, which was the inspiration for her to explore the potential of social movements in the protection of natural resources.

In the conclusion, the candidate summarizes the findings of the research, reminding again that the current economic models, related to the capitalism, cannot provide a sustainable solution for use and preservation of limited natural resources, such as clean water. She declares that communities around the world constantly struggle to defend its natural resources, but their voices often remain unheard. Therefore, she concludes that social

movements, like the one emerged in Cochabamba, represent the agents, which can provide a sense of belonging and solidarity, space for deliberation, and, finally, concentrate and steer the power of people towards the realization of common goal.

The Commission is convinced that the candidate Katarina Lević has shown deep understanding of the nexus between common goods, social mobilization and violent conflicts. Also, the Commission is satisfied how the candidate has applied theoretical concepts in the empirical part of the paper on the case study of Bolivia and Cochabamba Water War. Based on this, the Commission concludes that the master thesis "Social Movements and Protection of Common Goods: Cochabamba Water War" by Katarina Lević fulfils all the formal criteria for the public defence.

The Commission:

Doc. dr Dušan Spasojević

Assist. MA Milan Krstić

Prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović