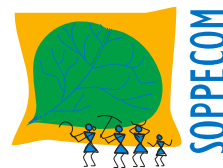


Proceedings of
The Inception cum Methodology
workshop
On
Social Movements around Water in India
6-7 July 2008
Pune

Organised by
IWMI-Tata Water Policy programme
SOPPECOM



Acknowledgements

This is a detailed proceeding of the inception cum methodology workshop held on 6-7 July 2008 on Social Movements around Water in India. The study hopes to explore some interesting cases of social movements around water from different parts of India. The two day workshop discussed some of the conceptual and methodological issues around both social movements and water.

The proceedings were drafted by Ada Siddique, of Queen's Mary College, London who was an intern with SOPPECOM during this period. We are very grateful to her for putting together what often becomes an uphill task for those directly involved in project management.

We would also like to thank Sanjeev Phansalkar who initiated this process in 2007 when he was part of the IWMI-Tata programme. Thanks also to Dinesh Kumar who later took over him, supported the idea and helped it materialize into an eighteen month study. Thanks are also due to all the case study writers who came for the workshop and contributed to the process actively.

We look forward to the outcome of this study and hope that it would contribute to the larger body of knowledge and practice.

SOPPECOM

2 September 2008

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Proceedings of
The Inception cum Methodology Workshop
Social Movements around Water
July 6-7, 2008

The two-day methodology workshop for social movements around water began with an introduction to SOPPECOM's work and activities by Suhas Paranjape. The two days proceedings comprised of six sessions which were as follows

- Session I: Background and Rationale for the Study on Social Movements around Water- Seema Kulkarni
- Session II: Introduction to Social Movements -Mangala Subramaniam
- Session III: Discussion on Methodology -Seema Kulkarni (SOPPECOM)
- Session IV: Presentations of Case Studies
- Session V: Developing Commonality in Concepts- K J Joy (SOPPECOM)
- Session VI: Logistics

In each session, the main speaker presented a topic/case study followed by a group discussion. The aim of the workshop was to increase background knowledge, agree on methodology, clear up doubts, exchange ideas related to the case studies, and develop some sort of commonality in concepts. In essence, it aimed at developing some uniformity in the approach case study researchers would adopt. Below is a brief account of the proceedings of each session.

Session I: Background and Rationale for study on Social movements around water in India-Seema Kulkarni

Background and Rationale

The study is set in the context of increasing water crisis and the resultant conflicts around water. Water-abundant regions have become water scarce, and water scarce regions face water famines. In India, even as capital investment is being poured into water projects, more and more villages are running out of water. For women this scarcity has meant traveling longer distances in search of water.

Though there has been considerable amount of academic work on social movements in India to quote for example Ghanshyam Shah and Gail Omvedt in the Indian context, there has not been much systematic and rigorous work done to critically analyse and understand social movements on water in India. Water is often treated as one of the issues of an essentially peasant movement or as part of an environmental movement and efforts to understand the relationship between social movements and water issues have remained isolated attempts (for example, the review by Kameshwar Chaudhary and the IWMI study of the Swadhyaya movement).

It would be important to know why has collective action emerged around water and, how has collective action evolved and been sustained in ensuring equitable allocations, democratizing water governance and adoption of water saving technologies in India? Very little or no systematic research examines this issue. The factors that contribute to the rise and development (and sometimes even collapse) of such movements, their impact on both the immediate context –

both in terms of time and space – of these movements and its interaction with the larger context of the policy discourse on water. The alternatives they put forward in terms of water distribution or use and the rules that govern water use

Over the last few decades many social initiatives and movements around water have been emerging. These movements have an impact not only on the local politics around water, but also on the macro level discourse on water and more specifically on water policy.

Some examples of these initiatives are the Pani Panchayat movement in Maharashtra and Pani Sangharsh Chlwal in South Maharashtra that address the issue of equitable distribution and sustainable use of water. The water parliament movement by the Tarun Bharat Sangh in Rajasthan that has stressed self governance and the Swadhyaya movement in Gujarat that has stressed recharging of wells and groundwater.

Defining Social Movements

Social theory is often a contested terrain with differences in **definitions, methodologies,** positions, emphasis and nuances. Often distinction is also made between protest movements and constructive or positive movements. Protest movements and the constructive or positive movements, need to be seen as positive movements in that they seek to replace norms and practices that they are protesting against with different norms and practices and in this sense they too are constructive and positive. Also, they often bring new areas into the discourse, especially in cases where earlier discourse often results in exclusions to which the discourse itself is blind. In this respect, then contestation was taken as the characteristic of social movements; every movement therefore is characterized by a particular kind of contestation of dominant discourse or practice. For the purposes of the study, we define social movements as collective actions of fairly large scale – with non-local scope, involving a constituency or participation that covers at least a few villages or a region – initiated and sustained over a period through common approaches/ideologies and, besides the formal organizational structures and processes, also comprising of non-institutional ties and processes that embed them in their social contexts.

Spectrum

Social movements could cover a wide spectrum which is as follows

State action (for example, Participatory Irrigation Management Acts and policies)

Civil society initiatives – limited in time, space, objectives and participation (for example, small campaign groups, PIL groups with little mass participation)

Scaling up of state actions and civil society initiatives without social mobilization (for example, NGOs and/or the state setting up watershed development networks)

Social mobilization for replication of promising state and civil society initiatives (for example, Swajaldhara or Pani Roko Abhiyan)

Social initiatives which do not necessarily aim at radical social transformation (for example, Swadhyaya Movement, Palamau initiative, Tarun Bharat Sangh)

Social movements aimed at mobilization around explicitly water issues – say for access to water but within an agenda of some kind of radical social transformation (for example, Pani Sang harsh Chlwal, Pani Panchayat, Ek Gaon Ek Panavatha)

Defining our scope

For this study however we look at the following

Social initiatives which do not necessarily aim at radical social transformation (for example, Swadhyaya Movement, Palamau initiative, Tarun Bharat Sangh)

Social movements aimed at mobilization around explicitly water issues – say for access to water but within an agenda of some kind of radical social transformation (for example, Pani Sangharsh Chlwal, Pani Panchayat, Ek Gaon Ek Panavatha)

Contributions of this study

- First, at a theoretical level, this research will contribute to the scholarship on the role of people's understanding in the emergence and sustaining of collective action.
- Second, a comparative case study approach will enable capture variations in organized collective action based on the uses of the resource, water, location/region (rural/town/city), and scope of the organized action.
- Third, the case studies would provide details of the specific ways in which rules have been created for use of water and the power politics that may be involved in the development of such rules.
- Fourth, this project can provide useful input for sectoral policy on water.

So in a sense the audience is wide and we need to develop our case studies in a way that we are able to engage with such a wide ranging audience.

The detailed methodology would be outlined in a later section.

Session II: Introduction to Social Movements – Mangala Subramaniam

In this session, Mangala Subramaniam, one of the core group members discussed the theoretical aspects of social movements. A summarized version of her presentation is given below.

Social movements can be broadly defined as collective action for change. In the 1950s, the Classic model of social theory theorized that collective behavior, motives and actions were irrational and random. By the 1960s, this theory of irrationality was questioned by scholars. Intermediary points such as the creation of meanings, the coming together of people, discussions and planning are complex and have much to do with differential structures of power. Challenging those who hold power will result in a struggle and provide conditions for the emergence of a social movement that often involve attempts to bring about a significant alteration in the balance of power. Further, there is a dynamic that exists at a micro level where there is an interaction among people from diverse backgrounds (caste/class/gender/region) about the decisions that have to be made on matters such as strategies, organization, rules and procedures.

There is much that can be drawn from the post 1970s era, when social movements drew the attention of scholars in terms of developing new theoretical approaches and perspectives. Social movements can be analyzed in different ways. Different stages of their lives may be a starting point. For example, its emergence and the circumstances that led to its emergence. An alternative approach might be to look at the dynamics of the movement, examining what issue is addressed, how it is addressed and who is controlling action. Has the movement remained intact in terms of goals, ideology and form, or broken into strands? One may also look at the movement's manifestation in terms of organization. How is it visible? There may be a variety of organizations some being small in scope, others covering a larger area.

Social movement is a very broad term and encompasses multiple forms of organizations and/or strands. Despite having an ultimate common goal, tensions and conflicts might arise out of these strands. A clear example is the women's movement. It was viewed as a singular movement until about the 1980s when various strands began to be visible. There are disadvantages and advantages to tensions and conflicts that arise out of divisions. And the effects can be studied through the direction it has pushed the movement towards that is, either progressed forwards or moved backwards.

A Brief Overview of Social Movement Theory

The political process model is a macro level approach that focuses on political opportunities. A political opportunity is a political environment that either encourages or discourages collective action, and it need not necessarily be formal, permanent or national. A social movement might either be constrained or may use certain opportunities to go forward. This concept emphasizes resources external to the organization and refers to change in terms of political environment/context.

The women's movement in India is a good example. The 14-month emergency period that Indira Gandhi had imposed in the 1970s had led to a resurgence of the 1947 independence master frame of freedom. There was a rise in a slew of movements such as labour, women's and anti-caste movements. The idea of freedom being threatened caused people to organize in order to challenge the state. The women's movement grew significantly in 1970s in India. Twelve months after the emergency was imposed and lifted, there was a spurt in the growth in women's groups emphasizing a tremendous need to change the balance of power through movement and action. By the late 1980s, the political re-structuring at the national and regional level in India raised the visibility of political parties that were little known earlier. A good example of this is the BSP-for instance, Mayawati, Kanshiram. There was a persistent use of organizing at grassroot-level to create a movement. Dalit issues were brought to the forefront; educated women and dalits were taking up the cause of caste and injustices related to caste. MS points in particular to her study of the Mahila Samakhya sanghas in North Karnataka. The network of sanghas serves as a foundation of the dalit movements that are the result of two processes that occurred nationally. Firstly, the recognition of caste prejudice and discrimination as an injustice, which took on centre stage, as national figures, emerged out of political parties that were growing in significance. Secondly, these people had the opinion that to remain at grassroots alone, and not combining it with a national effort, will not be effective in challenging those with power. The sanghas that MS has studied in Karnataka have emerged as a very strong force, so much so that the government at various levels (state, district and taluka) was often a target of the protests by the sangha women. Therefore, it is important to look at dialogues between state and movement. Examining the macro-micro interaction often involves a tussle about who is going to be in power, conflicts with regards to defining injustice, uncertainty upon the policy that will come about. Despite these conflicts, a movement takes on its own character when it wants to oppose the state. For example, in the case of TBS, the Rajasthan state government had given a tender to a private contractor to access fish out of the Arvari river that was revived by the local people (from villages located near this river) over several years. The people came together to keep vigil against contractors, despite differences, as they were adamantly opposed to the fact that the contractors were given the right to fish there, even though it was the people who revived the river and created an environment suitable for fishes to survive.

In this Rajasthan case, the result of the struggle was positive as the government had to withdraw the tender. However, such positive outcomes might not prevail in all cases. Thus the question arises as to how one traces the trajectory or dynamics of the movement. We also therefore need to look at the broader context rather than the politics only at the local level, specifically the impact of actions of state or political parties in power on movement actions and the dialogues between the state and movements. Is the party in power at local level in power at the national level too? How does this influence micro-level land rights? It is critical to identify these opportunities and constraints, as they can be significant in what a movement does or chooses.

An example is the 2004 Gujarat religious violence. BJP was in power in Gujarat and at the centre. A political party with access across levels creates a very constraining environment for

movements. In Gujarat, women's movement groups avoided talking about women's rights and talked about communal conflict, harmony and peacemaking. It was a strategic choice, as they would have been targeted if they had talked about rights in that environment. Some of the consequences could be that of losing their office and employees and having the government coming after them. This is a prime example of how constraints can be so great that organizations will have to find new ways to deal with the new environment.

In the water context, at the micro-level in Tarun Bharat Sangh (TBS), there are still conflicts and tensions both within the district along with conflicts against the state of Rajasthan and the government. It is crucial to identify what it is in that thread which creates tension and conflict, and the dialogues between the state and the movement that occur. This interactive relationship of dialogues between state and movement structures political opportunities by framing that particular constraint or opportunity.

Framing is the construction of meaning of injustices and/or political conditions by various actors (government, national and/or local, movement groups, media etc). Using the period of emergency as example, framing for that time meant interpreting or giving meaning to the emergency that the government had imposed as loss of freedom or suspension of fundamental rights. Thus, during the emergency, there was a master frame of freedom. Consequently, people realized a need to organize as civil society to take on these types of challenges. In the context of Gujarat, the movements were constrained, as they could not talk about rights. However, they could talk about communal harmony; so, they worked around communal harmony and still addressed issues of rights. Thus, the frame in operation here is concerned with communal harmony and the issue of rights was kept subservient to avoid being targeted by the government.

In the context of water, one can explore the way rights are defined in terms of water rights for users, determining the users, who defines the uses. In an article on the Andes by Boelens and Zwartveen in *Development and Change*, the authors have examined the issue of rights in conjunction with the context of neoliberalism and privatization of water. They focus on what these struggles could do and challenges that arise out of absence of rights. Defining framing of rights may differ in some of the case studies involved and thus, tracing historically the trajectory of a movement may prove to be useful. Kameshwar Choudhary's piece traces the historical, political conditions prior to independence. Such materials can add edge and clarity to an analysis if a description of opportunities and constraints can be provided, leading to some speculations on the relationship between a facilitative or constraining political environment and movement's actions.

In water rights, it is crucial to define community and note the amount of rights granted to that community. In the Andes case, the author defined community, and noted which community had rights. Define community and community mobilization for refinement and analytical clarity. Woods, from the list of readings, talks implicitly about different types of framing. The matter in itself is complex. However, it is useful to think about framing in terms of different groups of people.

The Gujarat cases show a difference in framing due to political environment. In the US, an organization in Louisiana was deliberating on choice of words for an advertisement to garner public support for an African-American woman who had filed a rape case against the famous boxer Mike Tyson.. They spent a long time wording the advert, taking into consideration the different ways they could approach the situation with regards to the audience they wished to appeal to. They could either word it such that it appealed to all women, regardless of race, or they

could use the 'race' approach to include African-American men as well. Actions can be driven quite strategically in terms of types of frames that movements choose to use.

Framing is useful to motivate people. Despite differences in life experiences and background, framing allows a movement to motivate and mobilize people to support a specific cause. In the case of water, you might have a category of people who do not have any land and only need water for the purpose of drinking at home; thus they can get it from a shop and are not inclined to support the collective action. However, the way one frames the rights to water may be broadened in terms of the number of users, thereby making a person's use to be as important even if she is landless. The way an issue is given meaning can be used to draw or mobilize individuals. Thus, framing is useful to garner support for collective action to be successful.

A distinction needs to be drawn between campaign and movement. A campaign needs to mobilize people only for a short period of time. A movement is more established and more likely to be sustained, even if they are not active in protesting all of the time.

Campaigns are driven by a higher agenda or goal. It might have drawn other actors equally into that fold. One needs to see how many actors are involved and to be very clear of the dynamic that exists. For example the case of Malayala Manorama campaign around rain water harvesting- Malayala Manorama is an established group, not created solely for the purpose of the campaign. It has created a movement outside of the main group, but it still has an ultimate agenda. Another dynamic to take note of is the way mobilized people organize themselves, the groups of people who have been included or excluded, as it has implications for how the campaign will take action to protest and what it will participate in the larger structure of movement. Mobilizing is distinct from organizing. Mobilizing is drawing support, while organizing is a more sustained action; mobilizing happens for a short period of time but campaigns are often short lived, unless an organized group takes up that campaign and moves it forward and chooses to act in an organized manner. The organizing element results often in structures, such as informal, formal, small, large, etc.

Resource mobilization deals with resources that social movements/ social movement organizations seek and/or receive. In 1977, social movement theorists McCarthy and Zald proposed the resource mobilization approach for understanding social movements which was built on the neo-institutional perspectives. They talked about things happening very rationally: here is a set of actors who come together, here are the rules and everybody will abide by them. They neglected the social and political dynamics that can disrupt these forms of rational action. Resource mobilization theory has a very economic basis to rationality, assuming no preferential treatment; everyone knows what the outcome will be in terms of utility. It argues that formal structures (hierarchical, bureaucratic, and corporate) are most effective and efficient; without money, no movement or organization can sustain itself. Bebbington cites McCarthy and Zald extensively, and agrees with their theory. Post 1977, a slew of literature consisting of cases with theoretical implications has questioned the McCarthy and Zald propositions. Firstly, there was a questioning of the superiority of formal structures. Informal structures do work; in particular, groups with informal structures in developing countries have succeeded to push for change. A fine example is the extremely informal sanghas formed through Karnataka's Mahila Samakhya's (MSK) program. They have no set time for meeting, and often no meeting place, no built meeting hall etc. There is a spectrum of organizational forms ranging from the very formal to the very informal. In reality, the extremes do not exist, combinations of collectivist and bureaucratic forms of organizations do exist. In this light, it is important to explore the processes of the building of rules and to think about scope and size and how it came about. The former was probably influenced by people, the latter the kind of leader. A leader can be enforcer or facilitator. For

example, the sangham leadership can be described as facilitative. There is no one leader, it is very informal but has survived.

In the resource mobilization approach - new cases with theoretical implications have emerged to question the idea of resources as being only tangible, or material. Resource can be intangible and created within groups/organizations. For instance, in the case of the MSK sanghas, group processes have facilitated consciousness raising. For groups which have been around for only 6 months to 2 years, little within group activity and/or connections was visible. For the most part, it takes 4-8 years before effects of group based interaction facilitates construction of an oppositional consciousness that facilitates protests and actions.. The reason for this is that, despite being aware of injustice, members of the younger groups are reluctant to voice. With the time lag, interactions result in the realization that they can become a collective force. It is essential to explore what is happening within the group, both in terms of dynamics of differential power at the micro level, as well as facilitating change at the micro level.

Significant events for that group should be identified. MS identified a few events for Arvari that facilitated formation of water parliament. She pointed to the conflict and dynamics of the organization and the involvement of TBS in terms of gender issues. The group has women members, both regionally and in parliament; but, their voices are not heard at all in the meeting. For this, a clear definition needs to be created for what are meant by mobilization and participation. Being a member and going to a meeting does not equal participation. Participation needs to be talked about in different stages. There is formal membership and attendance. There is a difference between 'I contribute to these meetings' and 'I take the initiative to take up issues/be involved in meetings'. Jacintha Pinto's article talks about the involvement of women, in particular, of 2 possible strategies to bring in women: "a) *economically* through skill and knowledge enhancement in tank-related income-generating activities, and b) *socially* through collective action to gain decision-making and negotiation powers"¹. However, the distinction was not drawn between membership, participation and involvement.

In the panchayats, the elected women in Karnataka contribute little as compared to the sangha women, who have been trained to raise relevant questions in the panchayat meetings, which is what involvement is about. Involvement analysis for groups can consist of picking out which groups are involved and which groups remain members. In the case of water, the land-owning have a vested interest and might therefore be more inclined to voice their opinions and so develop strategies and carry out action. Are women seen less as users of water and thus are not vocal? Are there some regions where women are more vocal than others? These factors have to be examined analytically. One has to think about mobilizing and what this means in terms of bringing people together.

Collective identity refers to a network of active relationships between the actors, who interact, communicate, influence each other, negotiate and make decisions. It involves emotional investment and participation cannot be reduced to cost-benefit calculations. A collective actor is one that has a sense of identification with the fortunes of the group as a whole and has a desire to change society on behalf of the collective.

¹ Pinto, Jacintha. 2005. "Tank Water as Livelihood Support." *Integral Liberation*, 9(2): p. 136.

Issues raised:

- The relation between movement and its identity with the construction of the ‘other’ or ‘enemy’
- Using fear to mobilize people: analyse how those mobilized communities organize themselves and remain sustained. It is very different from thinking about political constraints.
- The ‘other’ is talked about by Maluchi in the micro level sense. Connect political opportunities to this concept (i.e. the macro to the micro level) and
- then make the connection of cultural framing that is used to create an identity in the construction of the other
- The three groups discussed are not entirely separate; they can be connected, depending on the researcher’s creative angle. These points may be used to be analytical.
- Different interpretations of social movements need not matter as importance lies in capturing dynamics of social movement
- The role of donors: driving actions and knowledge creation.
- A researcher needs to be aware of his own framing so as to have a sharper analytical mind
- Research of social movements in America of dissident countries, like Pakistan, is intervened by the government. Grants are given by the state. Political framing is linked to the American consensus. In contrast, the European school of thinking is more critical.
- The position of the movement has to be looked in context of the social and political structure

Session III: Discussion on Methodology – Seema Kulkarni (Soppecom)

In this session Seema outlined the methodology for the case studies on the basis of an already circulated note.

The following aspects are useful points for the analysis of social movements (SM) and social movement organizations (SMO) and they are covered individually below:

- Scope of the Social Movement
- Ideology and goals
- Structure
- Protests and local activities
- Resources
- Organizational Characteristics

SM/SMO scope:

- reach of the organization (scope) in terms of geographical area/spread and/or population, the characteristics of those served/constituency served, and the services provided

Ideology and goals

- These refer to the beliefs and goals of the group.
- On what kinds of beliefs is the SM/SMO constructed? Religious, local, cultural beliefs?
- Are the beliefs *unofficially* endorsed?
- What cultural, caste, and gender values does the SM/SMO communicate?

Structure

- Structure refers to the internal structure, or the ways in which control or authority is organized, and how power is distributed; the way work tasks are divided and integrated; the decision-making arrangements; and the normative internal arrangements. Structure includes: authority, rules, and the incentive structure.

Protest & Local Activities:

- Protests challenging the status quo and questioning injustice reflects a consciousness among people that change is possible and that change can be brought about. Such consciousness implies that it is possible to alter conditions or policies through collective action.

Resources

- Resources refer to the resources that are procured and created by the organization. They include the sources of organizational funding or financial resources, resources created from within the organization, and the facilities of the organization to generate resources.

Organizational Characteristics

- Age of organization or longevity of the organization and its distinctive programs
- Any other details unique to the organization

Research Questions

- How have social movements (SMs) on water emerged and/or been sustained as a collective action response to managing demand for water and/or promoting water saving technologies?
- How have political opportunities facilitated or constrained collective actions?
- How are current institutional linkages set up?
- How are SMs related to demand for water (irrigation, drinking and other uses) structured? How is leadership organized? (meso level analysis: important for assessing degree of democracy based on say degree of bureaucracy measured as structure of group/organization: authority, rules, incentive structure, how structure evolved)
- What is the normative framework of the movement- the core promise or the super-ordination principle, its ideas on equity, relation to the State, social change as these have a bearing on the programme and the strategies of the movement.
- What are the lessons to be learnt from the cases in terms of mobilizing for collective action, promoting participation across social categories (class, gender, caste), and in the ways users develop guidelines/rules?

Methods and Data

- Macro level: Primary sources- government reports of water policies and programmes
- Meso- level: Secondary sources published unpublished writings of the movement
- Participant and non participant observations, interviews with key informants
- Largely a case study approach, but one which extends beyond being descriptive and exploratory to an analytical one.
- FGDs, interviews, field observations, oral histories etc
- Combining primary and secondary data collection

Research ethics

- How does one approach the movement
- who are our key informants
- how do we use the information
- dialogue with the movement on our findings
- debates and disagreements discussed

Session IV: Case Studies

1. Ek Gaon Ek Panvatha – Raju Adagale

Ek Gaon Ek Panvatha is concerned with campaigning against caste discrimination over water. It started in Maharashtra in 1972. It was a period of severe drought and the central figure of the movement, Dr. Baba Adhav, had learnt of the atrocities against dalits by the upper caste. The dalits suffered from mental, emotional and physical abuses due to the caste system. Dr. Adhav was also interested in celebrating the golden jubilee of Satya Shodhak Chalval (Truth Finding Movement). Following this, the movement sought to resolve conflicts due to caste discrimination in Maharashtra with peaceful methods.

This campaign has helped dalits to cultivate land of temple trust in Nagapur village of Beed district and has tried to understand how people, especially the discriminated sectors, coped with droughts. The modern day situation has changed substantially and dalits might seem to be more empowered. However, discrimination is still a reality for some. The extent of change in the social structures, and the areas which need restructuring to stimulate further changes, need to be explored. It is also important to learn the impact of the campaign, the current situation of the villages which the campaign targeted and why the campaign did not sustain.

It was an informal movement which affected ten to twelve places in Maharashtra positively. Many organizations like *Vishamta Nirmulan Samiti*, *Mahatma Phule Samata Pratisthan*, *Yuvak Kranti Dal* and *Shramik Sanghatna* supported and were actively involved.

Issues raised:

- Rationale and complications associated with studying a campaign that is not longer existing
- Context: of when the movement began, comparison of contexts, caste discrimination: then and now, the subtle changes in form. For example, in modern times, the media is openly opposed to caste discrimination, which shows a general social opposition to such a concept.
- It might also be worth looking into why Dr Baba Adhav took up the movement and its social/political significance at the time. The researcher might look at the material reality of the time.
- Assessing impact:
 - The impact 'needs to be seen as creating a wider, different social milieu'.
 - Revisit the villages to see what they have done and what they are like now.
- The network that Dr Baba Adhav ran needs to be discussed. By looking at the meetings and the people who have come to be associated with the movement, a clearer picture can be created.
- The reasons for success and failure of the movement: Explore what the movement tried to do, what it could not achieve
- Relationship between urgency due to scarcity and the creation of the movement
- An example of Jalswarajya was given to show how the state co-opted the basic issue. The state supported programme had not resolved issues of caste discrimination in relation to water but had sidelined it. It co-opted the issue by introducing separate water sources, neglecting the pressing issue of caste discrimination.

- Methodology: There needs to be constant contact with Dr Baba Adhav during and after the study. Interviews with people involved with the movement are crucial, as well as published materials.
-

2. Kengrehalla Movement in the Western Ghat Region, Karnataka – Anitha Pailoor

The Kengrehalla Rejuvenation Movement (KRM) is a public campaign to enhance the depleting water level in the Western Ghat region in Karnataka. It began over a water dispute between Sirsi town and the farmers in the Kengre watershed region. After this, the movement worked towards increasing water awareness and conservation in an attempt to resolve the water situation in the long run. Shivananda Kalave, the central figure of the movement, traveled the area to research the water issues, focusing on the Malnad region. Deforestation, monocropping and over-exploitation of water were found to be factors causing the degeneration of natural water conservation channels.

To tackle the issues, the movement worked towards popularizing roof water harvesting and developing the watershed area of Kengre stream. Despite the slow progress of initial programmes, Kalave's efforts in bringing expertise and also touching the sentiments of the people proved a success and within two years, more than three hundred city houses became water sufficient. Rainwater harvesting through locally relevant techniques were also implemented to rejuvenate the Kengre stream. The support of the forest department and the local organization was helpful in making the movement a success.

The movement implemented these other techniques which were all locally relevant and included native techniques:

- Kanive Kere (a tank), suitable for Malnad's hilly areas and have become popular in the area since
- Jurukattu (small check dam),
- Renovation of old tanks and desilting
- In-situ water conservation structures

Kalave had also created Malnad Rain Center in Neeranahalli School which hopes to increase water awareness in homes through school children. This center includes more than thirty types of water harvesting models suitable for the Malnad region and offers hands-on experience on farming.

The movement has motivated more than a hundred villages around the radius of the ten to fifteen villages which it has worked in. Water table in the area has visibly increased. It has helped spread a holistic awareness of water and is unique in imparting practical knowledge through the Rain Center.

Issues raised:

- Structure and organisation of the movement (different groups for different communities or one overarching community?)
- Distinguishing character of the movement?

- Movement has been popular because it avoided the contentious issues such as interests and how water is used.
 - Analyse how much of it can be considered a movement.
 - Participation: what is the mobilizing element? This may be drawn out from the protests.
 - If there is any action, is there mass participation?
 - Influence of movement (e.g. Andhra Pradesh, change in policy on issue of water)
 - Has movement challenged common practices?
 - Membership: How is it related to interests?
 - Source of funding
 - How it has been sustained
 - The conflict that revolves around the river?
 - Internal conflicts within the group
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3. Water Rights Movement In Maharashtra – Kausthubh Devale

The South Maharashtra movement formed around two decades ago by a group of farmers. It deals with water issues arising from drought and regarding its role as a livelihood source. There are three constituents to the movement: **the dam-affected population, the drought-affected populace and the dam beneficiaries.** Within these constituents, there are tensions arising out of conflict of interests. Its formation began when various organisations involved in similar struggles realized that they should combine forces. Once they did, they started engaging with the local grampanchayats, state political parties and the national congress party, attempting to get their promise that control over allocation and distribution of water will be given.

The focus of the group gradually widened from ‘We have a right to our own water management, to be part of water allocation’ to prioritizing attaining water right for every individual, irrespective of the amount of land a person owns. Despite the nature of the movement being a grouping of different organisations dealing with different struggles, the movement was able to have a collective leadership and come under one banner of SKSS. Its central issue was equitable allocation and distribution of water. Another issue was the right for local water management, where the people living in the area are thought to have the right to manage their water source.

The focus of this case study will be on a few key organisations that make up the movement: the Maharashtra Dharanrast Parishad, the Mukti Sangharsh Movement, the Shetkari, Shetmajoor Kashtakari Sanghtana

The researcher wishes to examine the following:

- History of local social movements in the region of Satara
- Emergence of the social movement and the factors causing its emergence
- Nature of leadership- there has been a sense of collectivity despite movement containing several organisations
- Organizational structure: dynamics between different organisations and within an organization
- Framing of each issue and the effects of framing on social mobilization
- Engagement with different levels of government bodies
- Engagement with civil society

- Strategies of each struggle
- Relevance of strategies in the contemporary context
- Key success of the movement, and its uniqueness
- Possible current challenges for the movement
- Changes in impact level of the movement: it has been ongoing for 20 years, is it still effective?
- Strength and weaknesses

Issues that need to be addressed:

- purpose of the case study
- audience of the study

Methods:

- interviews with stakeholders, experts in Maharashtra, one-on-one consultation
- analysis of information to be shared with the research group and stakeholders

Issues raised:

- a web of connections between the different organisations which need to be unpacked; study hierarchy within the movement and within these organisations
- leadership interactions
- Interpretation of data depends on framing. Objectivity of researcher who is involved in the movement. How will s/he look at the case study from a different perspective?
- Keep a continuous dialogue
- researcher needs to be a little more selective with scope of study

4. Hirakud Reservoir – Ranjan Panda

The Hirakud reservoir is the mainstay of agriculture and flood control in Orissa. Its water spread makes it the largest reservoir of the country and large water centric industrialization has been occurring in the area. To speed up this industrialization, the government has resorted to allocating water to the new users from the existing water sources. Irrigation was most affected by this move.

Along with the development of industries, other crisis led to a growing feeling of vulnerability among farmers and other stakeholders. Even the government declared Minimum Support Price (MSP) for paddy was ineffective. Farmers formed Krushak Sangathans (famer's union) at village level to bargain adequate price for their paddy produce in the market yards. Gradually, the Sangathans integrated into Krushak Suraksha Sangathans (KSS) and grew more assertive and involved with the paddy procurement system. The success of KSS led to the formalization of its participation in the system by the government.

The KSS took up the issue of the rapidly shrinking irrigation coverage in the command areas, resulting eventually to the government modernizing and rehabilitating the Sason canal. A later problem of large scale irregularity and misappropriation in implementation of the project was also resolved by KSS.

In the first half of this decade, industries began drawing water for their units from the Hirakud reservoir, causing KSS to allege the government of diverting away water from the irrigation sector to the industries. Coupled with this, the area saw a severe irrigation crisis and water could not be released into the Sason canal. This caused KSS to launch massive agitation and campaign against water allocation from Hirakud reservoir to the industries. The integration of KSS spread to the whole of Western Orissa and the *Pashim Odisha Krushak Suraksha Sangathan* (POKSS) became the umbrella organization of all the KSS. This social movement is also supplemented by the Pani Panchayats (the WUAs in Orissa).

The social movement has been very successful in mobilizing farmers and other stake holders. Consequently, water allocation to the industries has become a major political and policy issue in Orissa.

Issues raised:

- The movement has not addressed land acquisition.
- Progress to being a successful model needs to be traced. The study cannot simply narrate the success, but needs to look into the factors that led to it.
- Internal dynamics of organization: There are several groups involved in this organisation and in each group, there are different kinds of people, creating issues within the organization.
- What is being lost because of diversion?
- Membership based organization:
 - Class/caste/gender profile of the organization
 - process of leaving aside political ambitions or other agendas to become part of movement
- Internal conflicts: tensions of equity in the command areas and how they have been addressed
- Positive dynamics that can be accorded to be a result of the movement. For example, last year some farmers took charge of renovation of a canal, including management of resources.
- Apart from the primary issue, does it have any alternative articulations on water sector restructuring for a more suitable use of water?
- More focus needs to be given on studying the movement, as opposed to emphasis on its merits
- Factors which make the movement exemplary and unique
- Trajectory of the movement: how it has come about and diversified
- The major stakeholders and social groups, and their relations to the movement. Even though it might be an open membership, most that join come from a certain section
- Actual water rights of the farmers
- If there is a possibility for the industries and the farmers to coexist in harmony
- Problems of the community cannot only be attributed to the diversion to industries, which take only a small amount of water. Has the movement looked at water saving issues? And also the internal conflicts within the farmers- for example the tail enders etc.

5. Bhavani River Basin – Prakash & Ajit

Around the area of Bhavani River Basin, many inter-sector water conflicts exist. Apart from quantity related issues between the agriculture and industrial sector, issues of quality of water are of paramount importance. In the area, water pollution control strategies are weak and

contaminators such as industrial effluents and domestic sewage reduce the quality of water. There are huge social costs and the poor bear most of the hardship.

The two social movements that will be examined are the movement against South India Viscose (SIV) by Bhavani River Protection Joint Committee (BRPJC) and the movement against industrial units who contaminate groundwater by the Committee for the Protection of Bhavani River Water and Groundwater (CPBRWG). Both movements are concerned with the decline in the quality of water that results from industrial activity.

BRPJC

This organization has had some successes. Firstly, it won a case against SIV in Madras High Court in January 1997, resulting in the closure of SIV's pulp plant. After this case, SIV had created a pipe network to discharge effluent. However, the effluent was discharged on irrigated lands and crops were damaged. There were protests from the farmers and effluent irrigation soon ceased. In 2001, SIV was closed. Despite this triumph, affected areas have not recovered and still face problems such as pollution of the river from the sludge that gets washed in from the remains of the industry during heavy rain season.

CPBRWG

In the 1990s, ten water intensive industries were built in Thekkampatty and Jadayampalayam villages, in the Mettupalaya, block which is the catchment area of Bhavanisagar reservoir. In place since early 1990s was a prohibition for the industries to be within one kilometer of river or water. Since effluent discharge on surface water was more stringent than land discharge, companies bought land to practice effluent discharge under the guise of irrigation. As a result, ground water, which is used for irrigation and drinking, was contaminated. The committee was created to create awareness among villages about the impact of industrial pollution, to mobilise public towards environmental protection and to discuss water pollution issues with government and researchers. For this, TNPCB created the Local Area Environmental Committee which monitors the operation of the effluent treatment plant systems. Through this, the process has been made more transparent and accountable to the public.

Issues raised:

- Members/participants of the movement:
 - Were there people from the industry sector who joined the movement? Some must live in the villages where water drawn is contaminated
 - If not, was there a counter movement? A lot of employment was involved in these industries.
- Research methods:
 - time frame of research
 - Data collection: what and whom to interview.
 - There should be a range of interviewees since different groups are involved
 - questions to explore: strength and weaknesses
- Movement has not looked into social costs and benefits of industries. It is asserted that a social movement is always for the betterment of society. The movement does not have the necessary background to study these costs and benefits.

6. Palathulli Movement By Malayala Manorama - Jos Raphael

A well-established local daily newspaper, Malayalam Manorama (MM), started the Palathulli (many drops) movement. This movement aimed to increase the water awareness of its readers through the training manuals and tool kits it gave out with each edition featuring the issue. It particularly wished to impart knowledge that encourages self-reliance of water in every household.

Due to severe drought in 2002, the editor of MM called for a meeting of experts to discuss the problem. They saw it as their corporate social responsibility to spread water awareness. Rainwater harvesting, in tank form, was found to be the best solution. The first year focused on the tank projects and even the NGOs were happy to be involved.

The objective of the programme was to suggest methods to the people and the people would have to find a solution which fits their local surroundings.

The programme, launched officially on 23rd April, consisted of booklets, phone-in programmes with experts, road shows and face-to face visits. Experts go into areas and people meet them for consultations. Editors had signed the first page of the edition, which is a mark of importance in the world of journalism.

Successful cases of rainwater harvesting commented that they read the newspaper daily for some time but were gradually weary of seeing the palathulli editions. The enthusiasm was nevertheless strong.

The role of social, religious and political leaders was important in convincing the people and making the programme a success. It was also crucial that many people from diverse backgrounds in Kerala were literate and read the newspaper.

To capitalize on the newspaper coverage, the government implemented policies that complement the movement, such as subsidies and giving the panchayats authority over use of money allocated to the rainwater harvesting funds. The programme has influenced the water policy of the government. Other newspapers and media started to follow suit. Radios, magazines and TV channels started taking up this project. The influence of the programme can even be detected in schools, where seminars were held and students read textbooks where water issues were focused upon.

The programme has been visibly successful. The researcher's own micro-level study of 512 households on water harvesting found that a high number conserve rainwater. News of drought has barely resurfaced. There is a wide societal change on the issue as a whole. The issue is discussed widely. Even though the Palathulli movement has stopped, the message is continued by other NGOs and the subject is no longer an alien subject.

Issues raised:

- Impact: how many households have done it? How have things improved?
- Success of the movement alleged to be due to rain over the past few years
- How the campaign was created to raise awareness.
- Consequences of the campaign: what did it lead to? Controversies involving other media institutions
- Intentions of MM – readership relation to water
- Methodology could include :

- interviewing people who are instrumental to the movement
- analyzing different documents developed by the MM, bringing out major themes and highlighting changes
- analyse front page editorial pieces to draw out stand of the newspaper
- Consequences of the campaign may be measured with regards to controversies involving other media institutions or state.

Session V: Developing Commonality in Concepts – K J Joy (SOPPECOM)

The aim of this session was to arrive at a common understanding around some of the critical concepts and concerns around water amongst the researchers. Since most of the researchers in this project are from social science background it is important that they understand some of the bio-physical characteristics of water as a resource so that the case study becomes more interdisciplinary. Our understanding about water will shape the way we examine the social movement around water and the type of issues it tries to tackle. Similarly, as researchers our own normative concerns impact on how we look at a particular social movement around water. Hence it is important that all the researchers involved in this project have a common, minimum normative framework around key concepts like 'livelihood', 'sustainability', 'equity' and 'democratization'.

Biophysical and Social Peculiarities of Water

Some of the important peculiarities include:

- Water is an ecosystem resource that is embedded in ecosystem processes. Thus, it cannot be freely manipulated. Water projects will have an impact on its immediate surroundings. There is a need for minimum unbound environmental/ecological flows in the system.
- It is also a common pool resource and not a public good and has competing uses. It has multiple uses and tradeoffs. How the different competing needs and uses are balanced, such as that between the industrial and agricultural sectors, is an important concern.
- In its natural form, it is hard to exclude people from access to water. This peculiarity has led to many conflicts.
- It is both a local and non-local resource and has different scales. This is important because very often there is a tendency, especially amongst environmental groups to take a very localist positions and unless we understand water in its many scales we would not be able to capture the complexities involved.
- Water is unidirectional and has asymmetric relationship. Actions by the upstream affect those downstream, but not vice versa.
- Water as a private property is distinct from other types of properties, for example land. Ownership of water is basically an entitlement to use water in a certain way at certain times. It is not an absolute right. It is a variable and dynamic resource. Each of the above characteristics moves it away from typical or classical private property and hence market mechanisms that may be useful to handle classical private property resource would not be adequate to deal with water.

These characteristics have a bearing on water-related institutions, the social movements around them, the focus of a movement and the normative concerns underpinning our viewpoints.

Developing Commonality in Concepts

Livelihood: Water has a direct impact on livelihood. Livelihood should not be equated with income, as income might increase but not livelihood standards. Livelihood goes beyond basic needs. It also includes how a family earns its livelihoods. The best way is to aim for more livelihoods per drop, rather than more cash per drop. The water required for livelihood needs should be guaranteed for all.

We need to make a distinction between self-reliance and self sufficiency and the goal should be to meet needs like food, fodder, fuel and domestic water needs in kind in a self sufficient manner. But some of the cash income requirements of the family may have to be met through equal exchanges and in cash and there self sufficiency should be the goal. Access to water should not be determined by the amount of assets owned but by livelihood needs. This ensures equity across households, caste and gender.

Sustainability: The classic meaning of sustainability is meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the needs of the future generation. In water issues, the basic underlying biophysical processes need to be sustained. Human intervention should make the resource last for a longer period. One way is to conserve and enhance the primary productivity and the assimilative potential of the ecosystem. Also, we need to use water within renewable limits. Water can be categorized as stocks and flows. A stock is something that is accumulated since time immemorial over a longer period of time), while the flows is something which is available as part of the annual cycle. Livelihood needs should be within the limit of the annual flows and should avoid tapping into the stock as much as possible. Usage of stock, in bad rainfall years, should be coupled with a community understanding that the stock should be replenished during good years. This can be done through water balance studies. Furthermore, imported water should be minimized. If necessary, then importing should be done fairly.

Equity: One issue is inter-sectoral equity – industry vs. agriculture, domestic water vs. agriculture, etc. The National Water Policy gives domestic sector first priority, followed by agriculture and industry. However, in the case of Maharashtra, industry has been given a higher priority than agriculture. The problem lies in ensuring fair allocation across different uses and sectors. Livelihood discussions should encompass methods on meeting basic livelihood needs at affordable terms, irrespective of land they hold. There should also be a distinction between basic and economic service. A basic service should be equitable for everybody in the watershed area and should be determined by the livelihoods needs of the family. Economic service comes only after basic needs have been met.

It is only fair that those displaced because of water projects are given rightful rehabilitation and options to minimize impact should be explored. The possibility of this has been shown in the South Maharashtra movement.

Society is stratified on different lines: caste, class, ethnicity, gender and location such as upper reaches and lower reaches. People who might encounter possible discrimination in access to water should be given preferential treatment. For example, women should have better access to water for domestic and productive uses. Other groups include Dalits and artisans.

Democratization: Democratization of the water sector needs a separation of allocation and regulation functions. Participatory institutions today are basically instruments of efficient management, uninvolved in larger objectives such as sustainability and equity.

Democracy should mean primacy of the local community in decision making and accountability of the larger systems to the local communities and their institutions. Very often, accountability is held over the lower system to the higher system. Rarely is there a reverse accountability of the supra-local bodies to the local communities. There is also a need to explore the ways to ensure participation of the discriminated such as landless and women. In addition, right to information is crucial for participants to make informed decisions.

The role of the outsider is widely contested. The local people might have knowledge of their surroundings but outsiders can bring in larger set of experience, information, data and insights from modern knowledge systems to bear on some of the decisions that the local communities make. It is best to see it as an interactive relationship. Also, the outsider might bring impartiality as often, due to structural reasons within the community, some of the concerns like sustainability and equity do not come up naturally.

Conclusion

Livelihood:

- goes beyond basic needs; takes into account pattern of livelihood
- increased level of self-reliance
- fulfillment of needs to be assessed in the household and within the household to capture the equity dimension
- access to water to be determined by livelihood needs and not access to other resources

Sustainability:

- sustainable use of water in regenerative manner
- also impact on how you use/see inputs, resource and things
- sustained productive agricultural and other common lands is important when you talk about eco system
- ensuring sustainability of downstream of eco system for economic livelihood and downstream people

Equity:

- Greater sharing of benefits at micro level intervention like watershed development. E.g. Karnataka issue: what happens to the augmented source? TBS case: who gets access to the water is never talked about. So, focus is on equitable sharing of the augmented resource, not restructuring of the available resource
- livelihood assurance of the rural poor is an important dimension

Democratization:

- more control by community over the design and implementation of projects
- accountability of higher level agencies
- more voice for the marginalized
- social sections and power relations is an important area to explore

In sum, for a holistic perspective, these concepts could be used as a conceptual, theoretical framework. Analysis is always done through a certain social conscience and determined by your normative concerns. We suggest researchers to look at impact on livelihood, equity, sustainability and democratization because it has a bearing on the whole water sector research that this study is concerned about.

Issues raised:

- Revise case afresh taking into account normative concerns and the bio-physical and social peculiarities of water.
- To not only capture the underlying issue from the actors' point of view, but objectively understand the limits of this view in context
- A need for a two-layered analysis:
 - what the actors were trying to achieve and what they actually achieved

- Distance self from the movement and try to identify other issues which might have been neglected.
- For inactive movements, look at the phases that they had gone through
- Things have to be looked at in context. For example, different type of agronomical practices would require different conditions. In the case of sugar cane in Maharashtra, it is true that it uses most of the water. But it is also true that the conditions in Maharashtra (like solar radiation) are more suitable for sugarcane in terms of sugar recovery as compared to other states in India. So probably instead of arguing against sugarcane cultivation in Maharashtra a better position would be to go for alternative cultivation practices in which less water is used.
- To evaluate the movement's rationale in context
- Position of the movement and the social and political structure of area
- Recommended reading from the list: Bebbington
- How to be critical of own normative framework when working with the case

Session VI: Logistics

We discussed at length various administrative and logistics related aspects. Following is the brief gist of the discussion.

Deadlines:

- 1 November 2008 - First Draft
- 1 December 2008 - peer review and comments
- 15 days thereafter to work on comments. Peer review will have to be taken seriously.
- 15 January 2009 – Final Draft

Outcome:

- A report compiling the 9 case studies.
- A book with a review chapter on theoretical framing, an introduction, conclusion and the case studies.

Rationale:

- Contribute to a new theoretical understanding around social movement.
- The audience will be from a diverse background.
- Lessons learnt from these case studies could contribute to macro level policy.
- Contribution to practice.

Issues:

- Academic rigour needs to be maintained: system of data collection, questions addressed systematic method of analysis so as to not produce a descriptive narrative.
- Core group will have the final authority to modify content/reject the case study for the book

Payment:

- Honorarium for each case study – Rs 35 000
- In addition to this, Rs 15 000 for expenditure on travel and other stationery.

The meeting ended with the signing of contracts and disbursement of the first installment of the honorarium.