STUDY ON GOVERNANCE AND PARTICIPATION IN THE TELANGANA REGION

WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN THE AREAS OF WATER AND ENERGY MANAGEMENT, AND EDUCATION

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1 Scope of the study

Since the formation of the South Indian state Andhra Pradesh in 1956 the autonomy of the Telangana Region is an ongoing process of political discussion and matter of disturbances. Today, there is a high probability that the federal state might be split up as the Telangana movement, striving for separate statehood, has become stronger. In December 2009, the Government of India announced that the process for the formation of a Telangana state would be considered upon a separation statement by the state assembly of Andhra Pradesh.
In case that the 29th federal state will become reality, several questions arise: How will the organizational structure of the state/government look like? How will the severe economical and social problems be addressed? How is the role of the people and especially minorities reflected in governance?

The study is not at all aiming at giving any advice for the question of separation. It is only trying to discuss some issues for the possible case of separation. This is the preparatory work for a one day 'Salon', which the nexus Institute on behalf of FES will organize to conduct a scenario process to consult the political level and at the same time to integrate civil society and private sector into the discussion process. Accompanying the actual political in this way, is seen a chance for fostering peace, democracy and social justice in the region. At the same time this enables a learning process on the central and academic level as the sub-regionalism in India seems to continue.

The study presented summarises the preparatory work in order to frame the context and set the thematic priorities.

1.1 Background and objective

India consists of 28 federal states of which the newest three (Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttarakhand) have been formed in the year 2000. Demands for separation of more states are raised in different parts of the country. Among these demands the debate about separate statehood for Telangana has gained most attention in recent times. In this region of the South Indian state Andhra Pradesh, separation demands have come up from time to time ever since the creation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. Due to increased political tension the Sri Krishna Committee has evaluated the situation and submitted a comprehensive report in January 2011, but the decision is still pending with the government.

Source: http://www.downtoearth.org.in/dte/userfiles/infographics/npm/images/map_telangana.gif

In such a state of transition, we are convinced, it is necessary not only to look at the political debate and whether the demand is justified or not. Rather it is recommendable to try to tackle some central problematic issues of the local situation and governance that need to be improved irrespective of a possible separation of the region. The intention of the study and visionary process "Study on Governance and Participation in the Telangana Region" is to provide positive input for the formation of new institutions before the priorities of the new government are fixed and the operational structures are finally determined so that the results of the future process ('Salon') can be taken into consideration by the new government. The Salon aims at formulation of strategies on how to improve given structures and foster citizen participation in an inclusive manner.

In case Telangana will not be separated from Andhra Pradesh, an agenda of priorities and suggestions for governance changes and more decentralized structures is equally needed. To point it out clearly, we do not aim at formulating solutions for an independent Telangana, but hope to encourage ideas for improving of decentralized participative governance that can be transferred to other regions in Andhra Pradesh or even beyond.

Still, the demand for a separate statehood demonstrates that a large group of people in Telangana share a strong dissatisfaction regarding a range of issues. Complaints related to water management that include deficits of electricity supply as well as education (together with employment) are among the core issues that are raised. They are closely linked to the claim of inequality and the perception of being dominated by the other parts of the state (mainly the Coastal Andhra region). This is the central argumentation of the Telangana movement that is supported by people from all parts of the society with students being especially active.

Against this backdrop, we have decided to focus on water, electricity management and education as fields for improvement of current structures. Major water projects, e.g. the extremely controversial construction of the Povalaram dam, have received extensive political and media attention (e.g. Janyala 2011). In contrast, our focus is on the area of minor irrigation and especially the tank irrigation system that is rather neglected in the big debate on water issues, but bears great potential for the future of agriculture in Telangana. The analysis of electricity mainly provides an additional dimension to problems in minor irrigation management. Concerning the educational sector, we identified the area of elementary education as being of special interest as there are huge deficits with direct effect on higher levels of education.

Through literature research as well as experts interviews we have analysed the situation in these focus areas regarding governance and participation, major deficits in this regard as well as possible improvements for the future. The results of the study will in the next step serve as basis for discussions in the ‘Salon’. The ‘Salon’ as a special kind of expert-workshop will bring together local stakeholders for developing concrete future scenarios including direct steps to be taken towards their realization (see “Next steps”).

1.2 Methods

The first step of the three-month study was to identify the central areas of interest through extensive literature research covering a range of material such as articles (the most fertile source being the journal EPW), books, printed as well as online reports and pamphlets related to the topic.

Following the identification of the focus topics and pre-research on-site empirical research was conducted in Telangana. This phase included the two aspects of expert interviews as well as visits to the rural site of the region. In the interviews information and perspectives of 22 people who can be considered experts in one or the other of the focus areas have been gathered. Among those experts are authors of recent articles or books related to the subjects, a member of the Sri Krishna Committee, heads of civil society organisations as well as staff members of the Irrigation Department. Moreover, four interview partners are master or PhD students who focus in their dissertations on topics related to our focus areas.

The approach to select the interview partners according to their area of expertise might have come along with an imbalance regarding their position towards Telangana statehood (more experts in this particular field tend to be in favour of a separation). While we are aware that this could be seen as problematic, we are convinced that it is not of great relevance since the conversations did not enter the general political debate around the demand for separation but focused on the topics. Moreover, as the intellectual domain and the positions relevant to our focus are very much dominated by men, it was not possible to keep a gender balance in the choice of interview partners (the ratio is 17 males and five females).

In order to give the interview partners the chance to mention all aspects they saw relevant to the focus areas, the interviews were rather kept in conversation-style with the questions very open and only narrowed down when deemed necessary. This approach allowed interesting issues that were not considered before to come up in the conversation. The fact that the experts come from very different (academic) background and the conversations focused on different aspects led to the difficulty that terms and concepts such as ‘governance’ and ‘participation’ are sometimes used slightly different. For example, it becomes clear only from the context whether participation is meant in terms of general public engagement in organisations or decision making processes or whether it refers to participation of minorities or backward groups in particular.

Wherever the study refers to information given by the interview partners, who did not object to be quoted, their last names appear in brackets; in case of the same names, the initials of the first names are given as well. In case of the interview at the Irrigation Department, instead of the names of the three engineers the short form ‘Irr. Dep.’ will be used.

In the second part of the empirical research information as well as observation and visual documentation was collected during visits to four villages in three districts of Telangana: Nizamabad, Medak and Khammam – in the latter the two visited villages belong to the tribal

area of the ‘Koyas’. These visits were organized by the sociologist and ethnographer Mr. Bhushan who has worked and researched extensively on different minorities of these areas. With his help and translation of group discussions very valuable insights have been gained of which short extracts are given in the ‘spotlight’ boxes to each focus area. Although the observations are not representative, the insights into the situation of villagers and the functioning of local organisations and participation add to the broader picture of the study.

2 Governance and participation in the focus areas

India is organized as a union of federal states (currently 28 states and seven union territories). Responsibilities of the central government and the state governments are clearly defined (The Constitution of India, article 246). However, the power relations from the centre down to the local level and the extent of participation that is actually granted – both in terms of general public participation and integration of minorities – are not satisfying to many of the interviewed experts and authors, especially regarding the division of financial strength. Especially in a country as big and heterogeneous as India, local governance can be an important means to address needs and priorities of different groups within society.

On the other hand, there have been a range of initiatives to strengthen decentralised governance that will be presented in greater detail below. Just to mention one of the central initiatives, the Constitutional (Seventy-third Amendment) Act of 1992 was introduced to grant greater powers to the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI), a traditional system that manages local affairs in rural areas. To enhance the integration of minorities in the Pachayats, this Act also laid down reservation quotas for people from disadvantaged groups and especially women from those groups. The system of positive discrimination for backward groups such as Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Other Backward Classes (OBC) is, followed the Protection of Civil Rights Act of 1955. This concept, its effectiveness and how to define the criteria for selecting 'backward' people as entitled to reserved seats of jobs have been very controversially discussed ever since. Indeed, besides positive effects of enhanced integration and better chances for some people there are problematic side-effects of this concept as well (see e.g. Basu and Sisson 1989; Balagopal 2000). Thus, this system and the surrounding debates reflect the still existing extent of inequality in the Indian society and the difficulty of tackling it.

Governments have an immense capacity to influence the shape and condition of civil society. The government's attitude, regulations, laws and policies can determine the success or failure of civil society (Dienel et al. 2009). According to Mishra (2002), civil society participation is rooted in Indian traditions. Vedic hymns describe egalitarian and democratic norms of their society. Remarkably, both women and men participated in all described assemblies. Furthermore, all the Vedic assemblies' decisions were taken on the basis of consensus only.

When Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) are empowered with increased opportunities to influence the political and policy processes of the state, civil society becomes stronger. This would enhance their awareness, self-confidence, organisational strength, political skills and wider connections. When empowered, CSOs act as agents of change and influence the processes of the state to make them more responsive, accountable and transparent (Center for Good Governance 2006).

Looking at the situation of minorities in Telangana, it becomes obvious that the share is higher in this region than in the Andhra Pradesh average. The higher percentage of Muslims (12.4 per cent in Telangana and 9.2 per cent in Andhra Pradesh) is related to the Muslim rule under which Telangana was until 1948. Many of them belong to a socio-economical lower section of society with their status rather decreasing compared to other backward groups (Ghosh 2011). Moreover, there are huge tribal belts in rather remote areas of Telangana. We are, thus, not dealing with a homogenous group of minorities in this region, but rather a range of groups with specific needs and interests. Even within the above mentioned categories of backward groups there are conflicting interests and political demands (Balagopal 2000).

In light of the general governance system as well as the specific characteristics of Telangana, the following chapters will provide exemplary insight into the three sectors water management, education and electricity. The focus will be on the governance at the sub-state level in these areas. As the current structures are criticized by many authors and experts, we are trying to identify major problems as well as possible changes for the future.

2.1 Water management

Water management in Telangana is an extremely complex issue due to various reasons. Water scarcity and the subsequent conflicts over the resource on the inter- as well as intra-state level are linked to the perception of discrimination and are as such one of the central issues in the demand for separate statehood.

Two distinct characteristics that play a crucial role in this region are mentioned in literature and expert interviews. First of all, geographically the people do not have easy access to natural water bodies as the region is located on the Deccan Plateau, while the two rivers of the region, Godavari and Krishna, are flowing on a much lower level so that their water can be used for irrigating the fields of this region only by means of sophisticated pump techniques or big dam projects. Additionally, a great share of the water is taken by the metropolitan area of Hyderabad, which has a rising demand for water with growing population, while it at the same time produces huge amounts of wastewater. The farmers of the Telangana area, thus, chronically suffer from insufficient water sources and are dependent mainly on rainwater for agriculture.

In this context, the other important characteristic of the region is the traditional tank irrigation system for storing rainwater that plays a distinct role in Telangana. This system was very popular but has been utterly neglected over the last fifty years mainly due to a change in political priorities (Pingle, 2011: 124). Instead, in the last decades the use of private bore wells has gone up extremely causing a chain of subsequent dramatic problems for nature and humans. To counter this trend, a focus on rehabilitation of the tank irrigation system including an effective system of local management seems to be a promising approach.

Before going into detail of the tank system itself, the background and developments leading to an increased importance of minor irrigation and in this context especially a restoration of the tank system are lined out in the following chapter.

Focus: Minor irrigation management

Irrigation management in Telangana is an issue too complex to be covered in this study extensively. The focus is on minor irrigation management which is defined as dealing with projects that irrigate an area of less than 2000 hectors, while medium and major irrigation cover projects that irrigate areas of 2000-10000 hectors and over 10000 hectors respectively (S.P. Reddy). The selection of this section does not only have to do with the need to keep the subject within a manageable scope, it also reflects the claim for more attention to minor irrigation that is raised by many authors and interview partners alike (e.g. Gujja 2009; Pingle 2011; D.P. Reddy; Ch. Rao). Among the reasons for this claim are problems related to large dam or lift irrigation projects that are usually controversial and as such at the centre of inter- or intra-state water conflicts. Bhushan and Gujja, for instance, complain about the long time that decisions

on such projects can take, the fact that they swallow huge amounts of state budget without transparent procedures and that the implementation is often not completed. Furthermore, they mention that they are often shaped by political interests and do not necessarily keep the initial promises but can even have negative impact on people (e.g. in case of submergence of areas) and on the environment.

An increased focus on minor irrigation can of course not completely replace a need for big projects, but many severe problems that are directly or indirectly related to irrigation management on the local level do not receive adequate attention even though they can be tackled through small scale projects (e.g. S.P. Reddy; Pingle). The central chain of problems has its roots in the dependency on rain water – that seems to become increasingly dramatic in times of climate change causing irregular monsoon rainfall in shorter periods (PIK Report 2009 and 2010) and longer dry periods – combined with a lack of storing facilities to cope with such changes (Sivanna and Reddy 2007: 2).

Not surprisingly, while the maintenance of tanks has declined drastically in the last fifty years, there has been an extreme rise in private irrigation over the last decades. In fact, the number of power pumps has increased in the whole state of Andhra Pradesh from less than a million in 1990 to almost 2.8 million in 2008 (Jain et al. 2009: 8) and the well-irrigated area has grown nine fold from about 1,29,869 hectares in 1956-57 to nearly 12,17,642 hectares in 2005-09 (Pingle, 2011: 127). The share of Telangana is with 56 per cent of the total well irrigation of the state during 2005-09 remarkably high (Ibid).

The trend to construct wells for which electricity is needed is supported by the policy of the state government to provide free electricity for agricultural use for seven hour per day (since 2004). Apart from the bad quality (e.g. high voltage fluctuation) and unreliability of this power that is often complained about (Ibid; D.P. Reddy) there are other side-effects of this scheme such as hidden costs, for instance, if machines are damaged through voltage fluctuation. Moreover, some interview partners mentioned the problem that many people fall into indebtedness through the investment in private wells (Bhushan; D.P. Reddy; Revathi).

Another very serious consequence of the increasing use of bore wells is the decrease of the ground water level (Pingle; Veeraiah), which again causes huge problems to humans and nature. In an extensive analysis on the ground water situation in Andhra Pradesh Jain et al. come to alarming findings. In 5096 villages and 111 Mandals (administrative unit between village and district) in Andhra Pradesh the ground water is estimated to be over exploited (2009: 10). Thus, there is a limit to the availability of ground water, but the quality of the water becomes a problem much earlier. As 85 per cent of the domestic water supply in rural areas is also met from ground water (Jain et al. 2009: 8) the effects of bad quality are felt directly. The probably most disastrous effects are visible in the Nalgonda district, which has according to P. Reddy become one of the most fluoride-affected areas of the world with one third of the people suffering from fluorosis disease. The high content of fluoride only comes to the surface because the groundwater level has gone down extremely (more than 100m into the earth ac-

cording to S.P. Reddy) after people started building bore wells (S.P. Reddy; Jain, et al. 2009: 10).

An increasing awareness of the need for efficient water conservation and management to address such problems is reflected in literature and interviews. Experts mentioned a range of projects and schemes introduced by the government as well as civil society organizations such as NGOs that try to tackle the problems with different approaches. The most mentioned projects are the introduction of decentralized systems such as participatory irrigation management (PIM) in 1997, the World Bank supported project on the tank system (the Andhra Pradesh Community Based Tank Management Project, APCBTMP), and a lot of watershed programmes that mainly introduce methods for ground water recharge on the local level and aim at improving people's livelihood in general.

The next chapters will shed some light on the functioning, effects and problems of these schemes as found in recent studies and the report of experts in the interviews. Of course, various approaches to improve the situation of irrigation management have to go together, but the tank system is mentioned as one of the most promising in literature and by the experts interviewed. As it also historically is an example for decentralised community management, the focus is on analysing governance as well as the extend of and possibilities for (enhanced) people's participation.

2.1.1 The tank irrigation system

Tank irrigation is not unique to Telangana, but it was a typical system operated in many kingdoms in South Asia (Pingle 2011: 124). However, it plays a distinct role in our focus region because of the geographical conditions of the area and the historical importance and development of it. It is a relatively simple system of catching rain water in the village in a body like a pond from where the fields are irrigated by the means of sluices or small canals. They were often connected to other tanks through canals so that whole areas were covered with a net of interconnected tanks. They were constructed and maintained to great extend in the time of ancient kingdoms when culture centered around *"tank and temple"* which served as independent economic base (Ibid.). Later the system experienced a major push in the period between 1875 and 1940 when the tank irrigation grew nine fold while total irrigation in Telangana multiplied sevenfold. However, the system has been entirely ignored and mistreated for the past fifty years (Ibid: 125).

Pingle sees one reason for the neglect in a lack of funds allocated to the Panchayati Rai Institutions that where given responsibility over tanks irrigating less than 100 acres. Other reasons he mentioned are a focus on larger projects by the political-administrative class and an increasing encroachment of the tank beds through settlements as well as a change in rainfall patterns that has to do with a general decrease of forest area in the region (Ibid).

The consulted experts were asked to give their opinion concerning the situation of the system and the reasons for its decline. According to P Reddy the tank irrigated area has gone down from 1,2 mio acres to 0,3 mio acres. All experts mentioned a drastic decline of the system and pointed out that it has been completely neglected (Kaur; Pingle; Bhushan; Revathi). As central reasons for this development experts mentioned a lack of funds for tank restoration and maintenance (Kaur; S.P. Reddy) combined with a general lack of political interest (Pingle, S.P. Reddy). An interesting argument for the insufficient capacity of tanks was raised by Srinivas who mentioned that the increasing watershed programmes through attempts of slowing down water streams for ground water recharge stop water from going to the tanks.

However, in general, the experts see the reasons for the bad situation of the tank system mainly with the government. While one expert raised strong doubts regarding the potential of the system as the dependency on rain fall in his eyes does not make it a reliable method for water supply (Veeraiah), most of the interview partners regret this situation and emphasised the advantages they see in the tank system and the potential it bears for the future. Pingle is even convinced that the restoration of the tank system has to be first priority in irrigation management. Similarly, Kaur emphasised the importance of the system: *"Tanks are a much better viable solution in a place like Telangana where it is hard to make canals, it is hard to dam the water."*

In this context the above-mentioned World Bank supported project (APCBTMP) was referred to by many. The fact that not all of the experts on water issues had clear ideas about the

project already shows that it is not easy to get an overview about its size, structures and impact. From 2007 the World Bank puts a huge amount of funds into the restoration of tanks and capacity building of local organisations. While 25 per cent of the money for the project is given by the government of India as a grant, the remaining 75 per cent are given by the World Bank as a loan to the government.

The positive outcome that the interview partners mentioned concerning this project is more or less limited to the fact that there are finances for the tank system (Pingle; Ramachandrudu), but when it comes to how the money is used they are rather sceptical. Ramachandrudu, for instance, is convinced that the money is given to contractors and does not reach the farmers directly. P. Reddy mentioned that useful work is going on with this project that includes nearly 50-60 projects in each district and around 400-500 tanks, but he also voices his doubts: *"But unfortunately it is serving not the people – it is serving the interest of the local politicians. Because they demand the work to be executed as per his choice, he does not do it as per the agreement"*. Similarly, Bhushan sees that in some villages it has been instrumental in having positive outcomes due to the role played by the community or the local NGOs, but it has been a failure in most of the villages for lack of political will on part of the government and the authorities that also led to a lack of inclusion of the people in decision making processes.

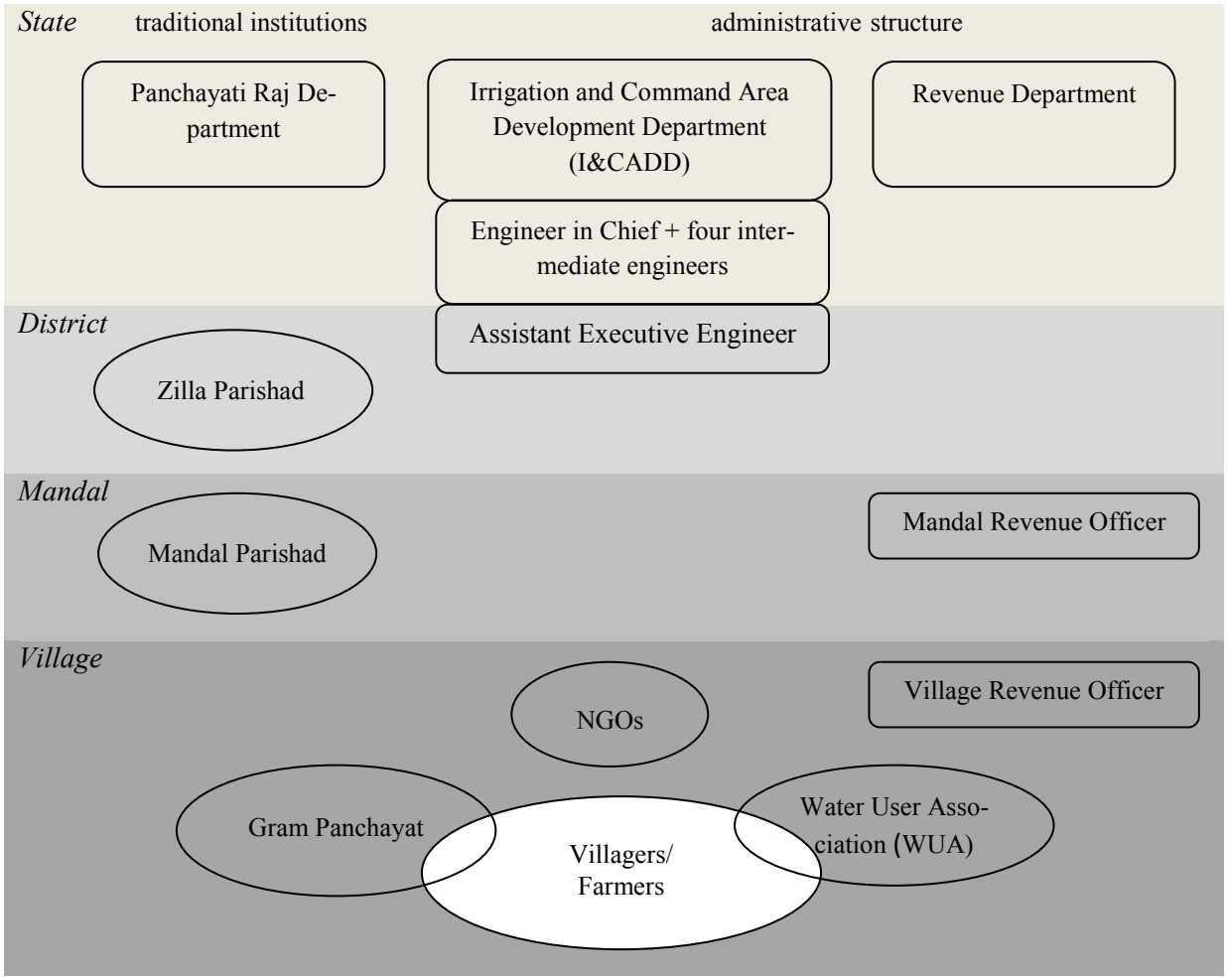
2.1.2 Governance and institutional structure

In India the irrigation sector is a state subject and is dealt with under the Irrigation and Command Area Development Department (I&CADD). There are three sections dealing with major, medium and minor irrigation (see chapter 2.1.1 on minor irrigation). The three ministers of the sections have their secretaries who are again assisted by deputy or joint secretaries. Below this top level of administration there is a long hierarchical line reaching from the Engineer in Chief over the Chief Engineer, the Superintending Engineer, the Executive Engineer and the Deputy Executive Engineer down to the Assistant Executive Engineer (Veeraiah) (see chart 1).

The fact that the administrative chain is that long has been mentioned by the experts in the context of the collection and redistribution of water taxes. They are collected by the Revenue Department through Revenue Officers operating at all levels of rural administration – district, mandal and village – with the Village Revenue Officer being a recently introduced position for assisting with tax collection in one village or a cluster of villages (Irr. Dep.). Thus, the collected taxes are first given to the funds of the state government and then in form of allocations for certain projects they have to go down the whole way of the administrative hierarchy. As complained by many of the interview partners, this procedure takes long time and invites corruption at many levels (e.g. Irr. Dep.; Veeraiah; Gujja). Gujja sees two main problems:

First, the allocation of funds and human resources at the state level where the minor irrigation department gets the smallest part of the funds although it covers the biggest area of land (all private irrigation like bore wells and tanks). He formulates the secondary problem as follows: *"Water taxes are very nominal so may be that power of collection and use such funds may be given to local bodies. The government may be spending more money in collecting the water charges than [what they actually collect]."* Before coming back to this demand – that is formulated in a similar way by other experts as well in recent literature – the local governance and institutional set up will be outlined.

Chart 1: Institutional structure in the irrigation sector



With the introduction of Participatory Irrigation Management (PIM) through the Andhra Pradesh Farmers Management of Irrigation Systems (APFMIS) Act of 1997, Water User Associations (WUA) have been created for each tank (Irrigation and Command Area Development Department of Andhra Pradesh 2009: 2). WUAs also exist for canal irrigation systems, but our focus is on those that take care of tank management. Elections for the WUAs are conducted by the Irrigation Department. The experts form the Irrigation Department justified this practice with the argumentation that there are problems among the farmers themselves that could hinder the procedure (Irr. Dep.). The guidelines for WUAs define every landowner and tenant as a voter (in case the owner has given his whole property to tenants he looses this right). Once the posts are elected, two general body meetings should be held per year, discussing the overall situation and the general approach to water management. There should also be an executive committee that meets whenever necessary and takes decisions on works to be carried out, fund allocations and water management among others (Reddy et all: 15).

According to Jain et Al. (2009: 19) 10,292 WUAs started working following this Act in all Andhra Pradesh villages. Their responsibility is the maintenance and management of tanks that have an irrigation capacity (ayacut) below 40 hectares of land. Currently there are around 10 000 tanks in this category according to the interview partners from the Irrigation Department. Tanks with an ayacut of less than 40 hectores (nearly 60 000 tanks) were under the responsibility of Gram Panchayats (traditional village self organisation bodies) but are now taken care of by Gram Panchayats and the Irrigation Department in co-work. Concerning the allocation of funds, money for works up to five lakhs (roughly 7.500 Euro) is given to the WUAs or Gram Panchayats (according to the capacity of the tank), if the expenditure is higher than that it is given to tenders or contractors directly. As explanation for giving only small amounts to WUAs the experts from the Irrigation Department emphasized: *"Because the WUAs can not manage the rehabilitation of the whole tanks so the major amount of the money will be given to the contractors through tenders."* In the same interview it was mentioned that the funds are usually given after the work has been done with the exception of works under the World Bank project, which allows for advance payments to the WUAs.

The top-down introduction of a community based body raises questions about their role, performance, local acceptance and relation to other local institutions. As some experts mentioned, the task of managing the tanks was traditionally done by one person from the lower castes of the village who was paid for his job by the Panchayat (Revathi; Kaur). Now the WUAs are responsible for identifying the priorities of construction or maintenance works required and submit plans to the Irrigation Department. According to the experts in the Department WUAs are also meant to control the work that is done by contractors. They have to certify that the work has been done properly (in case the work involved a higher expenditure than five lakhs and was therefore given to a contractor). Another part of their responsibilities is to assist in the assessment of the tank capacity. Once a year, before the crop season, the WUA president, managing company members and farmers along with the Assistant Engineer

visit the tank and estimate the capacity according to which it is decided how much land can be irrigated which is crucial for the choice of crops that farmers can plant (Irr. Dep.).

Before looking at performance and problems the local context in which WUAs have to be seen with other community organizations that play a role in water issues should be lined out. As Ramachandrudu pointed out, many community based organizations (CBO) have been introduced since the last 10-15 years, among them are women's self help groups, fishermen groups and cattle rearers groups. Such CBOs are like the WUAs implemented in a top-down approach (Gujja). This bears the problem that the system is not rooted in the community (Revathi). Nevertheless, Revathi emphasized that there is potential that some of these groups (e.g. the farmers' group) have. The introduction of women's self help group has even been a great success in Andhra Pradesh: *"There is a tremendous opportunity there but they have to be nurtured, they have to be supported and they have to be given organizational support, capacity building and all that which is very much there in the case of the women's self held groups."*

Additionally, there are also CBOs that were traditional bodies before (as the fishermen group that was a caste based group) and are now recognized corporative societies (Ramachandrudu). Laxman pointed out that the CBOs were working well as long as there were political will and finances to care for them, but since the funding has gone down CBOs have fallen into a bad status (Laxman).

Apart from top-down introduced organizations there is the traditional system of Panchayati Rai Institutions (PRI) operating at different levels: Gram Panchayats (village), Mandal Parishat (sub-district) and Zilla Parishat (district) which are administrated under a separate Panchayat Rai Department and legally recognised through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment at the time of Rajiv Gandhi (1987/88) (Ch. Rao). This "Panchayat Bill" entitled them to certain powers and provided for reservations for disadvantaged groups with special focus on women of those groups. According to Laxman 22 000 Panchayats exist in Andhra Pradesh. They usually hold discussions every second or third month (Ch. Rao). The government asks them to make plans in these meetings and submit them but, as mentioned by some experts (e.g. V Reddy), but the Panchayat do not get responses to these plans leading to a high level of frustration.

As far as the relation among local bodies is concerned, the overall impression is that many institutions seem to exist almost parallel without much cooperation (e.g. Revathi). The picture of parallel, non-cooperating organizations was confirmed in the interview at the Irrigation Department when the experts explained the directive for the relation between WUAs and Panchayats. There is a system that two persons 'ward members' (one being female) from the Gram Panchayat are supposed to participate in the meetings of the WUAs (if there are two villages involved they come from the one with the bigger ayacut) but without having voting rights, as the WUAs should function as independent bodies. The Panchayats should only be aware of what happens: *"The Gram Panchayats activities are different, their functions and other thing – it is a different objective. Now there is a separate dedicated body (WUA) exclu-*

sively for this: water management, irrigation structure management, operation, etc., distribution. So this is an equally important job and because we can not keep the Gram Panchayat members away from this one, the thought was to involve them in the WUA itself. So we are involving them, we are not ignoring them. So the participation of the Gram Panchayat is represented." (Irr. Dep.)

Having given an overview about governance, main problems regarding the institutional structure and regulations are analysed together with subsequent suggestions for future improvements.

2.1.3 Main problems and suggestions for the future

A large number of problems concerning the situation and governance of minor irrigation and especially the tank irrigation system have been brought up in the interviews. Among the central problems seem to be the insufficient devolution of powers and finances from the state government to the local level and the existence of many parallel structures that often undermine the role of traditional institutions.
Similar points are raised in articles or studies examining e.g. the performance of WUAs (Reddy et al. 2007), the capacity of Panchayats and watershed development (Sivanna and Reddy 2007) as well as the participatory approaches in watershed development (Kaushik, et al. 2007). This chapter gives an overview of major problems and also presents first suggestions for improved governance structures and enhanced participation.

As seen above, there are many problems regarding the WUAs which were introduced for community management of tank irrigation. Reddy et al. see general problems in this context on the conceptual as well as on the implementation level. They are convinced that tank and ground water should be conceptually treated as interrelated as the issues are very much interdependet (Reddy et al. 2007: 23), a point also raised by Gujja. On the implementation level they see the inequitable access to WUAs (only land owners and tenants are voters) that can lead to elite capture (Parthasarathy, and Pathak 2008: 71) as a central problem. Moreover, a lack of awareness by the farmers and rural households concerning the existence and function of WUAs and a subsequent very low level of participation are among the findings of the study (Reddy et al. 2007: 19). A very low awareness level was also mentioned by some interview partners. According to Ramachandrudu, not even all members of WUAs have clear ideas about their tasks, responsibilities, powers, etc. As Bhushan emphasizes, awareness and activeness of the farmers often depend on support by NGOs, which operate on a short-term basis (Bhushan). It seems to be problematic that the task of capacity building and awareness generation is, in fact, often left to NGOs that can initiate some improvements in these areas, but do not always ensure the sustainability of their achievements after they cease to work in a particular village. Thus, there seems to be an urgent need for sustainable capacity building that is currently not addressed sufficiently by the government (Ramachandrudu). Furthermore, greater allocation of powers is required (e.g. H. Rao; Kumar; S. Srinivas) as well as more financial support for WUAs (Ch. Rao; V. Reddy).

Complaints about a lack of funds and more precisely about the procedure of fund allocation to WUAs were raised by nearly all of the experts (e.g. Bhushan; Laxman; Veeraiah): *"WUAs are there everywhere, but without any financial aid. The government is expecting their participation in the water using but active participation and involvement only takes place if it is well funded then only it functions well"* (Laxman). As mentioned above, the Irrigation Department sees the WUAs incapable of handling big projects (Irr. Dep.) and as Gujja admits, the Panchayats might lack the overview to coordinate local projects beyond the vil-

lage level. Even for the small projects money does not seem to be allocated adequately to the needs of the farmers.

To come closer to solving the problem of finance allocations, some experts suggested that local self-management could gain a greater independency if they rose their own funds, which would at the same time enhance local commitment and ownership (Ramachandrudu). Another suggestion shared by many is that WUAs should have the power and responsibility to collect water taxes themselves (e.g. Veeraiah; Ch. Rao). The experts at the Irrigation Department confirmed that there is no such provision yet; it would be the last of three steps towards more decentralized structures in the local irrigation system proposed by the Department. After the creation of WUAs in 1997 a simplification of revenue re-allocation is planned as the next step but has not yet been decided upon. Only after the performance of this measure has been observed, tax collection responsibility may be transferred to WUAs themselves. Considering that the proposal for the second step is already pending a while, it might take a long time until the tax collection responsibilities will be actually given to the WUAs. However, there seems to be a need to transfer this and other powers to WUAs as soon as possible in order to address the current concerns of the farmers and enhance their participation and ownership.

However, a model of greater autonomy for local bodies to manage tank finances for on their own has been tested in Tamil Nadu. In an NGO-led pilot project WUAs themselves give the money for construction and maintenance work to the contractors, organize the work and retain profits that would otherwise go to private contractors (Mosse 1999: 318).

Other problems concerning irrigation management on the community level include social and political issues, as well as the relation between different local bodies. Individual investments in private irrigation, for instance, have split up communities as those who can afford to drill wells on their own, are not interested in participating in tank management anymore (Kaur; Ramachandrudu). Interference by politics and political parties that divide the villagers or lead to conflicting interests among them is also considered to hamper the power of the WUAs and other local bodies (D.P. Reddy). In a similar line, Ramachandrudu argues that local groups involved in water issues usually have conflicting interests; mutual mistrust between some CBO and Panchayats, partly due to the fact that CBOs have much more funds than the latter, may lead to non-cooperation between. Moreover, even within groups there might be a lack of unity that prevents them from taking decisions for common good (Ramachandrudu).

To address such conflicts, experts and authors suggest that more clear relations should be created between the functions of different organizations. The general perception rather is that there is a need to strengthen the existing bodies and integrate the traditional institutions into new schemes instead of creating parallel structures (e.g. Rao 2011: 127; Sivanna and Reddy 2007). Considering that the Panchayat has been too much left out in the introduction of participatory irrigation management (Reddy et al. 2007: 26), some experts claim that all stakeholders and local bodies should be involved in the planning of projects concerning their vil-

lage (e.g. Ramachandrudu). In fact, there are a few positive examples of well-organized cooperation between CBOs and Panchayats for example in Nalgonda district (Ramachandrudu).

A very successful example of such kind of cooperation is analysed by Sivanna and Reddy (2007). The authors examine the functioning of watershed programmes in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh managed by local bodies (subcommittees) under the Gram Panchayat – an attempt that incorporates the existing and legally established traditional structures into the management of new programmes in order to use local knowledge, to enhance project sustainability, and to avoid parallel structures as well as the exclusion of the Panchayat. The system is found to contribute to mutual trust and cooperation, transparent structures, accountability and better project results. In general, the authors conclude that Panchayats, village bodies and NGOs should operate in partnership to implement watershed programmes. Moreover, they recommended defining clear rights of Panchayats over natural resources as well as ensuring *"synergies between Pachanyat Rai Institutions, CBOs and village organizations for effective managing of natural resources"* which can be achieved, for instance, by forming Gram Panchayat Sub-Committees (Ibid: 91).

H. Rao argued along the same lines; his central demand is that the money for local water management should be given directly to the Panchayati Rai Institutions (PRI) and local organizations should be Sub-Committees of the Panchayat with the latter allocating them their appropriate share of funds. These recommendations have, in fact, been laid down as guidelines after the evaluation of watershed programmes by a committee headed H. Rao himself in 1993 aiming at *"increased attention on community participation in planning and management"* (see Kaushik, et al. 2007: 1661).

The analysis shows that possible changes towards better governance and community participation in local water management have been articulated, discussed and even decided upon. The real challenge now seems to be to develop a holistic framework for all aspects of local irrigation management including its effective implementation. As many of the identified problems concern general governance deficits that might be similar in other sectors too, the suggestions could, in an adjusted form, be useful for improving governance and participation in other areas as well.

Spotlight 1

Visit to Kannapur village in (Nizamabad) and Kannaram (Medak)

In the villages Kannapur and Kannaram WUAs are operating for the tank management. Although in Kannapur a lot has been achieved in regard to water management, farmers from both villages report reasons within the village community as well as problems with the administration that hinder an improvement of their water situation. In Kannapur the fact that those farmers who have bore wells don't care much for maintenance of the tank as well as a lack of awareness and interest of many villagers regarding the institutional structure hampers a unity among the villagers.

In both villages urgent work needs to be done regarding the construction of canals from the tank to fields but the WUAs do not get the required money. In Kannaram huge amounts of money are reported to be pending since one year. Corruption is mentioned as a central reason for the delay or incompleteness of works.

The NGO CARPED (Centre for Action Research and People's Development) was active in both villages for a period of two years. In this time they have done a lot in terms of supporting the WUAs in their tasks and raising awareness among the villagers, for example. These activities have not been continued since the NGO left two years ago.

2.2 Energy distribution and supply

Compared to water and education, the energy sector does not seem to be as much at the centre of the problems in Telangana. In the consultations for the Sri Krishna report electricity has, according to Kaur, not come up as a relevant issue to the statehood demand. In the interviews in which this issue was discussed, experts mentioned some severe deficits in this sector, but mainly in direct connection to the situation of irrigation. Indeed, the major share of electricity in this region is used for agricultural purposes (Sri Krishna Committee 2011: 236). With the observed change from public to private irrigation farmers have become much more depended on electricity for their wells. Although free power is distributed by the government for farming this has not only solved problems but this policy itself has created many new troubles. Most of all, the quality of the power supply has gone down with this policy (only certain hours allotted at changing times, sometimes during night, many power cuts, voltage fluctuation, etc.) which causes serious problems to the farmers.

This chapter briefly sheds some light on the situation and major problems regarding energy distribution and supply in Telangana. However, this is merely to provide additional information to the analysis of the irrigation management. Since the structures are much simpler here and there is not much scope for public participation in the distribution and supply of electricity, an extensive analysis of governance does not seem to be necessary in this context.

Since its formation in 1956 the Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board (APSEB) was responsible for all functions of the power sector. In 1999 separate institutions have been created for the three functions, namely generation, transmission and distribution of power (Ibid: 218). At the first sight the system seems to function quite well, as Andhra Pradesh claims to have achieved 100 per cent village electrification (Ibid). An enormous rise in power consumption is, indeed, observable. In Telangana the increase in power consumption is the highest from 260 Kwh in 1974-5 to 4930 Kwh in 2008-9, which is 18 times more (Ibid: 94). This has to do with the rise in power intense irrigation methods such as private bore wells. Another important reason for this trend is the above-mentioned high subsidization of electricity that provides virtually free power for agriculture since 2004 (Pingle 2011: 127). That this policy does not only have positive effects but has at the same time created a lot of problems for farmers such as hidden costs and quality issues, has already been described in the chapter on minor irrigation. Another factor that hinders an adequate use of the available electricity in spite of a high coverage, raised by Revathi, is the lack of well functioning infrastructure.

To summarise, the major problems raised by experts and authors concerning this sector are closely connected to irrigation management and seem to lie in the technical area of infrastructure and quality of electricity as well as in the political priorities and policies rather than in governance issues itself. Thus, if problems in the irrigational sector are tackled some deficits of power supply could be solved at same time.

2.2.1 Main problems and suggestions for the future

Energy is increasingly consumed by water extraction and distribution facilities (as well as by industrial and residential cooling installations). The local stakeholders and the scientific community are convinced that peak energy demand in Hyderabad takes place in the summer, particularly in the dry months before the rain season. The increase in population and economic activity make power cuts a common phenomenon not only in Hyderabad. As the economic boom progresses, more and more participants enter the energy market with their electricity demands which are not always possible to be fulfilled by current infrastructure and generation capacities.

The problems of energy availability and distribution are directly linked to climate variables. Recent climate phenomena have shown that the semi-arid region surrounding Hyderabad is vulnerable to climate change. Severe floods in 2002, strong heat waves in 2003 and three drought years between 2000 and 2007 have caused serious damage to human life, property and economic advancement. These events fully confirm concerns about the region's vulnerability to climate change (Parry et al. 2007).

Today, Andhra Pradesh is heavily reliant on thermal (coal and gas) sources of power for electricity production. Despite the strong reliance on thermal power plants, any shortage of water in reservoirs is immediately perceived as a danger to energy supply by the local media. The failures of hydropower stations due to insufficient water flows, for example, are considered as one of the key causes of the electricity shortages during the summer months.

Under the influence of future climate change people expect this situation to deteriorate drastically, although it is still highly uncertain whether the mean annual amount of precipitation will decrease in the future for the area around Hyderabad. However, irregular patterns of precipitation with more extreme events, potentially higher run-off and flash floods are expected to result in proportionately lower inflow and lower water tables in the reservoirs impacting negatively on hydropower supply. More power cuts are expected for the future, therefore, power rationings seem likely.

As a result, the role of new and renewable energy (RE) has increased in recent times with the growing concern for the country's energy security. Energy 'self-sufficiency' was identified as the major driver for new and renewable energy in India. But the current state of the energy sector indicates failures in the governance in terms of insufficient implementation of energy efficient technologies and support of renewable energies. If the government wants to achieve its goal proclaimed in the National Solar Mission, it has to find new ways to set incentives not only for big scale solar projects but also for a broad implementation of decentralized projects. However, technical solutions have to be adapted to the local needs and conditions (Jain et al. 2010).

Decentralized power generation, for example biogas or solar power, demands for decentralized governance structures and participatory management approaches. Among the positive effects, decentralization could improve awareness and hence lead to more energy efficiency.

To achieve this, the local level needs empowerment and a political framework that strengthens local self-management and participation of citizens/users in decision making.

Spotlight 2:

Visit to Kannapur village in Nizamabad district

Farmers in Kannapur report that they got nine hours of power a day earlier, but now with the introduction of the 'free power' it is supposed to be seven hours, though it is in fact often only six or less. In general, the power has become much more unreliable. Timeslots for allotted power change every week and often it's during the night, e.g. 9pm-2am or 10pm-5am. That causes a lot of difficulties. For example, they face problems like encounters with snakes if they have to work on the fields in the night.

Another major problem of this policy is that the farmers are now charged high fees for the illegal use of subsidised power for households, for example. They say that they would not have used it if they knew this in advance. The penalties they are requested to pay have a very high interest rate that increases every day that they fail to pay it.

2.3 Educational Sector

Education has been an issue on the top agenda in India for a long time. The government has undertaken many attempts to reach a universal elementary education through various approaches and introduction of a range of different schemes. This has led to some success regarding the number of children that were brought into schools and a rise in the literacy rate. However, these initiatives have not yet reached all children and the quality of education is often very poor.

In Telangana the rather problematic situation of education has its roots in the neglect of educational affairs during the Nizam kingdom (1724-1948). Critique of the current situation of the educational sector is also linked to the broader issue of discrimination, which is one aspect of the statehood demand.

The general background as well as the specific situation of the educational sector in Telangana will be looked at in the following chapters. The focus will be kept on governance, major problems and suggestions for better governance as well as more participative structures.

Focus: Elementary education

As mentioned above, India struggles with its educational situation since long. To fight the high illiteracy rate and ultimately reach the goal of universal elementary education the Constitution (eighty-six Amendment) Act in 2002 has made elementary education a fundamental right under article 21A: *"The state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine."* (The constitution of India 2007: 11). For the implementation of this Act which has been followed by the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act in 2009 several schemes have been introduced and adjusted (some of which are mentioned in more detail in the following chapter) under a new timeframe of three years starting from April 2010 for bringing every child into school (Department of School Education and Literacy 2011: 5). All former timeframes for the achievement of universal elementary education have been missed. However, there has been a rise in the literacy rate of almost ten per cent from 64,8 per cent in 2001 to 74,04 per cent in 2011 (Census of India 2011). A comparison between the states shows that Andhra Pradesh ranks fifth last with 67,66 per cent of which most Telangana districts are on the lower end (Mahbubnagar being the lowest with 56,06 per cent) (Ibid). To interpret those figures they have to be seen in the context of historic and current developments in Telangana.

The focus in this study is mainly on elementary education (up to class eight) as primary schools are nearly in all villages and wards of the cities so that the local governance can be analysed. Moreover, it is selected because the quality concerns that were brought up with re-

gard to this level of schooling are striking with direct effect on later stages of education and employment.

Almost all of the consulted experts asked about the situation and problems in Telangana's educational sector, first of all mentioned the specific historical background of the region. Under British rule good educational facilities have been established in the other parts of the state (Laxman; Revathi; Kaur), while, according to many of the experts, the Nizam has completely neglected education in his kingdom (Polasa; Laxman; Ch. Srinivas). Polasa even said that there were almost no schools in Telangana under the Nizam while now in most villages the schools go up to 10th class (matriculation) and the gap in the literacy rate has gone down. The two areas Hyderabad and Rangareddy (the district surrounding the city of Hyderabad) have recently caught up a lot due to huge investments and industry (Revathi; Ch. Srinivas; Kaur). Thus, they can not be compared to the other eight mainly agricultural based Telangana districts in terms of the educational development.

According to most sources, another reason why Telangana lagged so much behind in the educational sector is a language issue that is closely connected to the former mentioned Nizam rule. During this time Urdu was the official language of the region and medium for instruction in schools although most of the people spoke Telugu, or another local language (Laxman; Ch. Srinivas; Kaur). This argument referring to the specific historical development and situation of language is again very much linked to the demand for separate statehood and thus reflects the current relevance of the matter for the region.

In fact, the Sri Krishna report even identifies the last achievements regarding an enormous rise of literacy in the region as one of the main reasons for the massive support of the separation movement by the Telangana youth: *"The whole story of the movement is an education-story"* (Kaur). The argumentation Kaur gave in the interview as presented in the report, in short, is that many people from the first educated generation leave school with unrealistic high career expectations and end up in frustration that leads to a feeling of discrimination (Sri Krishna Committee 2011: 163). In general, a perceived discrimination of people from the Andhra region against people from Telangana seems to be very present when it comes to the situation of education. Most of the interview partners, in fact, blamed a domination or even control by people from Andhra over the educational institutes and governance for the insufficient level of education (e.g. Bhushan; Ch. Rao).

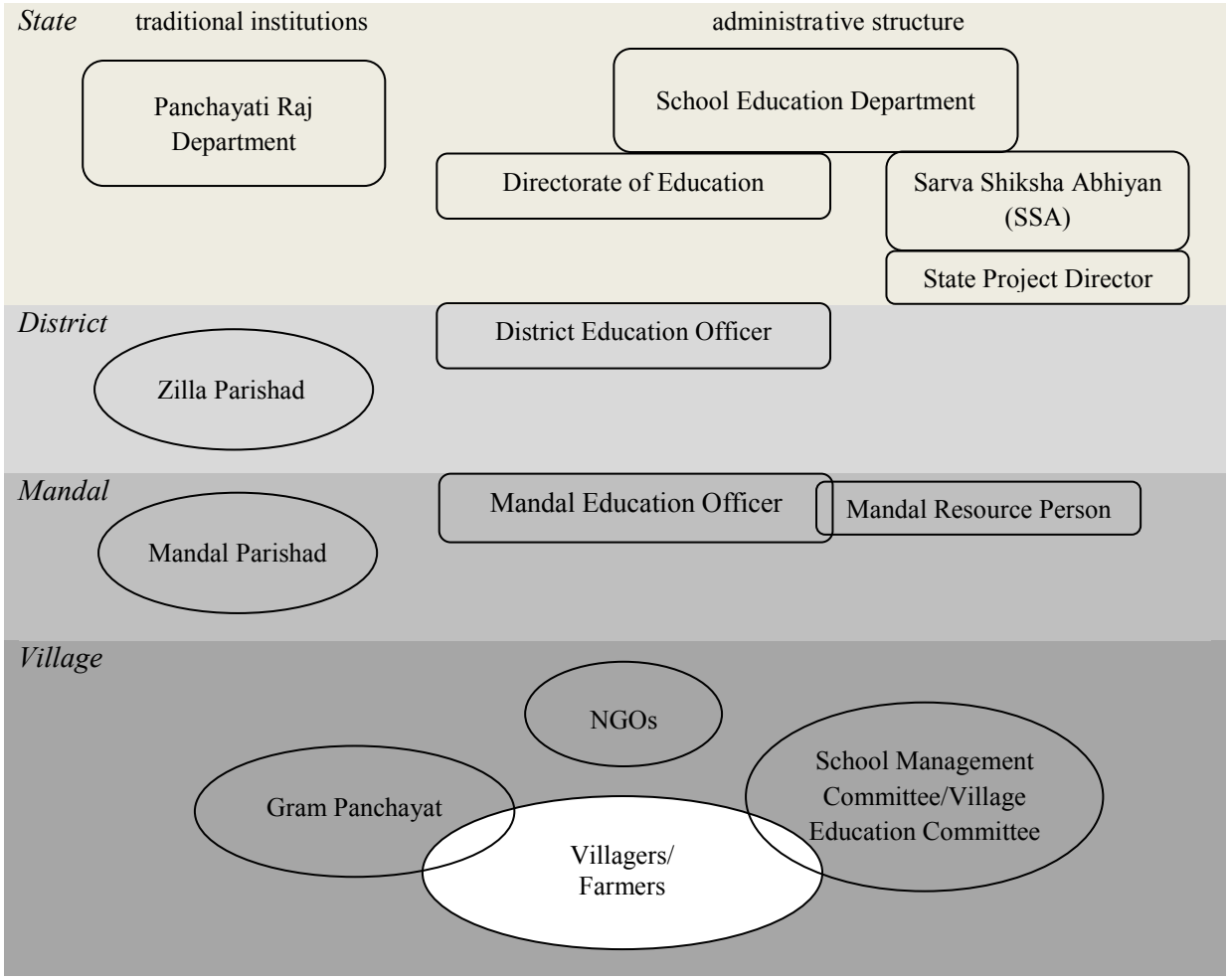
Though the study can not go into detail of the concerns voiced in the struggle for separation, the above mentioned arguments provide the context in which education in Telangana has to be seen so that adequate approaches to improve quality through more effective governance and participation can be developed. Participation in this context refers to access to education as well as community and individual engagement in educational affairs.

2.3.1 Governance and institutional structure

As seen in the irrigation sector, in the area of education, too, there are many parallel structures: *„India created parallel structures of education governed by different norms and playing by different rules. The poorer and the more disadvantaged were pushed into schools with poor facilities, teachers and overall learning environment."* (Ramachandran 2007: 3917). This citation referrers to the trend that those who can afford it invest in private education for their children because they are said to provide better quality, although public schools are free up to class five.

Apart from a division into private and public schools there is a range of schemes providing formal and well as informal education, the later usually run by NGOs. Before coming to the introduced schemes, the administrational set up needs to be looked at.

Chart 2: Institutional structure in the education sector



Andhra Pradesh has its own School Education Department, which looks after the educational issues of the whole state. To look after the functioning of schools at district level there is the District Education Officer who is assisted by the Mandal Education Officer at Mandal level who is responsible to monitor the functioning of elementary schools (see chart 2). The institutions and responsibilities on the village level are rather inconsistent and not entirely clear to most of the experts consulted. As Revathi pointed out in the interview, the names of the local educational bodies are changed often so that it is difficult to keep an overview. As far as school committees are concerned, according to V Reddy, now as per the RTE Act every school should have a school management committee, following the regulations that the headmaster is the convener, 75 per cent of the members shall be parents of which again 50 per cent shall be female. Whether the interview partners referred to village education committees or school management committees – in the village as well as in the city – the general observation is that those bodies do not have much power to influence the educational situation, but merely exist for the names sake (e.g. Laxman; Fathima).

As for the Panchayati Rai Institutions (PRI), it seems that their role in this sector has become less important. While many powers and control has been with the Zilla Parishad (on the district level) these responsibilities have been re-centralized so that now the state is responsible even for teaching concerns such as appointing and paying of teachers and taking care of the quality of teaching (V. Reddy). Not everybody is aware of this change of responsibility. Laxman, for instance, said that the Panchayat cares for basic facilities for education and teacher affaires up to class 10, only for the higher levels responsibilities are with the state, while the Mandal Panchayat has the task to hand in proposals but they suffer from a lack of funds. The allocation of funds seems to be – as seen in regard to irrigation – at the centre of many problems and is, thus, discussed in greater detail below.

As far as the integration of Panchayats in the current government schemes is concerned, the flagship program for the achievement of universal primary education 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' (SSA) puts the Panchayats in a clearly defined role. Indeed, the framework for SSA that has been revised in 2011 in order to adjust it to the Right to Education (RTE) Act formulates that NGOs and Panchayats should work in partnership towards the realization of the goals. To what extent this is actually adhered to will be seen in the next chapter.

The SSA is the largest government scheme introduced alongside other programmes such as Operation Black Board for supporting the infrastructure for education, Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project for improving the quality of the school and the District Primary Education Project aiming at involvement of communities in backward districts (Reddy and Rao 2003: 1250). The SSA as the major scheme is extremely complex as it involves the government, civil society and external donors (Mukherjee 2005: 1273). It is a central-state partnership programme (finances are divided between them) with the overall goals to provide *"universal access and retention, bridging of gender and social category gaps in education and enhancement of learning levels of children"* (Department of School Education and Literacy

2011: 2). This includes that in every neighbourhood there should be a primary school, expenses for material such as school uniforms, textbooks and transportation should be provided by SSA. Even meals are provided for free (up to class eight) under the mid-day meal scheme which was not mentioned by many interview partners, only Fathima pointed out that the food provided under that scheme in the Muslim area of Hyderabad is extremely bad in quality (children rather through it than eating it).

As a special focus of the activities of SSA is supposed to lay on minorities and marginalized groups there are organisations such as the Andhra Pradesh Mahila Samakhya Scheme, which existed long before and works for young women empowerment with focus on their education, that get state funds through SSA but remain in the activities rather autonomous (Prasad). Another example of crucial structures for children with low socio-economic background or other problems that hampered a normal education was presented by V. Reddy. His NGO, the 'M Venkatarangaiya Foundation' (MVF) runs many activities to fight child labour all over India and even beyond and has, among others, introduced the model of so called 'bridge schools'. Those schools enable children that had dropped out of school or were never enrolled to enter into formal education after a special residential training. According to V. Reddy, it took 19 years to get the government's attention to it and convince them of the necessity, but this model has finally been made a national policy in the Right to Education Act, 2009.

2.3.2 Main problems and suggestions for the future

When it comes to main problems in elementary education, especially with regard to governance in the sector, interviewed experts and scientific literature point to a huge range of issues: most of them relate to insufficient quality and facilities in government schools due to a lack of (financial) support from the state government and corruption on different levels. Perceived discrimination by a political system dominated by people from Costal Andhra adds to the problem.

With the introduction of the above described SSA scheme the budget allocations for education on the national level have increased: *"The finance minister announced that the allocation for education has been increased by nearly 35 per cent this year [2007], from Rs 17,133 crore in 2006-07 to Rs 23,142 crore for 2007-08."* (Mukherjee 2007: 1273). However, many of the experts complained that not enough funds actually reach the schools. The main reasons for this are seen in too much bureaucracy and corruption hindering the allocation of funds (Fatimah) and a lack of political will: "*The interest is not towards strengthening of the local bodies. The state has to strengthen the local bodies by funding them. So the state here instead of strengthening the local bodies, the state instead of decentralizing the powers centralizes [the powers]"* (Laxman). Based on his experience, V Reddy claimed that the government has to understand that there is a need for more investments at the current stage because many children belong to the first school-going generation in Telangana, and that therefore the government should stop to chose cheap low-level solutions.

Apart from the financial problem, though apparently partly linked to it, the poor quality of teaching in governmental schools is mainly seen in connection with poor teachers' training (Polasa; Ch. Rao), a lack of facilities (including very basic facilities such as buildings, toilets and teaching material) as well as insufficient supervision of the situation and performance of schools (Dongre; Bindu). According to Polasa the Mandal Education Officers are generally only collecting the reports from the teachers and do not bother about quality problems.

Another argumentation brought up mainly by Bhushan and Ch. Rao is biased politics towards educational institutes run by people from Costal Andhra as a central reason for the neglect of the Telangana schools. According to Bhushan this discrimination is visible in all regards such as funding, contents of textbooks and language used. According to him it is a discrimination that a standardised form of Telugu is the medium for teaching in all parts of the state although this is not the mother tongue of many people: *"The language spoken and accepted to be written is one that is spoken in a particular region in the state. The Telugu that is in the text books, Telugu that is there in the official records that is not the same Telugu that is spoken by many people all over the state."* Thus, he argues that the teaching material and language (at least in the primary schools) should pay respect to the background of the children.

Concluding, greater powers of local bodies in managing the educational affairs such as their own priorities in teaching material and language could be a step towards more respect for cultural differences and local needs.

The need for more decentralization of powers in this sector is, in fact, demanded by most of the interviewed experts and authors, but not without certain doubts by some. As pointed out by Mosse (1999) the government might be interested in giving responsibilities of managing local systems down rather for easing the financial burden of the government than paying respect to the local needs (Ibid: 319).

Moreover, some interview partners (e.g. Fathima; Polasa) doubt the effectiveness of Village Education Committees (VEC) because of village politics or the problem that parents from low socio-economic background often do not have the capacity to engage in such meetings as they have to secure the livelihood for the family or lack the awareness of the importance of education. They see the responsibilities exclusively with the government while others emphasised that the role of such committees should be strengthened by the government: "*we have to involve the villagers into these committees, they have to participate and look after the education that is provided there in this particular village and what type of education is given, what kind of quality of education is given, whether the school is running properly or not, all this has to be looked after by the village committee"* (Laxman).

Additional to more transfer of powers and finances from the state government to the local level there seems to be a need for a better cooperation of the different institutions. As seen above, there are many structures and schemes existing parallel: *"How can the government allow so many schools parallel? It is almost as if they are admitting 'Our schools are not functioning'."* (Polasa) Here, similar to the observations in the minor irrigation sector, the implementation of the schemes and institutions is often very weak and there is subsequently a big lack of awareness (Fatimah). Moreover, according to V. Reddy most of the introduced structures are bypassing the existing PRI system. On the other hand, as in the local irrigation management, there are some successful examples of organisations that try to empower existing traditional bodies. The above-mentioned APMSS and MVF, for instance, treat the Panchayats as partners and give them a lot of responsibilities (Prasad; V. Reddy). Thus, from their own experience some interview partners are convinced that there should be more cooperation between the local institutions (V. Reddy; Prasad; Ramachandrudu).

Spotlight 3:

Visits to schools in the villages: Kannapur (Nizamabad), Kannaram (Medak), Kunjavagudem and Sunnam Matka (Kammam)

All four villages have a primary school, although in Sunnam Matka, a village of tribal refugees from Chhattisgarh, it is only a single small room in which one teacher takes care of a few children. He is hired by the NGO 'Sitara' that has helped the refugees in many regards since 2005 and has recently started to run this school.

Teachers of all four village schools do not come from the respective village but generally from the district headquarter. In Kannapur the teacher in charge reported that teachers and students come regularly, but there is a lack of teachers. Thus, the school can not cover the subjects of math and English, but according to the current policies the number of seven teachers for seven classes is sufficient, so they can not hire more.

Some teachers complain that teaching two languages, Telugu and English, is too much for children in the first class who often speak a different mother tongue, i.e. their tribal language.

An education committee is only existent in Kunjavagudem where members meet monthly, while these institutions have been stopped by the government in Kannapur and Kannaram.

3 Conclusion and next steps

3.1 Conclusion: Empowerment of the local level

In an attempt to analyse governance and participation in Telangana, we have focused on the three infrastructural sectors water and electricity management and education. Through literature research and expert interviews, information and perspectives have been collected regarding the situation of governance and participation, main deficits in these areas as well as suggestions for future changes. Major deficits of current governance seem to be (1) a lack of devolution of powers and finances from the state government (insufficient implementation of decentralisation initiatives), (2) a creation of parallel structures of which most are not enrooted in society, as well as (3) a poor level of participation in terms of general public participation as well as integration of minorities.

Among the main suggestions for an improved structure are, therefore, firstly that more powers, especially regarding finance management, should be given to sub-state levels, secondly that existing local institutions should be strengthened instead of creating parallel structures and thirdly that existing local (traditional) institutions should play a greater role in local planning and decision making processes.

To get a more concrete picture of the suggested changes, some central approaches and ideas that have come up in the analysis of the minor irrigation and educational sector will be summarized. Moreover, successful examples of improved governance and initiatives that might serve as models will be described.

In both, the minor irrigation as well as the educational sector, decentralization measures have been undertaken by the government in the last decades. The central initiatives are the 73rd Constitutional Amendment for strengthening the PRI, the introduction of Participatory Irrigation Management (PIM) in the area of local water management and the introduction of the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) for achieving universal elementary education. Concerning both initiatives severe doubts have been raised regarding the actual implementation i. e. whether they have actually led to more devolution of powers and enhanced participation on the local level. A lack of political will and a high corruption level have been observed as major constraints in this context by most interview partners.

One suggestion in the attempt to counter corruption and make political priorities and decisions more open to the public is to make the budget allocation procedures more accessible (Bhanu 2007: 1079). Through the Right to Information (RTI) Act of 2005 some organizations have gained insight into the process, but Bhanu is convinced that *"A clear-cut legal framework for establishing the practice of participation and transparency is urgently required."* (Ibid).

However, leaving aside the hindering that corruption can be in all governance systems (Gujja), most experts were clear about the fact that a more decentralised system is needed to

solve governance problems in Telangana. As Prasad emphasised, this should go along with the honest attempt of listening to the concerns and wishes of the people. The fact, talking about decentralization and community participation has become very popular in recent debates and politics but is, according to observations of Prasad and Bhushan, for instance, nothing more than a tokenism in many cases when people are drawing their benefits from it without implementing it properly. They emphasised that the danger that this leads to a lack of trust by the people in such kind of initiatives and the concept as a whole, has to be kept in mind when thinking about decentralisation. Prasad is convinced that the articulation of issues on the ground level is there, but now there is a strong need of translating them into policies, so that they reach the decision-making level.

This leads to a demand for a greater devolution of powers, including financial affairs, that was raised by almost all experts. The ideas concerning the question to which extent and whom i. e. to which level these powers should be granted are different. Kaur, for example, presenting the recommendation of the Sri Krishna report, suggests giving greater autonomy to the regions of Andhra Pradesh, so that they can manage their own affairs. Pingle, in contrast, envisages a greater role of the districts. According to his idea, the bureaucrats should not sit in Hyderabad but in the districts and come up with a plan of what it is going to do, how much money it needs and how much money they will collect. The money will be distributed to the districts depending on criteria such as population and backwardness.

Other suggestions rather focus directly on empowerment of local institutions. One positive example is the success-story of women self help groups in Andhra Pradesh presented by Revathi. She is convinced that this model of local groups that collectively manage and use funds can help to empower people from low socio-economic background and can be transferred to other groups as well. Regarding the broader governance V. Reddy, for instance, demands a transformation of planning and financial powers to the Panchayats. According to him, based on his experience, the Panchayats have great potential to manage local affairs as he argues: *"For the government the villagers are numbers, for the panchayats they are faces."* Formulating it even stronger, Laxman's vision of decentralised governance is that powers and finances have to be given down to allow complete autonomy of to the local bodies.

In both focus areas governance problems have been brought up regarding existing parallel structures. In fact, there are administrative and traditional structures as well as a range of civil society organisations with and without government support such as NGOs. Suggestions for more efficient governance in this light include, beyond a mere strengthening the traditional bodies as mentioned above, improving coordination and cooperation among these institutions. H. Rao, for instance, came up with the idea of making Panchayat the central institution that manages the different local bodies as sub-committees. The effectiveness of this structure has been supported in the above described model were watershed programmes are managed as sub-committees of Panchayats. Synergies between Panchayats and other local bodies led to an effective management of natural resources in this example (Sivanna and Reddy 2007: 91).

Ramachandrudu, too, presented a similar example of a well working cooperation between community based organisations and Panchayats in Nalgonda district. He is convinced that such models should be used as demonstration to put pressure on the government for allowing more decentralised structures.

A demand for more powers and allocation of finances to local institutions has come up in the context of tank management as well as education. Regarding the tank irrigation, the first step has been done with the introduction of WUAs. The second one, which is currently pending, is a shortening of the tax re-allocation procedure. To achieve greater independence and enhance the feeling of ownership and responsibility there has been the idea that own funds for tank maintenance and construction work could be raised by the communities among themselves.

Regarding the educational sector, there has been a strong demand for more powers and allocation of finances to school committees for an effective school management and an improvement of quality. The impression that education officers at mandal, district and state level are not accountable to the villagers was mentioned by many experts as a central constraint for improvement and, thus, connected to a demand for more control in this regard.

To sum up, the main suggestions for improvements regarding governance and participation are: (1) the implementation of a legal framework for participation and transparency (concerning the budget allocation process), (2) the provision of financial as well as non-financial support following a demand driven approach and (3) the empowerment of local institutions that should go along with granting more financial power to the local level.

Having outlined suggestions for improvements regarding governance and participation in exemplary areas of Telangana's infrastructure, the following chapter will explain how the results of the study are going to be used for the next steps.

3.2 Next steps

Through the analysis of governance and participation in the three sectors water and electricity management and education in Telangana we have come to findings concerning the existing structures and the suggestions for their future improvements aiming at improved governance and enhanced participation.

As the findings are based on literature research and to great extent on expert interviews, they mostly reflect individual perspectives. The Salon for developing future scenarios therefore envisions to build consensus regarding concrete steps for improvement of the given situation and to describe first practicable measures.

However, the in-depth discussion of all topics would go beyond the manageable scope of the below described Salon method. Thus, in the further procedure we narrow the focus down to water management. The growing problems concerning the availability of water and the creation of new community management structures for the neglected historic system of tank irrigation reflect the relevance of this sector. Minor irrigation with focus on the tank system will, therefore, be at the centre of the Salon discussions. The idea is, however, to discuss the feasibility of applying the outcomes to the other sectors (energy and education) and to frame transfer strategies.

The Salon will take place on 25th February 2012 at the Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), Hyderabad. The panel will consist of about 30 experts, ranging from local and state administrative staff, scientific experts to local stakeholders who will be announced and invited by the end of the year 2011/ beginning of 2012.

The Salon method has been developed by *nexus Institute for Cooperation Management and Interdisciplinary Research* as an innovative and future oriented tool for political consulting. Its main aim is to conceive visions and concrete actions to be taken for their successful and sustainable achievement. In contrast to conventional workshops, the Salon´s conceptual approach connects the pleasure of intensive intellectual dialogue with the development of concrete action plans by situating the Salon in a relaxed but creative atmosphere. In effect, the Salon can constitute a temporary Think Tank of experts and stakeholders.

The procedure of the Salon is divided in 5 separate steps: Firstly, an input paper is presented to the participants, which will be prepared by *nexus* and send to the participants some weeks before the event takes place. On the basis of the report presented here and further research on future projections and perspectives, this paper will focus on possible developments in the field of water management and minor irrigation in Telangana. It will therefore constitute the framework and provide theses for the discussion and creation of visionary solutions concerning governance and participation. After the introduction of the experts and discussion of the input-paper in a plenary session, the participants will be divided initially into groups of two to discuss their personal view on the issues by taking a walk in the park of the ASCI compound. The walk as such is related to the peripatetic philosophical school, enabling the

participants to discuss in a relaxed but intellectually beneficial atmosphere. Subsequently, the results of each group will be documented and presented to the panel. This step generally enables the participants to share and increase their knowledge concerning the issues focused on.

The third step constitutes the main visionary part. By using creative techniques such as those applied in the "World Café", the participants will develop substantial visions and outline future scenarios. These visions form the basis for the constitution of groups to develop substantial policy concepts and action plans respectively in the following step. In the end, the policy concepts of each group will be presented by their advocates and discussed by all.

It is planned to invite major decision makers to the final presentation of the achieved results. This is meant to introduce the innovations to them and get into a discussion about their possible realization.

In this way, the preferred futures of the visions are getting compared to the possible futures, presented initially in the input paper. Through this procedure, the future scenarios get substantialised through the different visions, respective measures and their substantial policy plans. Subsequently, the outcomes of the Salon will be summarized into a final paper and send back to the participants. In order to reach a high level of future involvement in the realization of the visions, probable single statements and commentaries will be included in the final paper.

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List of Interview Partners

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MR. DR. PINGLE – Centre for Public Policy, Governance and Performance at ASCI (Administrative Staff College India) – Interviewed: 7th September 2011

MR. BHUSHAN – Sociologist and anthropologist, author of "Telangana: The state of affairs" – Interviewed: 8th September 2011

MR. CH. RAO – Former MLA and member of CPI (Communist Party India) – Interviewed 9th September 2011

MR. D.P. REDDY – Chairman of TDF (Telangana Development Forum) – Interviewed 10th September 2011

MR. S.P. REDDY – General secretary of TREF (Telangana Retired Engineers' Forum) – Interviewed 10th September 2011

MS. DR. REVATHI – Professor of Economics at Kakatiya University – Interviewed 16th September 2011

MR. VEERAIAH – Retired engineer at the Irrigation Department – Interviewed 21st September 2011

MR. PROF. LAXMAN – Professor at Department for Philosophy, Osmania University – Interviewed 22nd September 2011

MR. PROF. POLASA – Retired Professor of political sciences, Osmania University – Interviewed 4th October 2011

MS. FATHIMA – Member of Civil Liberties Monotoring Committee – Interviewed: 6th October 2011

MR. V. REDDY – National Convenor of M. Venkatrangaiya Foundation (MVF) – Interviewed: 8th October 2011

MR. CH. SRINIVAS – Social worker, writer and president of 'Andhra interllectual Forum' – Interviewed 8th October 2011

MR. GUJJA – Expert on water issues in India and the international context – Interviewed 10th September 2011

THREE ENGINEERS – Irrigation and Command Area Development Department – Interviewed 11th October 2011

Mr. Prof. H. RAO – former Chairperson of CESS (Centre for Economic and Social Science), author of "Regional Disparities, Smaller States and Statehood for Telangana" – Interviewed 11th October 2011

Ms. PRASAD – Former state project director of AP Mahila Samakhya (Government of India project for women empowerment and education) – Interviewed 9th September 2011

Mr. RAMACHANDRUDU – Senior programme officer of WASSAN (Watershed Support and Activities Network) – Interviewed: 15th October 2011

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MR. KUMAR – Student at Department of Anthropology, Title of the Dissertation: Social Dimensions of Watershed Programme: A Case Study of a Village in Telangana - Interviewed: 4th November 2011

MR. S. SRINIVAS – Student at Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad, Title of the Dissertation: Participatory Management of Irrigation: A study of Water User's Association in Kurnool – Interviewed: 6th November 2011