

0621. DLDP Application for the Extensions (Nov 1992)

Includes a listing of Long Term & Short Term Objectives, the Situation in which the Project exists, a Quick look at the DLDP in Bagepalli (including paragraphs on questioning accomplishments and effects of the DLDP on peasant cultivation), Argumentation for the need of the Project, Implementation Plan and Budget

1. APPLICANT ORGANISATION

DAIRY DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY (DDS)

ADATS Campus,
Bagepalli 561 207,
India.

2. LEGAL STATUS

Reg. No: 64/84-85 under the Karnataka Societies Registration Act, 1960.

UHM No: "094570002" under the Foreign Contributions (Regulations) Act, 1976.

3. BANKERS

A/c No: 3331 with Canara Bank, Bagepalli branch.

4. PROJECT TITLE

DRY LAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (DLDP)

5. LONG TERM OBJECTIVE

- To build up 3 taluk level mass organisations so that poor peasants struggling for their development can continually take stock of wider societal changes and make the necessary adjustments to survive with dignity and security in a rapidly changing political economy.
- To create the physical and socio-political milieu capable of supporting and furthering a positive entrepreneurship in the Coolies.
- To oppose gender discrimination, sexual exploitation and strengthen the position of Coolie women so that they can contribute as equals to all further developments in the Coolie Sangha.

6. SHORT TERM OBJECTIVES

- To develop 9,000 acres of dry land belonging to 3,500 families in 150 villages through a massive labour intensive effort so that these lands increase in value and Coolie production makes a substantial quantum jump within 3 years, thereby preparing them to further enterprise in an appreciable measure.
- To ensure that women and men get equal wages for equal work.
- To effect a temporary intervention in the labour market so that the worth and nature of agricultural labour can be changed from its present form of an undervalued and extra economically coerced input in peasant cultivation, to instead become an impetus in the rapidly capitalising agricultural economy with Coolies forcing the pace of events.

- To politicise the DLDP into an input which will excite the Coolie Sangha building process into a real and meaningful experience wherein the Coolies themselves feel that the Coolie Sangha influences all and every facet of their lives.

7. SITUATION IN WHICH THE PROJECT EXISTS

7.1. The January 1992 Application

In January 1992 we made a synopsis of the preceding 3 year Coolie Sangha Formation phase. We deliberately understated our achievements and said that procedures introduced within a definite structure had provided a discipline which formed the Coolie Sangha. We refused to make a great deal of the unity which had been achieved in 148 villages.

We spoke about the vast human infrastructure of staff and functionaries which we had built, the special relationship of fraternity and support we had etched for them with the BAGEPALLI COOLIE SANGHA, and how this had resulted in various positive influences entering these villages.

A positive discrimination in favour of women was one. The fostering of autonomy through decentralised budgets handled by Coolie women and the village to village pluralism which would develop was another. Being motivated to save for the posterity of their organisation was a third. Perhaps the most important of all were lessons that 3,500 families would learn from Bagepalli and adapt their CCFs to become instruments for income generation and real economic development.

We then examined the dramatically changed macro situation of the country in some detail and explored possible strategies for the Coolies to use their mass organisation to adjust to these wider changes and make gains from a market economy which was ostensibly weighed against them.

The project implementation plan where we spelt our strategy for the next 3 year phase of involvement had a list of 12 points which were all in response to the preceding description.

7.2. The past 5 months (Present Status of Project No: 923333)

Coolie Sangha Formalisation efforts have proceeded surprisingly well these past 5 months, mainly because it was in accordance to a plan derived bottom up thorough fairly protracted exercises involving all the village staff and elected Representatives.

Elected Cluster Secretaries have taken over from ADATS/DDS paid Community workers and the Executive and Accounts/Admn wings of the Extensions has been strengthened with trained staff and better systems. An achievement we are particularly proud of is that for the first time in ADATS/DDS' history, we have placed independent and effective women Field Workers in all 4 Extensions.

Vokkaku Sanchi Duddu grants have been given out to all the Mahila Meetings and the decentralised health and children's budgets for the year have been distributed to the Clusters. The Field staff – women as well as men – have concentrated on helping Coolie women take control of these budgets and activities.

Every single day has had its share of struggle and learning. Most of the resistance has come from Coolie men who see a fundamental cultural intervention into the most private aspects of their daily lives; often it is women themselves who get worried as to where this gender equality is finally going to lead. The Field staff, who themselves are a product of identical social conditioning, operate on faith. Senior ADATS/DDS staff and BCS functionaries sense a *deja vu* repetition of scenes already enacted when the Coolies were organised to stand up to the

Ryots, except perhaps that the contradictions this time are closer home and far more internalised.

With substantial increases in CCF capitals through grants given out these past months, the effort has finally turned the corner. Those who propagated opportunism are beginning to be rejected by the Coolies. Coolies now perceive it as a practical and worthwhile structure capable of solving their credit needs. Problems of misutilisation and overdue are finally beginning to look like a thing of the past. This too has been a result of persistent hard work by the Field and Executive staff.

7.3. Membership & Coverage

Since the Coolie Sangha is a body so diverse in its village to village concerns and active on a day to day basis, meeting twice a week at each and every village, membership and coverage figures tend to continually fluctuate.

The area-wise strength of the 148 CSUs, as on today, and the land holdings of normal members is as under.

Area	Normal Members	Dry Land	Average Holding	Wet Land	Average Holding
Chickballapur Area	1,102	2,876	2.61	313	0.28
Chintamani Area	825	2,078	2.52	261	0.32
Siddalaghatta Area	629	1,828	2.91	262	0.42
Julapalya Area	695	1,745	2.51	191	0.27
Total:	3,251	8,527	2.62	1,027	0.32

But when contemplating a 3 year project like the DLDP, it would be wise to plan for 3,500 families owning 9,000 acres of dry land in 150 villages.

7.4. Agriculture & Wages

It is difficult to be presumptuous and state that we have as good an understanding of peasant economics in the 4 Extension Areas as we have in Bagepalli. Our presence in these taluks, as we have frankly admitted, is not yet felt. Our influence is at best meagre and limited to pockets. Learning a situation through acting on it gives insights which cannot be substituted through inferences drawn from observation. ADATS/DDS has not made a statement on the political economy of the 3 taluks. Having confessed to these limitations we still must attempt to describe cultivation practices in the Extensions.

Chickballapur has 3 distinct regions. The part closest to the town has highly capitalised cropping with small patches seeing heavy and intensive investments. Coolie lands lie like poor cousins adjacent to these advanced modes of production, desperately seeking to imitate, but miserably failing for want of capital. Average Coolie land holding in this part of Chickballapur is very low and they would like to use a combination of the DLDP and CCF to try and improve their cultivation.

It would be very difficult, under such circumstances, to discourage these Coolies from using chemical interventions unless we travel beyond the popular clichés and enhance our own knowledge on environment friendly technologies which can reasonably compete with the feasibility of neighbouring fields. Plant protection measures, for example, will have to be resorted to when adjacent fields are bombarded with pesticides. Only the finding of economically viable alternate technologies which are less harmful to the environment, as opposed to a purist stand of abstention, will hold any water.

These Coolies close to Chickballapur town are the highest risk group in terms of exposure to the pauperisation/polarisation process since the value of their lands have risen so high that it

is becoming increasingly insensible for them to not sell out. Permanent migration to cities is the only alternative to making their cultivation viable.

Villages close to Siddalaghata face another type of problem. While the cropping pattern has changed to mulberry, capitalisation is nowhere comparable to Chickballapur. But Siddalaghata offers attractive wages in construction (Rs 20-35) and the silk reeling industry (exclusively male, Rs 40) all round the year. When the seasonal agricultural wages are between Rs 15-20 and non seasonal wages drop to Rs 10-12, the lure of the booming town becomes too much. Specially since only half the work force is in demand even during peak agricultural seasons.

Unless Coolie lands around Siddalaghata town sees more capital investment, it is not sensible for them to continue cultivating. At the same time, not being present in the villages for most of the day weakens their standing in village society. Coolies themselves have realised this and it is not uncommon to see hard earned and meagre savings from spells of work in the town being invested on improving their lands. The DLDP will come as a boon to Coolies from these villages.

In about one-third of Chickballapur, two-third of Siddalaghata and the whole of Chintamani, cultivation levels closely resemble what Bagepalli was about 7 years back. Severe under employment during the off season, a rush for *Ryot* wages when the rains finally arrive, scrambling to finding time for paltry cultivation on their own patches of dry land somewhere in between, relatively higher wages and advantages during the harvest months, and back to waiting from January to July when they are freed to seasonally migrate.

About 10% of the Coolies are lucky to lease in one-quarter to one-half of an acre of wet land to grow a coarse paddy from January to April as share croppers. Provided the December rains have filled the irrigation tanks in the villages. Under these very trying and difficult circumstances it often appears that the *Ryots* are doing the Coolies a favour by calling them to work on their lands, and Patron Client relations abound.

In the remaining one-third of Chickballapur and the whole of Julapalya, the just described situation is ten times worse due to an overall backwardness with poor infrastructure and government neglect.

8. A QUICK LOOK AT THE DLDP IN BAGEPALLI

A massive dry land development project was implemented in Bagepalli taluk from 1987 to 1989. This project served as a powerful interlude in the middle of fairly mundane, even if largely successful, series of interventions to build Coolie Sanghas in 87 villages of the Old and Chelur Areas. What came out at the end of its implementation was perhaps the most exciting and satisfying possibility to strengthen a people in real and tangible terms. It changed the face of our efforts to such an extent that the Coolies were able to aim at heights we would not have dared thought possible.

A detailed Completion Report written at that time is annexed with this project application. What follows is an abstract of that report.

8.1. THE DLDP WORKS

An average of 80 persondays of labour was invested by 2,904 families on 8,989 acres of land in 81 villages. Member families in each CSU divided themselves into manageable groups of 10 to 15 and these Work Gangs went into the holdings of each and every member for periods varying from a few days to a few weeks, doing whatever the owner of the land wanted them to. The major component of the DLDP was to pay wages at regular weekly intervals.

Each CSU allocated the total available labour capital among themselves based on their land holding. But the unique allocation tables they designed went beyond the mere arithmetic exercise of division. It took into consideration the quality of each and every patch of land and socio-economic status of the family. As a result, those with bigger holdings were not rewarded for being rich and those with less holdings were not punished for their poverty. As important as being fair, they were perceived as being forthright by the poorer members of their CSUs.

A total of 577,039 meters of rock and mud bunds were built and 35,480 meters of existing bunds were strengthened. 11,832 meters of ravines and gullies were plugged. This resulted in good watershed management on 5,982 acres whereby the flow of rain water was checked and soil erosion stopped. Rocks and boulders were cleared from 3,810 acres and 1,481 acres of brand new lands were brought under cultivation for the very first time.

All this resulted in a dramatic quantum jump in Coolie production, and did wonders to the quality of unity in the CSUs.

8.2. Wages

In a short period of 3 years, agricultural wages increased from about Rs 3.50 to a range of Rs 10 to Rs 17. The struggle for equal wages resulted in women and men getting the same wage for the same work. This is something that still holds good, 3 years after completing the DLDP.

8.3. The Landless

The percentage of landless in the CSUs dropped from 20% to 7%. This was achieved through a determined effort by the CSUs to clear government lands, give these plots to the landless and help them get temporary titles through numerous issues and struggles.

Apart from bringing the landless into the mainstay of peasant economics, the CSUs earned for themselves a credibility in the hearts of the poorest of the poor and in the neutral population of the villages.

8.4. Related Activities

A horde of related activities were undertaken during the DLDP. Some were largely successful and some flopped. Modern dry land farming techniques were successfully demonstrated in the villages. These techniques are proving to be useful today when Coolie cultivation is definitely comparable to that of *Ryots*.

Thousands of trees were planted and grass cover given to the newly made bunds. While the ones we planted on the dry land bunds based on technical advice from the so-called specialists did not survive, the ones that the Coolies themselves wanted and planted around their homes have today started fruiting.

Giriraja chicken was introduced for Coolie women to make quick profits. This effort was very rewarding. Sangha Funds were greatly enhanced with individual Coolies saving for the posterity of their respective CSUs. Large assets were built up for the BAGEPALLI COOLIE SANGHA and they have today tremendously appreciated in value, guaranteeing the permanence of the BCS.

ADATS unilaterally tried to push adult literacy figures higher by making attendance at evening ALP classes a forced condition to receive DLDP wage payments. But monitoring became so tiresome and relations acrimonious that we were forced to discontinue the linkage.

8.5. Self Discipline & Internal Rectification

A terrific self discipline was introduced by the members themselves through a focus on internal rectification. We can confidently state that not a single rupee was misappropriated or wasted in the implementation of such a huge, widespread and labour intensive project where Rs 6.5 million was paid out as wages in small currency notes to a total of 2,904 families over an extended period of 5 months every year for 3 continuous years.

While this remarkable achievement in sheer honesty through total transparency resulted in a filtering of sheep from goats and CSU membership dropped from 2,738 to 2,217 families and the number of villages from 87 to 71, the Coolies never once showed any inclination to compromise through adjustment. They took a clear and uncompromising stand that it was not worth pursuing high numbers if quality were to suffer.

8.6. Stake for Independence

There was a marked enhancement in managerial and conceptual skills in the Coolies. But this was not the result of any “training for independence” given by us. The Coolies themselves made a conscious bid to use the successful implementation of the DLDP as a leverage to demonstrate their capabilities, and then made their stake for independence from the benign clutches of ADATS.

This deep craving is what resulted in the DLDP becoming such a well implemented project. The resultant autonomy and pluralism in village level CSUs became the basis for all further developments in the Coolie Sangha. The role of the NGO vis a vis the people’s organisation was clarified through the DLDP and ADATS’ theoretical postulate on the 2 Organisations policy was translated into a practical accomplishment by the Coolies, as opposed to a gift of emancipation from the development worker.

8.7. Questioning these Accomplishments

In early 1990, immediately after implementing the DLDP, we had nagging questions as to whether the DLDP was not just a temporary and artificial intervention in the labour market, and what would happen once the initial magic quantum leaps in dry land production got stabilised and refused to grow any further. We wondered if the long term problems of Coolies could be solved by their attempting to become direct producers.

We even questioned the motives behind the Coolies’ assertion of independence – whether the self seeking from among their ranks would usurp leadership. Or if they would permit liberal elements inherent in the bourgeois intellectual to steer them away from concepts of power and leadership into strength and representation. This questioning is what led to all further developments in the Coolie Sangha.

8.8. The Effect of the DLDP on Peasant Cultivation

Soon after completing the 3 year project we examined what the DLDP did to Bagepalli’s peasant cultivation. We sensed that further capitalisation of the taluk’s agriculture would proceed from a different kind of impetus. Ryots would be forced to keep pace with increasing demands from the Coolies for better wages and working conditions and this would help Coolies escape some of the ugly consequences of “normal” capitalisation like pauperisation/polarisation and defeatism.

3 years later we find our prophecies turning true. There is none of that feudal apathy which typified earlier behaviour. But we must admit to some confusion since the trends are not all that clear. While on the one hand we do see a tremendous material betterment through spectacular increases in monthly income levels, they still cannot be classified as anything but

poor. They live in financial conditions which are so precarious that they still invite wonder and an awesome respect from us.

Perhaps it is attitudes which have changed. Fatalism has given way to hope and apathy to determination. Faced with severe odds weighed against them, there is no despondency. The sudden increase in CCF capitals and the new slogans of the BCS alone cannot explain this infectious air of optimism.

Immediately after the DLDP, their refusal to go to the *Ryots* for wages filled us with dread as to whether such gambles were not foolhardy. We were reminded of similar shows of exuberance by the newly emancipated slaves at the turn of the 19th century which only resulted in a defeated surrender a short while later to become institutionalised into one of the worst systems of extra economic exploitation dragging from history to present day society. But the Coolies persisted in spite of our warnings. At one stage it appeared that it was ADATS which was placing politics and struggle in the back seat with the Coolies only grudgingly obliging. And then something snapped. Production relations changed. After a brief period of middle peasant harassment (as opposed to the earlier tyranny of oppression), the socio-economic position of Coolies changed for the better and they no longer had to struggle for every mean and meagre concession. Their energies were spared for other gainful pursuits.

Coolies are no longer taken for granted and have instead become partners in production, participating at terms which are mutually beneficial to both. Even the tools and implements given to them have contributed, converting them into independent and well organised Work Gangs, executing works for the government as well as *Ryots*, on terms which are totally different from that of yore. And most Coolies have at least one off-farm venture which provides additional family income.

We do not believe that all this, as a process, would have been possible through organisation and institution building alone. The temporary intervention in the labour market, even if artificial, contributed to changing the very fundamentals of production relations in the taluk.

9. ARGUMENTATION FOR THE NEED OF THE PROJECT

9.1. The most important argument for the project is that dry lands are the mainstay of Coolie assets and have to be capitalised for their economic base to improve. Without this base it will not be possible for a dispirited and pauperised class to undertake off-farm ventures to increase their incomes.

9.2. The above argument does nothing to belie the fact that there is an excessive dependence on agriculture. The land cannot support the population any longer. Ancillary and off farm ventures have to be promoted in parallel efforts through the CCFs.

9.3. The DLDP is a proven intervention to strengthen the CSUs and better prepare the Coolies to survive in contemporary society. It will further the superficial unity of a people who have got together merely in order to satisfy their varying individual aspirations which they know cannot be fulfilled unless they unite. The DLDP will be a precursor to building strong communities.

The obvious flaw in this logic, however, is that the DLDP is not the grassroots *conceived* project it was in Bagepalli. It has only been grassroots *planned*. Coolies in the extensions will, to varying extent, live in the shadow of their Bagepalli counterparts' experiences and become victims to a degree of social engineering and steering along proven paths. The only safeguard against excesses that this can invite is to be consciously aware of the danger at all times and without pretence.

All that past experience will help in is project implementation. As for the politicisation of the project to make a dent in production relations, the Coolies themselves will have to actualise

on opportunities. Whether they will be able to do this depends on the quality achieved in the previous 3 year intervention, and has nothing to do with all earlier experiences of ours in different situations and locales.

10. THE PRE-PROJECT PHASE (FEBRUARY 1992 TO DATE)

A project like the DLDP cannot be planned without an intense pre-project phase where it is thoroughly discussed with each and every person who will participate in its implementation. This includes member Coolie families, elected CSU Representatives, VLWs, VHWs, Cluster Secretaries and ADATS/DDS staff. The obvious danger, of course, is that we place ourselves on a limb, planning an activity without assurance of support. But this is a risk inherent in any grassroots planning exercise and ADATS/DDS has become adept in taking it.

10.1. Discussions in the CSUS

Coolies in the Extensions wanted the DLDP because they had seen its magic in Bagepalli. We were non committal because we wanted to see how the 3 year Coolie Sangha Formation went. When reviewing this initial phase of our involvement we already felt that it may be a good idea to implement a DLDP but had 2 reservations. The first was that we felt the DLDP could not be used as a cover activity to gain acceptance and build strong CSUs but should rather be the product of authentic and independent (taluk) Coolie Sanghas in each Extension Area. And the second was that we wanted our own managerial abilities to be enhanced to be able to undertake such a vast and complex project. In January 1992 we agreed to discuss the matter thoroughly with each and every member family in the CSUs.

10 months later we must admit that we have been very impressed by the quality of discussions. The Coolies have been very honest in assessing their own capabilities, learning lessons from past happenings at Bagepalli, and gauging the possible outcome of implementing such a large project. It is true that they were serious because they knew us to be earnest in our pre-condition that the DLDP should be grassroots planned even in the setting of objectives. But what has certainly resulted beyond any measure of doubt is that the Coolies do not perceive the DLDP to be just any project which will provide them with temporary relief and succour. Discussions in the CSUs have not been on only the theoretical props or argumentation for the DLDP. They have turned out to be concrete and particular in implementation details like who will work where, what works will be done, how much they will put aside in their Sangha Funds, etc.

10.2. Visiting all the Coolie Lands

For 4 months from August 1992, the Field staff of ADATS/DDS have visited each and every acre of Coolie land and heard their individual plans as to what they would like to see done on their scattered holdings. Some visits were easy, except for the physical exertion. Others were very emotional. Yet others invited suspicions and jealousies from those not in the CSUs.

Besides giving us a very good idea as to type of land they owned and the problems they faced, walking on each and every acre helped us correct the data we have with us on the holding, title and type of each member family's land. ADATS/DDS can now claim that we have an accurate and literate appreciation of the "ground realities". This has enabled us to already foresee problems and be better prepared.

10.3. Making DLDP Plans

We have helped the Coolies make DLDP Plans for individual villages based on a system developed at Bagepalli. Each Coolie's holdings are allocated points based on their size and backwardness and disparities between larger and smaller holdings are levelled in this manner.

The total available labour capital is calculated as membership strength x 125 days. These person-days are then allocated equally among the acre-points earlier calculated.

The DLDP Plans will be given to each CSU so that they can go through the allocations made in such a cold and dispassionate manner. They will apply their subjective knowledge to correct any disparities which may still have crept in through data and interpretation errors and then finalise the DLDP Plans for each CSU.

A total and unreserved transparency is achieved in this manner even before the project is sanctioned. Each and every member Coolie in each and every CSU knows exactly how much she can expect and the totality of what is being contemplated.

10.4. Enhancing Managerial Capabilities

ADATS/DDS has used the past months to recruit and train staff and place all the systems needed to manage the DLDP in place in all the Extensions. We now feel confident of being able to implement the project.

10.5. Sharing this Project Application

In the next 3 months from December 1992 to February 1993, many forums and platforms will be specially organised to share this document with all the CSU functionaries and village staff. Though this application itself is only an articulation of an almost 10 month long grassroots planning exercise, we still believe in retaining a certain formality through informing everyone in a proper fashion.

11. PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION PLAN (MARCH 1993 TO DECEMBER 1995)

11.1. Tools and Implements

3,500 sets of implements will be bought at an average price of Rs 250 per set and distributed to as many member Coolie families. In the most, they will consist of a crowbar, a spade and an iron pan. But wherever the Coolies prefer different implements like, for example, pickaxes instead of their crowbars, these will be supplied. Common implements like heavy hammers will be bought and supplied to each Work Gang.

These implements will be the property of individual member families. But the CSUs have decided that should anyone leave the Coolie Sangha, they will have to return the implements so that they can be given to a new member family.

11.2. Work Gangs & DLDP Minute Books

CSUs with larger membership will divide themselves into a maximum of 3 Work Gangs. Each Work Gang will comprise of 10-15 families and will be under an elected CSU Representative. Only an adult above the age of 18 years can be a part of the Work Gang, but member families can change the actual person even on a day to day basis. There will be approximately 250 such Work Gangs in the 150 villages during the implementation of the DLDP for 5 months every year for 3 years.

Each Work Gang will be supplied with a DLDP Minutes Book with the approved DLDP Plan for the CSU pasted on the first page. They will record daily attendance during works and any other matter of pertinence. At the end of work on a particular member's holdings, a special DLDP Meeting will be conducted to record the details of the work done and the land owner's comments.

11.3. Working on each Member's Holdings

From March 1993, each Work Gang will work on their peers' lands as per the DLDP Plan which they have with them. This will be for periods ranging from a few days to a few weeks. They will build soil and water conservation bunds on the contours of their lands, dig trenches to cut down the speed of rain flow, remove rocks and boulders, check ravines and gullies with small rock dams, dig farm ponds, or whatever else the owner of the land wants them to.

Since land cannot be worked on and developed in a single shot, each land owner will have a chance to work on her holdings 3 times, once every year. Since there is no cutting and filling, for example, it is the rains which have to wash soil from the higher levels of a contour banded plot towards the bunds to gradually level the fields.

After the first year or two of DLDP works, land owners will want more advanced interventions like the hauling of tank silt to improve soil texture, deepening of irrigation wells, etc. Agriculturists who accompany the project will continually be available to give more sophisticated advice.

11.4. Wage Payments

The paramount principles followed by ADATS/DDS in DLDP wage payments are fidelity and total transparency, and the systems have not failed us so far.

The Accounts/Admn wing of ADATS/DDS will appoint 4 Field Workers (Cash) to make DLDP payments, one for each Extension Area. These Field Workers have already worked in the Bagepalli DLDP and are specially trained to make cash payments outside the office. They have their own highly sophisticated skills and procedures to monitor the very complicated cash flow and currency requirements of the DLDP. They will be covered under fidelity insurance, and the cash they transport all over the place will be transit insured.

The Field Workers (Cash) will peruse the DLDP Minutes Book of each Work Gang to calculate attendance. DLDP wage payments will then be made at a rate of Rs 15 per day at the work spots in front of all the members of each Work Gang. Payments will be made in the name of the member on whose lands the work have been done, but cash will be given out as wages to each member of the gang. The Mahila Meetings will be given the option to decide if certain family's wages should not be given to the menfolk.

Each CSU will have its own Support Voucher Book and the same transactions will also be fully recorded in the DLDP Minutes Book, giving no scope for leakage or cheating.

Sangha Funds will act as an additional point of check and control. All the CSUs have already decided how much they will contribute from their DLDP wages to the Sangha Fund. These contributions will not be made into the CSU *Hundis*, but credited separately into their CSU Bank Accounts. ADATS/DDS will electronically monitor each Sangha Fund Receipt against each DLDP wage payment to check if the correct ratio has come in. If not, explanations will immediately be called for.

Desk Workers in the Extensions will co-ordinate the work of their respective Field Workers (Cash) by calculating currency denominations, making bank withdrawals in time, giving out daily advances, settling accounts at the end of the day, tallying Sangha Fund contributions against wage payment vouchers, etc.

ADATS central office at Bagepalli will carefully scrutinise the previous day's transactions at each Extension before posting vouchers into the system the next day. The ADATS Accounts Assistant (a newly created post in 1992) will regularly tour all the Extension offices to get feedback and ensure that the system works smoothly.

11.5. Agriculturist & Demonstration Plots

3 qualified Agriculturists will be appointed to work for the entire project duration of 3 years. Their task will be to continually visit all the DLDP work spots along with the Field Workers (Cash) and give advice on the type of works being undertaken.

In the 2nd and 3rd years of the project, they will help the Coolies select a typical field from each CSU to demonstrate good dry land cultivation practices. Each Agriculturist will adopt 25 fields from as many CSUs every year to show the Coolies how their cultivation can be raised to par with that of Ryots.

These demonstrations will be different for each of the 4 typical regions described in para 7.4. of this document. In vast tracts of dry lands which describe one-third of Chickballapur, two-third of Siddalaghatta and the whole of Chintamani, the Agriculturists will demonstrate groundnut and Ragi cultivation mixed with pulses. But in the capitalised part of Chickballapur, they will first do their homework before demonstrating environment friendly alternates to harmful chemical intervention. In parts of Chickballapur and the whole of Julapalya, the Agriculturists will demonstrate rudimentary basics like the use of good implements and proper tillage practices.

Farmer's Days will be organised in December and January during the harvests on these demonstration plots.

11.6. Fuel & Fruit Trees and Smokeless Chullas

From the very first year of the project in 1993, fuel and fruit trees of their choice will be procured and supplied at the onset of rains. Coolies will plant these saplings wherever they feel the chances of survival are assured, and not necessarily on the newly worked on dry lands.

Coolie women will plant the thorny brush *Seema Jali* trees on waste lands and along cart tracks close to their villages to try solve their firewood problems. Fortunately the twigs and branches have proven to not have any other commercial value and so will not meet with the same fate as most so-called social forestry ventures.

We will bring in trained masons to help Coolie women build smokeless *chullas* in each and every home. Material like the iron guide frame and a length of asbestos pipe for the chimney will be supplied and the women themselves will work with the masons in order to get trained in the very appropriate and fairly basic skills involved.

11.7. Typical DLDP Calendar

March to July:	-	Execution of DLDP Works
	-	Holding DLDP Meetings at the end of each work
	-	Wage Payments
	-	Trouble shooting to solve problems
August:	-	Processing CCF crop loans
	-	Demonstration Plots
September & October:	-	Annual Reviews
	-	Completing unfinished DLDP Works on yet uncultivated lands
	-	Distribution of Fruit Trees
	-	Planting Seema Jali saplings on waste lands and cart tracks
	-	Building Smokeless Chullas
December & January:	-	Farmer's Days on the demonstration plots

11.8. Anticipated Problems

Having implemented the DLDP for 3 years in the villages of Bagepalli, and with the intimate experience of having worked in the 4 Extension Areas for the past 3½ years, some of the common problems likely to crop up can already be anticipated.

- Some member families will act negligent after works are completed on their own holdings for the year. They will try to send children to work in the Work Gangs while adults pursue other family business. In villages close to towns where construction work and relatively higher wages are available, this is a distinct possibility. Apart from being a criminal waste of scarce resources, this will naturally lead to acrimony and fluctuations in CSU memberships with truant families getting suspended and the penitent being taken back.
- Most CSUs will agree to give at least half wages to Coolies who are really sick and do not have anyone else in the family to send to work. Those wounded during DLDP works will usually be paid full wages till they recover. The old and infirm will be paid wages to just sit at the work spots and advise or look after children who cannot be left at home. But these are discretionary decisions not guided by any set rules. Tensions and misunderstandings are bound to arise.
- Land disputes are bound to crop up whenever jealously guarded boundaries are involved. When between members, the CSUs will be able to hammer out solutions through discussions and compromise. But when boundary disputes are between members and others, we can expect issues and struggles which adversely effect smooth adherence to tight schedules.
- Caste problems will surface during the DLDP works. It is possible that a particularly insensitive person will refuse to drink water offered by a woman of another caste. Or worse still, she will refuse to partake in a specially prepared meal on the last day of work on a member's land, when all that the land owner wanted was to express her gratitude to her peers.
- A VLW or CSU Representative could claim special privileges for doing the additional work of overseeing and demand that wages be paid for just playing boss. The remaining members, sweltering in the heat, would naturally refuse.
- There are always the glib and the clever who succeed in shirking physical work with the slightest of pretexts. Tempers normally run high and lead to physical assaults on them as the summer months advance and they play a trick once too often.

Such problems are not unsolvable. On the other hand they will serve to temper superficial unity and steel them into stronger communities. But we can already predict delays in the implementing of DLDP works. It is possible that some CSUs get into wrangles that prevent them from working for the full 125 days every year. In which case, the planned 3 year project implementation could spill over into the 4th year at no extra cost except, perhaps, supervisory. Experience tells us that this will be the exception rather than rule.

11.9. Project Monitoring

A project as spread out and diverse as the DLDP requires complex monitoring at different levels. The aims of monitoring are also multifarious.

DLDP works have to progress on schedule without any wastage of resources. Financial fidelity has to be ensured since the project will have so many points of payments, and each is a potential point of leakage. Cash flow and currency denominations have to be monitored to ensure that each and every Coolie receives uninterrupted wage payments once a week. Prob-

lems are bound to crop up and have to be solved. Wider indicators have to be monitored to see if the project is heading in the right direction and have the desired results at the end of 3 years. All this cannot be done without involving everyone in the monitoring exercise from the very first day of project planning.

Each Work Gang will monitor the progress of the DLDP at the end of every work they complete through details recorded in their DLDP Minutes Books. In this way they will have a continuous pulse on progress and be able to rectify problems as and when they arise.

The CSUs, as different from individual Work Gangs, will monitor the overall progress of the DLDP in their respective villages through weekly CSU and Mahila Meetings. In spite of the Work Gangs meeting at the end of every DLDP work, these weekly platforms cannot be stopped or neglected since there will be other CSU affairs like decentralised health and children's budgets, CCF matters, etc. to discuss and decide on.

Weekly Cluster Meets will continue on a regular basis for the same reasons. They will continually attempt to place the DLDP within the overall Coolie Sangha Formalisation effort. Different Cluster Meet days will be declared as weekly DLDP holidays to enable everyone from the CSUs therein to attend the half day meeting every week.

ADATS/DDS will monitor progress through financial information received through DLDP wage payments. The computerised monitoring system we have developed ensures that vouchers do not merely contribute to making accounts statements but also reveal a wealth of hidden information. Specific indicators like coverage, pattern of land holding, member wise crop production, seasonal wage fluctuation and gender discrepancies in agricultural wage will be monitored to understand and react to trends created by the DLDP.

DLDP related matters are likely to figure quite prominently in the monthly Area Staff Meetings and weekly Situation Meetings throughout the 3 year period.

11.10. Annual Reviews

In the months of September and October, at the end of 5 months of DLDP works every year, each Cluster will review works already done. These exercises will be in the nature of work as well as financial audits. 3 CSU Representatives, the VHW and VLW from each of the Cluster's villages, the concerned Cluster Secretary, the (taluk) Coolie Sangha Secretary, Desk Worker, Field Worker (Cash) and the Agriculturist will all sit together for 2 days.

Each Work Gang's DLDP Minutes Book will be checked against carbon copies in the CSU's Support Voucher Book and tallied with statements of Sangha Fund Receipts to ensure that payments were authentic. They will then assess progress to determine where loopholes can be plugged, belts tightened and more work done with the same resources. The Agriculturist will go into the quality of each DLDP work and highlight technical mistakes. They will then together assess wider impact.

These DLDP Cluster Review findings will be presented to the (taluk) Coolie Sangha Meetings every November in the form of critical reports. These, along with other trend indicators which we will separately monitor, will form the basis for ADATS/DDS' progress reports to ICCO.

12. PROJECT BUDGET

1.	DLDP wages for 3,500 members to work for 125 days every year for 3 years @ Rs 15 per day	19,687,500
2.	Tools and implements to be bought for 3,500 families @ Rs 250 per set	875,000
3.	Cost of setting up 150 demonstrations in as many villages in the 2 nd and 3 rd years @ Rs 4,000 per plot	600,000

4.	Cost of fruit and fuel plants to be supplied to 3,500 families with the onset of rains @ Rs 50	175,000
5.	Material cost for constructing 3,500 smokeless chullas @ Rs 75	262,500
6.	Salary of 3 Agriculturists @ Rs 3,000	324,000
7.	Salary of 3 Field Workers (Cash) @ Rs 1,500	216,000
	Total requested:	22,140,000