

01. 1st Evaluation Report – Jan Neggers & Alex Tuscano (Apr1983)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. General

A trip from Bangalore to Bagepalli town on the back of motor bike can be quite an instructive experience. On the one hand, one's imagination makes overtime in the midst of the mountains of huge boulders, piled one upon the other like pyramids. However, fears that these boulders might come down easily fade away after a while.

On the hand, one gets a first-hand experience as to the situation in areas which are officially labelled drought-prone; temperatures are very high, the huge water tanks alongside the road are dried out, the sparse vegetation looks dark-brown, the dust is suffocating whenever activated by a passing bus or truck, and from time to time the motorbike gets struck in herds of hundreds of oxen and cows on their way to the slaughterhouse since neither the water nor the fodder supply is sufficient to keep the animals alive.

These first impressions have been sharpened by the extensive visits of the team to the villages in Bagepalli taluk in order to carry out the evaluation job; this way a lot could be learned on how village life is in a drought-ridden area and on the aspirations of the local population in their efforts to survive. Putting the jig jaw together, one gets a fair idea of the day-to-day realities.

The notion "fair" is used purposely, since it is practically impossible to get a total and balanced view on regions and its people in only 11 days.

In trying to do the impossible, ADATS' assistance in planning and carrying out the workload was highly appreciated. From the very moment of arrival onwards, the Staff was on red alert and stand-by whenever needed. Although they obviously had given the practical aspects of the evaluation some thought, no rigid schedules were presented to the team to comply with: but the program was made after thorough discussions with the team and the respective arrangements in the villages were swiftly made afterwards.

From the beginning, the ADATS Group made its point clear: the team was not invited to do an evaluation but was at Bagepalli as a Novib mission gaining insights in ADATS work and methods of program implementation. ADATS interpreted the notion "evaluation" in a rather narrow sense, and as a consequence of this pointed out that they did not feel the need for an investigation, eventually followed by a hand out of certificates of good conduct.

The team did not have any problem with their new assignment since it was not their intention to do an investigation in the first place. It was their feeling that, when the initial stigma of the outsider faded away after a few days, there has been inspiring atmosphere of openness where many issues could be discussed in a way partner use to do this. Given the limitations the team Members hope that their third opinion in all its modesty will prove to be of use for ADATS.

The content of this report is the responsibility of the 2 team members; however, the final reaction was written by one of them; hence, only the author can be held responsible for eventual misnomers or misunderstandings.

1.2. The evaluation: methods and techniques

The ADATS Group had not prepared a rigid scheme of visits and discussions but a tentative scheme was drafted together with the 2 Members of the evaluation team on the first 2 days of arrival. Both parties had some special requests to be taken into account. For ADATS, these were: (1) If possible, all central villages should be visited; (2) discussions should not be held in an investigative manner since people were used to the participate approach, and (3) the team Members would not be introduced as evaluators but as partners, who were asked for a third opinion on ADATS program and its way of working.

For the evaluation team the pre-conditions were: (1) separate discussions with all groups involved in ADATS operations (CWs, VLWs and target Group in Sanghas); and (2) discussion as much as possible in its natural environment, i.e. meetings at places where people usually meet.

The visits to the village cluster were planned such that as many places could be put in the program as possible. The meeting with the office Staff and CWs were held at the Bagepalli campus, with the village Staff (CW and VLWs) in the central villages and with the Sangha Members (including the volunteer cadres) in a satellite village nearby the central village.

During the planning of the working scheme, 2 to 2 ½ hours were reserved for each of the meetings in both the central village and the satellite village. Team and Staff agreed that the first set of visits (Aiavarapalli and Aachepalli) would serve as try-outs to find out if time-budget was sufficient and method of discussion was affective. The meetings in the villages would all be in the late afternoon and early evening since the Coolies had work to do during day-time.

During the try-out it soon became clear that only a few topics could be covered in such meetings. The main obstacle was the use of different languages; although the Indian team Member mastered kannada, it could not always be used since many people only spoke Telugu. As a consequence, Kannada questions had to be translated in Telugu and Telugu answers in Kannada. The Dutch team Member had to keep track of discussions by means of summaries in English. Obviously, 2 hours were too little time for such an elaborate procedure. And under time pressure there was the tendency to fall back on the short question/short answer formula in spite of previous agreements, not to do so.

Furthermore, the Sangha meetings were of a special character since they did not coincide with the usual evenings on which people had their meetings. This limited the possibilities for the team to observe usual procedures in such meetings and the way people handle their day-to-day affairs in the Sangha. Again under pressure of the language problem, there was little left of a participative approach.

After a clash between the team and the ADATS Staff during the first try-out meeting a compromise was reached; the team would limit the number of questions and broaden their scope; in this way, ADATS felt, there would be more input from the village Staff and the Sangha Member since they themselves could put their accents while formulating an answer. Unfortunately, the answers were mainly of a general character which has reduced to some extent the informative value.

In the meetings with the VLWs, the following (limited) questions were asked:

- their background and how they joined ADATS,
- the training after joining,
- the work in the villages,
- participation of women in the village Staffing,
- contacts with Left Parties, and

- their position in view of ADATS' phase-out.

During the Sangha meetings, the question were:

- general condition in the villages,
- role and affect of the Sangha: problems/benefits /strengthening them,
- the Bagepalli Coolies Sangha apex body,
- role and participation of women in Sangha
- role of Left Parties and
- their position vis-à-vis ADATS/effects of phase-out.

Although time limitations, language problems and - in general - communication gaps played in many ways tricks on the team, a rough impression of people's opinions could be derived from these sessions.

The discussions with the ADATS Group took place at the Bagepalli Campus and were quite extensive. more or less all issues in the terms of reference could be covered be it sometimes with different accents. On ADATS request, one category of questions, which was not included in the ToR, was taken up: the continuity of ADATS work in the villages.

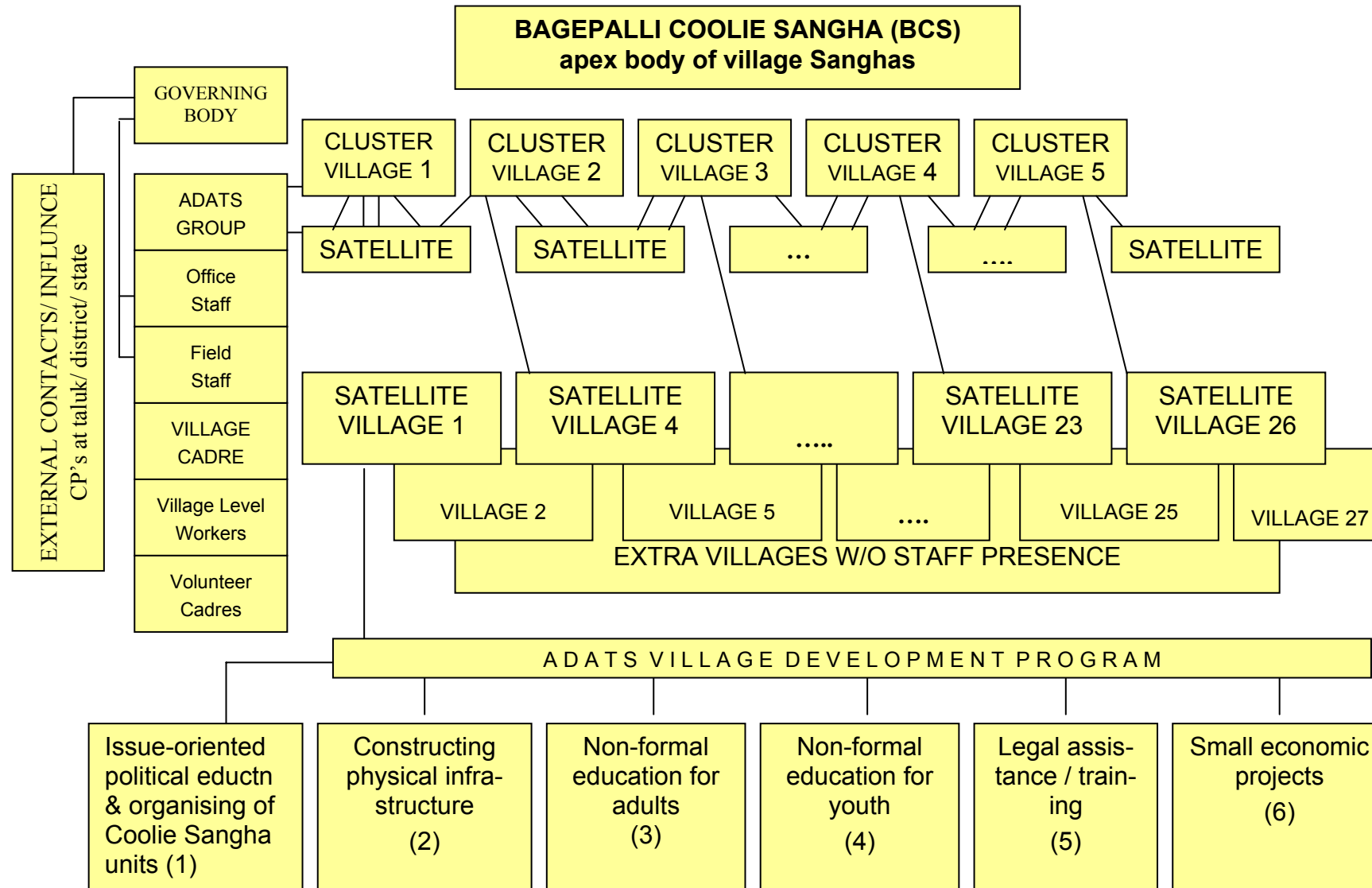
Unfortunately, time stress towards the end of the team's stay in Bagepalli demanded a change in schedules: the Billur cluster visit had to be cancelled, including the visit to the taluk secretary of the Left Parties. Instead, the team sat together with the ADATS Group to cover a number of important points which had not yet gotten the attention they deserved. Furthermore, the tentative conclusions were discussed.

As far as the collection, selection and comparison of data was concerned, the 2 team Member used part of the mornings to go through this exercise. Every previous afternoon and evening session was worked out on paper (summary of protocol) and impressions and conclusions were compared and discussed. The same was done with the final conclusions and recommendations at the end of the team's stay in Bagepalli while a final touch was given during a short meeting in Bangalore.

There, it was agreed that the Indian team Member would write the report's chapter on the socio-economic, political and cultural backgrounds, much in the same way in which he had written in special topics like short history of the communist movement in India and the legal aspects of a governing body during the team's stay in Bagepalli. It was agreed that the Dutch team Member would write the final presentation of data.

As to the evaluation report, its basic structure is derived from the comprehensive schematic view as presented below:

SCHEMATIC VIEW OF ADATS ORGANIZATION AND ITS INTER-RELATIONS



The report starts with a socio-economic, political and cultural backgrounder, followed by ADATS' analysis of these realities and its translation in goals and objectives (chapter 2 and 3).

The next chapters correspond with the 3 (separately described) parts of the schematic view: In chapter 4, the organisation is described in terms of leadership Staffing, selection procedures, Staff development, decision-making, negative factors on Staff performance and external contacts.

Chapter 5 deals with ADATS' geographical spread in the taluk and its organisation in the villages. A detailed map of the working area is presented. Furthermore, attention is given to problems which ADATS has faced in the recent past during its work in the villages and to the establishment of the Bagepalli Coolies Sangha as an apex body.

In chapter 6, ADATS program, the implementation and the present state-of-the-art is put in the spotlights. All separate parts of the program are looked in to as detailed as possible.

Although not specifically mentioned in the terms of reference the team took time to discuss with the ADATS Group the financial status of the organisation. Where needed, notes are made on the causes of under-and overspending in comparison to the original budget. These data are presented in chapter 7.

On request of the ADATS Group the issue of continuity was put on the agenda since it was not included in the ToR and was regarded as important by the Staff. The points made are summarised in chapter 8.

Last but not least, the conclusion and recommendation are summarised in chapter 9. The partial observations, opinions or conclusions as they have been presented in the various paragraphs, have been re-shuffled and presented in a logical order. Based on these conclusions, a number of recommendations have been formulated with which the evaluation report is concluded.

SCHEDULE

March 14 Monday	14:00 - 19:00	Bangalore; meeting evaluators discussion on methods and techniques
March 15 Tuesday	08:00 - 11:00 14:00	Trip to Bagepalli Informal get-together with ADATS group
March 16 Wednesday	09:00 - 13:00 15:00 - 18:00 19:00 - 21:00	Meeting ADATS Group - Planning Evaluation Meeting VLWs Aivarapalli Present at Sangha meeting chepalli (HC)
March 17 Thursday	09:00 - 10:00 10:00 - 13:00 14:00 - 18:00	Meeting ADATS Group: Planning Working Schedule Preparatory Session Evaluation Team First Working Session ADATS Group
March 18 Friday	09:00 - 13:00 14:00 - 15:00 15:00 - 18:00 19:00 - 21:00	Preparatory Session Evaluation Team Trip to Somnathpura Meeting VLW 's Somnathpura Present at Sangha Meeting Nakkalapalli
March 19 Saturday	09:00 - 13:0 17:00 - 19:30 20:00 - 22:30	Preparatory Session Evaluation Team Meeting VLWs Kondireddipalli Present at Sangha Meeting Kothakota
March 20 Sunday	09:00 - 13:00 17:00 - 18:00 19:30 - 21:30	Data-collection Evaluation Team Briefing on visit MLA Dinner with M L A
March 21 Monday	09:00 - 13:00 14:30 - 15:00 15:30 - 18:00 19:00 - 21:00	Preparatory Session Evaluation Team Trip to Nararlu Meeting VLWs Nagarlu present at Sangal meeting Byregellapalli
March 22 Tuesday	09:00 - 13:00 14:00 - 19:00	Data collection/comparison Evaluation Team Discussion with Director Ram Esteves

March 23 Wednesday	09:00 - 13:00 13:00 - 14:00 14:30 - 18:00 19:00 - 21:00 21:00 -	Preparatory session Evaluation Team Trip to Billur Meeting VLWs Billur Present at Sangha meeting Digava Thanda Dinner Left Party taluk secretary rishnamurthy
March 24 Thursday	09:00 - 13:00 14:00 - 16:00 16:00 - 19:00 20:00 - 23:00	Second working session ADATS group Preparatory sessions Evaluation Team Third working session ADATS group Discussion financial status office Staff
March 25 Friday	09:00 - 13:00 14:00 - 15:30 16:00 - 18:30	Fourth working session ADATS group Fifth (winding up) session DATS group Return trip to Bangalore
March 26 Saturday		Data comparision/conclusions & recommendations Evaluation Team

2. A SOCIO-ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUNDER ON BAGEPALLI TALUK

To be written by Alex Tuscano and to be sent to NOVIB.

3. ADATS ANALYSIS OF REALITIES AND TRANSLATION IN WORKING CONCEPTS

3.1. The Political Economy of Bagepalli Taluk

To understand ADATS approach to educational and organisational work in the villages, there is a need for clarity as to how they stand ideologically in the left movement; more in particular, how they analyse the situation in their area of operations and what consequences this has for their modes of operation.

In the standard analysis of Indian communist parties (CPs), a distinction is made between feudal lords (in Bagepalli Taluk only 3 families with huge landholdings did fit the criteria) and the peasantry.

The peasantry is seen as a united class which was organised in the *Ryot* Sangha (United Peasantry Association). The organised peasantry struggled for the last 30 years to destroy feudal landlordism and some 5 to 10 years ago, the last remnants of this antique scheme of exploitation were destroyed. From that moment onwards the CPs started using the notion peasant economy in their analysis.

As for ADATS, this Group has elaborated on the theoretical framework and could not find itself in this united peasantry notion; according to the Group Members, there is no such united peasantry but there are (1) the big peasants, (2) the middle peasants, (3) the small, marginalized peasants and (4) the poor peasants or Coolies. Furthermore, the peasant economy is in a transitory stage and economic condition in the rural areas are getting worse which makes the categories (3) and (4) grow mainly at the expense of the middle-peasantry echelon. These 4 sub classes are defined as follows:

BIG PEASANTRY:

Consists of rich peasants using a capitalist mode of production. They massively re-invest in their agricultural activities, do not work in their own land but employ and supervise wage labour, and they may or may not have caste status. (e.g. Reddies). Characteristic of this type of agri-business are intensive farming of crops with high value-added (grapes, flowers, sericulture, sugar cane, etc.), payment of relatively high wages to the workers, investment in

mechanisation and irrigation, and generally the peasants are interested in making money and not so much in caste or social status. In the last 5 years these peasants have become a new class within the peasantry.

MIDDLE PEASANTRY:

Their mode of production is of more traditional type. Re-investment of capital is beyond the capability of these farmer who usually are heavy indebted (e.g. value of landholdings of Rp. 20,000, - with debts mounting up to Rp. 60,000, - are no exceptions). They themselves and other Member of their family provide for roughly half of the required labour; for the other half of the work load, labourers (Coolies) are hired. The middle peasantry usually is sensitive when it comes to caste and social status. They are highly oppressive towards the agricultural workers which has make the villages people call them landlords.

SMALL & MARGINAL PEASANTRY:

These farmers own small parcels of land which are not big enough to support their families. About had their income is earned from the harvests of their own lands; the other 50 % is earned through Coolie work. They never employ land labourers.

POOR PEASANTRY OR COOLIES:

These people may have small parcels of land but either the size or the quality make it impossible to earn a decent income; about 90% of the family income has to come from Coolie work, sometime in combination with rural artisan like stone-cutting, maconary, carpentry, etc.

Consequently, ADATS recognises 2 main contradictions in the rural areas: the first one between the peasantry as a whole and the finance and merchant capital (represented and protected by the state), and the second one between the middle peasantry and the small marginalized and poor peasantry (Coolies).

As to the second contradiction: on the one hand the middle peasantry is exploited by finance and merchant capital. For example, to obtain a loan of say Rs. 1,500, - the bribes add up to Rs. 500, - and the average rate of interest is 12 ½ %. Hence these peasants are facing a real cost component of ± 45% to obtain the much needed loans. At the same time, prices for agricultural crops are going down (or at best stable) while the cost of farming inputs like chemical fertilisers and pesticides, irrigation equipment, etc. are speeding up under pressure of inflation.

On the other hand - partly as a consequence of the tight economic situation they are in - this middle peasantry is exploiting the agricultural labourers. They behave like landlords or even worse as compared to the traditional landlords, due to their constant fear of being pauperised and thrown into the folds of the landless. And this fear is not without grounds given the rapid growth in the number of part-time or full-time Coolies.

It is important to note that ADATS with such analysis has taken an ideological position which is in conflict with the traditional united peasantry concept of the Left Parties. In the opinion of the elderly party leaders and activists, the peasants and the Coolies should stick together and fight the exploitative economic system which is supported by the state. For most of them, the two-peasantry concept is a dangerous road in view of the much needed unity among the peasantry.

3.2. Translation of Political Economy: ADATS Goals and Objectives

In line with its perception and analysis of realities in Bagepalli taluk, ADATS has explicitly chosen to work with and for the Coolie masses. The organisation has taken the above mentioned second contradiction as its direct point of departure.

As longer-term objectives, ADATS has chosen to (1) build up a mass organisation for agricultural workers and tenant-peasant towards emancipation (humanization) such that they can identify themselves with it and (2) to enable the Coolie masses to identify themselves through their organisation-with the larger national movements and to discover and play their historical role on the national scene. As the corresponding short-term objectives, ADATS planned to (3) continue the ongoing educational and organisational activities agreed at giving the Coolie masses of Bagepalli taluk a clearer understanding of their socio-political and economic environment and a sense of confidence in their organised unity; and (4) at the same time build up the physical and human infrastructure which provides for structure and content in the Coolie Sangha by means of building community halls, training centres, meeting places and continuously ongoing cadre training.

In carrying out the organisational and educational work, ADATS has tried to blend its own two peasantry concept with the official united peasantry concept such that unity and solidarity among peasants will not be negatively influenced. This is done through the early development of the three working principles which are:

- On economics: there are contradictions between the middle peasantry and the small marginalized and poor peasantry which can only be solved through struggle;
- On social issues: there should not be allowed to create conflicts and must be directly defused when tensions build up; the aim is to maintain some sort of social neutrality;
- On politics: the unity among the peasantry must be maintained at all costs and actively propagated.

The ADATS Group is convinced that these three working principles make it possible to set up a Coolie mass organisation without disrupting unity among peasants. There is felt to be sufficient room for a Coolie Sangha next to the *Ryot* Sangha. Once established, the left movement should give guidance to such labour organization, offering leadership and clarity on wider issues while at the same time allowing Coolie representations to be formed and to function and working out labour-biased programmes at the local level.

In so far as the evaluation team has been in the exposition to judge the relevance of the analysis for ADATS work in the villages, it is felt that the two-peasantry concept is a valid and valuable tool for ADATS in its organising and educational work among the Coolie population in Bagepalli Taluk. It is helping part-time and full-time labourers to understand their daily realities as part and parcel of a specific exploitative economic system of which both they themselves and their direct oppressors (middle peasantry) are the victims. Although a lot of creativity is needed to apply the working principles, there are quite some examples of the Coolie fighting for e.g. better wages against the middle peasantry, while at the same time marching in unity to Bagepalli or Bangalore when larger issues are at stake., it is, however, still not very clear to the evaluation team how exactly the conflicts in ideological approach between ADATS and the traditionally strong Left Party in the area are defused; this is even more complicated when one takes into account the traditional hostility of Left Parties towards voluntary agencies which receive foreign financial support.

4. ADATS ORGANISATION:

LEADERSHIP, STAFFING, AND EXTERNAL CONTACTS

EXTER- NAL CON- TACTS/	GOVERNING BODY
	ADATS GROUP
	Office Staff

	Field Staff
	VILLAGE CADRE
	Village Level Workers
	Volunteer Cadres

4.1. ADATS Governing Body

According to the Indian Constitution, citizens can form societies which are to be registered under the state Registration Act. At minimum 7 persons should be Members and there is not limit to the maximum number of members. The minimum number of 7 is a legal requirement since the Governing body should consist of 7 persons; a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and 4 committee members.

The Governing Body, as the legal representation of the society is responsible for all affairs of the Society, including all projects which are implemented in her name. In the event of mismanagement, or misconduct in any of the programmes or projects, the State Government can sue the Governing Body.

In general, the General Body Members meet very often to discuss issues and take decisions. They can employ people to undertake certain tasks in the projects sponsored by the Society and can pay salaries. However, no Member of Society can get a salary from the functions in the Society. To take a decision, a quorum of 5 Governing Body Members is required.

At least once a year, the Society should have an annual general body meeting where all Members come together; to organise this, is a responsibility of the governing body. During this, the annual statement of accounts has to be presented and passed; and during the meeting all Society Members have equal status since elections will be held for office bearers and committee members. Once the new Member are elected, the governing Body can not use legal power to oust a member, unless on the proven basis of a moral failure or activities against the legally constituted Governing Body.

Within 14 days after this annual general body meeting, the minutes, the list of office bearers and committee members, and the audited statement of accounts have to be filled at the state Registrar of Societies.

A registered Society of trust is allowed to receive foreign funds. In that case, twice a year a foreign contribution regulation form has to be filled, stating the amount received and the way it will be used. Apart from this, the nature of the recipient Society has to be explained. None of the assets of the Society can be transferred to either individuals in the Society or other persons; when operations are stopped, these assets must be transferred to an organisation with similar goals and objectives.

As for as ADATS is concerned it complies *de jure* with the legal requirements. But in practice, the situation looks different. During the very first meeting of the constituting governing Body it was decided that ADATS operations would be under the collective responsibility of the Staff Group. Just being a Member of the Body should not give anyone special powers or privileges. As a consequence the Governing Body is a bogus structure in practice and only exists for legal purposes. They don't meet officially and all legally required actions and documents (meetings, minutes, elections, financial statement, etc.) are handled by a friendly lawyer in Bangalore; the formal Members of the Governing Body put their signature and that's it.

The present Members of ADATS Governing Body are:

1.	Ram Esteves	President & Project Director
2.	Pradeep Esteves	Treasurer
3.	I. Chandramouli	Secretary
4.	K. Alexander	Member (Indian Social Institute)
5.	G. Sathyamurthy	Member (Director of Rural development project in Pavagada taluk, Tumkur district, Karnataka)
6.	V.J. Thomas	Member Student of St. Joseph's College, Bangalore
7.	K. Khasim Peera	Member Director of Rural Development Project in Rayadurg Taluk, Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh

4.2. ADATS Staff: the Group and the Village Cadre

The ADATS Group consists of 7 Staff members: 2 of them are working at the Bagepalli office (campus) and the other 5 operate as Community Workers (CWs) in the central villages from where they spread out over some 28 titillate villages one central village and corresponding satellite villages form a cluster.

All satellite villages have (roughly) 1 village – level worker (VLWs 30 in total). These VLWs are supported by volunteer cadres who are activists villagers: they get training and from more or less the village core groups and make up the backbone of ADATS organizing and educational work. Their number is about 180.

Based on this human capital ADATS is running its operations.

The actual task performance of the Staff and village cadres looks as follows:

Ram Esteves is the project director and carries (officially) the final responsibility for all ADATS operations: as has been the argued before, the Staff works with a collective responsibility. He takes care of office matters like correspondence, part of the financial affairs and the external contacts. He further coordinators the work with is the programme components. And is facilitator/trainer during Staff development session at the various levels.

Pradeep Esteves is the treasurer accountant, secretary of ADATS. He assist the project director in matters of book-keeping, financial affairs and administrative work. Apart from this, he is responsible for planning, implementing and supervising the ongoing efforts to make the Bagepalli office financially self-relevant through small income-generating projects at the campus.

The 5 Community Workers are the Group leaders at the villages cluster level. They conduct meetings, back-up CSU –meeting when needed, and contributes to the training of VLWs and volunteer cadres. Often they are asked by the villagers to do Panchayat on conflicts (ombudsman-work) which is important to keep unity in the CSUs. and whenever CSUs want to take up complicated issues (e.g. land disputes) they do the needed research work and act as liaisons towards officials. Last but not least they are responsible for program expansion and establishing the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha (BCS) as an apex body for all Coolie Sangha Units (CSUs) in the villages. Through proper training of their VLWs it has been possible to hand over the responsibility of day-to-day activities to these grassroots workers.

COMMUNITY WORKERS

Nagarlu	B.N. Manjunath
Aiavarapalli	Shivashankar Reddy
Billur	Venugopal
Somnathpura	Aswatha Reddy

Kondireddipalli

Venkataramappa

When looking at mutations in Staffing (see Annexe I) there is a high turnover in people coming and going. Covering the full period of ADATS operations from 1978 up to now, all in all 23 people were involved in one way or another. Of the original 10 Community Workers who started up ADATS (including Khasim Peera's wife Suryakumari), only 4 people are still involved (Ram and Pradeep Esteves, Manjunath and Venkataramappa) in 1979. 2 new people joined which are still within ADATS at present (Venugopal and Shivashankar) and one joined in June 1982 (Aswatha Reddy). Apart from these, starting up ADATS, and these who are still working with ADATS, a total number of 10 Community Workers came and went over time. According to the ADATS Group this is due to the strict selection procedure.

The 30 villages level workers (VLWs perform a number of tasks, there by assisted by volunteer cadres (.) conducting classes for children and adults (which includes the ActionAid sponsorship Programme), (.) monitoring CSU meeting (.) conducting cultural activities, (.) assisting CSUs in taking up issues, (.) supervising and healthcare a referral system, and (.) acting as a communications link and liaison between the villages population and ADATS including their other Group within the left movement.

VILLAGE LEVEL WORKERS

AIAVARAPALLI CLUSTER

01.	Yellampalli (MV)	Laxminarasimhappa	12
02.	Yellampalli (HC)	Lakshmipathi Reddy	5
03.	Muguchinapalli	Chowdappa	8
04.	Sapprampalli	Narasimhappa	4
05.	Nallamallepalli	Vendataramaiah	2

LAGUMADDEPALLI CLUSTER

06.	Lagumaddepalli	Krishnappa	2
07.	Aachepalli (HC)	Venkataswamy	16
08.	Aachepalli	Aswatha Reddy	3
09.	Maravapali Thanda		3
10.	Aiavarapalli		3
11.	Shandavarampalli	Ramappa	3

KONDIREDIPALLI CLUSTER

12.	Kondireddipalli	Krishna Reddy	14
13.	Kothakota	Nagaraj	8

SOMNATHPURA CLUSTER

14.	Seegalapalli	Krishna Reddy	1
15.	Nakkalapalli	Shivanna	5
16.	Somnathpura	L. Nanjundappa	7
17.	Boodalapalli	Chandra	3
18.	Jelipigaripalli	Nanjundappa	5
19.	Jelipigaripalli Thanda	Shivarama Reddy	2

NAGARLU CLUSTER

20.	Nagarlu	Venkatesh & Muniyappa	11
21.	Byrepalli	Ramappa	5
22.	Byregollapalli	Venkatarayappa	3

BILLUR CLUSTER

23.	Billur (MV)	Narasimha Reddy & Khaleel	3
24.	Billur (HC)	Narayana	2
25.	Boyipallii	Adimusthy	3
26.	Mekavalappalli	Krishnamurthy Raju	2
27.	Egava Thanda	Narasimha Naik	2
28.	Mallepalli	Krishnamurthy	!
29.	Digaava Thanda	Hanume Naik	2

TOTAL NUMBER OF VLWS	30
No. of volunteer cadres in extra villages	40
TOTAL NO. OF VOLUNTEER CADRES	180

4.3. Selection Procedure for Staff and Village Level Workers

The selection procedure for Community Workers is as follows

1. Informal contact for at least one month (sometimes even 2 or 3) to get acquainted with the ADATS Staff and their modes of operation: if still eager to join after this period, they are regarded as a serious candidate;
2. The candidates is invited to stay 7 to 10 days at the ADATS campus in Bagepalli followed by a period of 1 ½ to 2 months in one of the village clusters in a team-up arrangement with the Community Workers;
3. After an evaluation of the ADATS Group on the functioning of the candidate (without him/her being present) the Group and the candidate decide jointly whether to go on or not;
4. Selection is followed by a probation time which ranges from 3 to 6 months. If this works out well, the probation status will be changed into a full-fledged membership of the ADATS Group.

The selection procedure for village level workers is of a somewhat different nature; the VLWs are officially appointed by the CW out of the Coolie ranks with participation of the village population. Important criteria are: acceptance by the villagers, the level of education (minimally literate), and a basic level of consciousness. The selection is based on consensus among the village population by means of one or more CSU meetings. The same people have the right to suspend the VLW when he/she does the function properly (which has happened only once). It is a policy of ADATS to have VLWs operate in their native villages since quality of task performance is closely geared to a detailed knowledge of the village situation.

Since the volunteer cadres do not have a Staff position and receive no salary or stipend from ADATS, there is no selection procedure involved. However, an invitation from ADATS to participate in the training seminars is mainly based on the level of participation in village programmes (CSU involvement, mobilisations) and an eagerness to learn. Literacy is not a requirement for the training.

A striking fact, when looking at the field Staff (CWs and VLWs), is the near total absence of women in the ADATS ranks. Apart from Suryakumari (wife of CW Khasim Peera) who worked as a CW in Lagumaddepalli from the start in 1978 up to March 1980, there have not been other official CW assignments for women. The same is true among the VLW-ranks. Only among the volunteer cadres (not official Staff) about 4 trainees have been taken in recently. ADATS has up to now not made it a policy to bring any balance in its ranks in terms of women's participation at the Staff-level.

4.4. Efforts in Staff Development: Type and Frequency of Training

- 1) the CWs have their weekly Saturday meeting at Bagepalli campus which is partly used for evaluating the work done and planning the activities ahead; but for the other part the meeting has a training character both in the sense of theoretical study/discussion and in the sense of practical skills like management and communication. The ADATS Group regards these Saturday meetings as sacred and will only allow disruption in extreme cases.

- 2) the VLWs have their weekly cluster-level meeting with the respective CWs. like in the case of the CWs these meeting are used both for matters pertaining to the ongoing work and for political training. Again these meetings are seen as essential for a growth in The work performance of VLWs and will not easily be skipped from the agenda. Only in Somnathpura this cycle of meetings was interrupted from March up to November 1981 the reason being that the acting CW Suryanarayana Reddy was incompetent when it came to working with groups. The VLWs sort of boycotted him and only after the new CW Marappa Reddy took over, it could be started again.
- 3) the VLWs have their monthly meeting (about 10 times a year) at Bagepalli campus: most of the time these training are handled by ADATS Group. In the beginning (first 3 years) outsiders were invited to give these training but this turned out to be rather ineffective. At the moment no outside resource persons are invited and in case non-ADATS persons attend and participate in these meetings, they mostly come from the left movement at the local or district level.
- 4) For the (non-Staff) voluntary cadres regular training session are held by the CWs in cooperation with the VLWs at the cluster-level. As a follow up of there regular meetings, specific sessions are held at Bagepalli campus with longer intervals: usually, such training take some days and are given by the office Staff.

All training are of participatory character; active involvement is regarded more important than passive listening. Important effects of these training at various levels are said to be (1) the fact that people start feeling part of group/movement, (2) the theoretical level of political awareness is growing, and (3) the participatory approach has a positive effect on the communication skills of participants.

According the project director the ADATS Staff Members at the various levels are ideological clear, although there are quite some differences in the level of articulation among people. Such differences are usually confusing for outsiders, since very often the skill to articulate is automatically equalised to being ideologically clear in the mind.

4.5. Decision Making in ADATS

Decision –making within ADATS is characterized by its collective approach as has been written earlier, the Governing Body is de-facts replaced by ht Group made up on the Bagepalli office Staff and the Community Workers. Their weekly meeting are the forum in which decisions are made.

The same is true for the village-level workers which use their weekly village levels meetings for this purpose.

The decision-making itself follows the consensus procedure, everyone agreeing to postpone decision when there is no consensus (to buy for more discussions with dissidents) than to go for majority voting. The ADATS Group does not go along with the suggestion that the project directors is a dominant factor in decision-making at the cost of democratic participation of the others. Everyone has a say ;in the decision making procedures and agreement on issues is not based on the weight of the person defending proposals but on the quality of his argument. Whenever the project director is talking nonsense it will be made clear to him that it is nonsense, as is done with everyone in a similar case.

The collective decision making structure within ADATS is strongly protected by the Staff Member and no dissident attitudes will be allowed to slip in. according to the project directors, a new Community Worker would be asked to leave if he disagrees with the present form of decision-making.

It is the general feeling among the Staff Members that this formula works well, and given the limited outlook of ADATS as a society, closing down in a few years time, no need is felt to change procedures.

4.6. Negative Factors and Influence on Staff Performance

From the start of ADATS operations in 1978 up to mid-1980 opposition to their work was of a petty character. ADATS Staff was looked upon as a Group of workers without or with only little political ambitions. There were instance at the local level e.g. with sub-inspectors of police, revenue official accountants, extension Staff of the Block Development office (BDO) supervisor of the Public Works Department (PWD) government school teachers, etc. where frictions never grew beyond the village- issue level (mostly fights against corruption and for Coolie rights)

however there friction started escalating after the RSS (Rashtriya Swayam Sevak) moved into Bagepalli taluk. The RSS is a sort of Hindu-sectarian Group faction, is anti- Christian, Harijan since these people are seen as non-Hindus, and for them, non-people. In short, the RSS got its stronghold in the National College of Bagepalli, and educational institute which was established in 1980.

At the moment, ADATS was the weekend link in the local left movement sympathetic to the Left Parties and the *Ryot Sangha* and it therefore is hardly surprising that ADATS became the central focus of their agitation. This has been true in the case of individuals Staff Members and for ADATS program in the villages. In this section only cases against ADATS Staff Member will be mentioned. Similar cases against ADATS program in the villages will be dealt with later.

- 1) in march 1981 all ADATS Staff Members were asked to pay a security deposit to the Tahsildar and to sign a bond of good behaviour; the legal base for this artificial action was the Gunda Act/section 11107 which usually is used against rowdies in the market place. ADATS got it stayed after challenging it in high court, which after hearing the case was quashed.
- 2) a number of cases were filed against CWs individually based on charges that these people were inciting villagers to destruct public property, to disturb peace, etc. for example, Members of local Coolie Sangha units have decided that a bore should be put in the water well to augment water production; while dismantling part of the stone wall to make construction possible, a case was filled against them for dismantling part of the stone wall to make construction possible a case was filed against them for dismantling public property. Largely the same procedure was followed when villagers decided to repair the government community hall; when they were busy taking broken doors and window frames to the local carpenter, they had case filed against them.
- 3) July 17, 1981, the community hall in Yellampalli was put to fire and burned down; this happened after a period of escalating violence against the CWs organised by a cognise of the local police, the RSS, some Congress-1, politicians and few tarale. Unable to stand the pressure of constant harassment, the CW (M.S. Nagaraj) left the village thus considerably weak CSUs in all cluster villages. Moreover, the initial success of chasing out an ADATS CW led to an intensification of harassments in other villages where ADATS-Staff was working.
- 4) On November 9, 1981, an exterminate case was started based on charges of anti-social, anti-national and anti-government behaviours. At first the charges were filed against the project director who should be extend from Kolar District for a period of 2 years. later on, all ADATS Staff Member plus a number of other villagers (Left Parties officials) were included. The first hearing was on March 13, 1982 and a second

one took place on August 14, 1982. Due to the elections to be held in January 1983, the process was slowed down and after election, all cases against farmers (at state level) were withdrawn. It is expected that the externment case against the ADATS Staff will be definitely withdrawn by the state-government in April 1983.

- 5) In August 1982, a case filed by the (previous) Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) at the Registrar of Societies, charging ADATS for being involved in illegal activities, channelling funds to the communist party to be used for political purposes. After an investigation the case was dropped out to lack of evidence.

It goes without saying that from the beginning of 1981 onwards up to January 1983 when elections were held, the ADATS Staff has operated in an officially hostile environment which certainly has not worked out positive on their work performance.

4.7. ADATS External Contacts: Content and Impact

When looking at the political contacts of ADATS with the local communist party (Left Parties) one must realise that ADATS did not start in a politically virgin territory: in many villages there has been a longstanding relationship with the Left Parties through the *Ryot Sangha*. The taluk is traditionally divided into two blocks: the congress-I and the Communist block. If you are not communist, you are congress and vice-versa without a third way out.

For the village population, the choice for the communist party is not so much an ideological one but has to do with pragmatism and loyalty and admiration for personalities. The pragmatism has to do with the fact that according to the ADATS group- there is absolutely no honest Congress-I Member in the whole of Bagepalli taluk; as far as the Left Parties are concerned this seems to be different and, when backed up by such a party, it is easier to get a bigger share in e.g. the Drought Relief funds. As far as loyalty and admiration is concerned towards the Left Parties members, the population has not forgotten that these people have been involved in the struggle against feudalism and imperialism for over 30 years, often taking great personal risks.

As for ADATS the relationship is first of all based on the individual political ideology of the Staff members. Moreover, for most of them there has been a strong personal relationship from childhood onwards with local Left Parties members.

Specially during the beginning of ADATS operations these contacts were a big help; after all, these people were about the only ones in the area with an analytical mind with whom political issues could be properly discussed.

A second consideration is the one of protection against attacks of their opposition, and the fact that effectiveness improves when ADATS can get support of the Left Parties members. There are many examples where ADATS would have been in great troubles if they would not have been backed up. One of these issues is the externment case against ADATS Staff.

The improved effectiveness can also be measured from a number of examples, specially when it comes to planning and implementations of political actions like mobilising people or taking up tenancy issues.

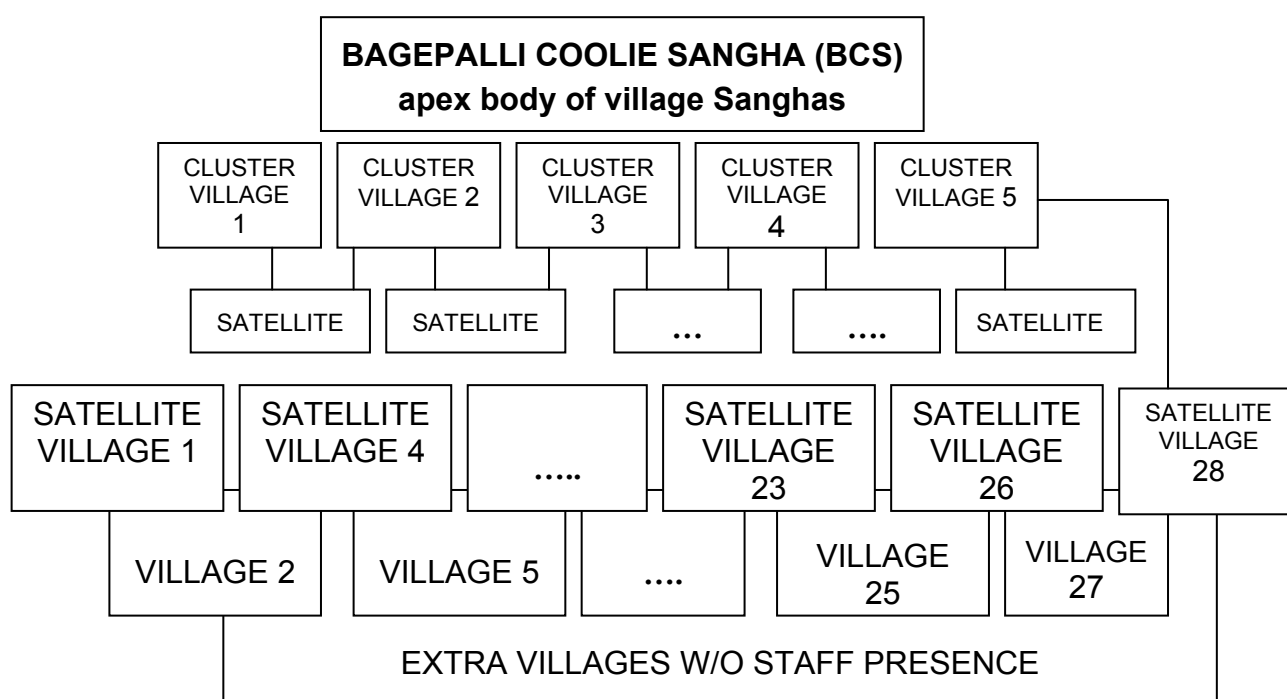
A third consideration from ADATS' side has to do with the relevance of its work in a larger context; the Coolie Sangha units and its apex body- the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha- might become a lasting factor in the people's struggle and become part of the overall left movement.

When asked, the ADATS Group denied that there was either an official or an unofficial tie-up with any political party (including the Left Parties). but there is very good relation when it came to the work; in the villages. The ADATS Members are not looked upon as disruptionalist and usually get the Left Parties support. No one of the ADATS Members could think of any disadvantage in these working contacts.

As far as the evaluation team is concerned, it is near to impossible to comment sensibly on this issue. On the one hand there have been many instances where the ADATS Staff had contacts with Left Parties members. The taluk secretary of the party was several times at the ADATS campus and has invited the team for dinner (cancelled due to lack of time) and a similar invitation came from the newly elected Left Parties Member of the legislative Assembly (cancelled due to lack of time on his side). Hence, the relationship is of a fraternal character in spite of the conflicting views on the peasantry issue and in spite of the fact that ADATS is a voluntary agency supported by the foreign funds. Most important in this respect seems to be that the ADATS operations profit from this support. As such there is little room for objection or reservations against this type of symbiotic living apart together.

5. ADATS FIELD WORK: ORGANISATIONAL SET-UP AND GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD

5.1. Schematic View of the Organisational Set Up of Field Work



This partial scheme indicates both the geographical set up and the organization structure of ADATS work in the villages.

First of all, there are the central villages, located along side the main road where the CWs are living and working. Spread around these central villages are the so called satellite villages which form clusters and which each have a VLW at their disposal. In the villages these VLWs are assisted by the volunteer cadres. Each village has a Sangha (CSU) in which the Coolies have organised themselves and in which all matters pertaining to village development are discussed. According to plans, all these Sangha are represented in an apex body called the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha.

5.2. Cluster-wise Organisation of Central and Satellite Villages

At the start of ADATS operations. All villages in the present program were selected except for Billur cluster which came in at the end of 1979. The main criteria for selection were a

high Coolie segment among the village population, mainly Harijans; if possible the central village of the cluster should be close though any main road to void transportation and communication problems; and the geographical spreading should be contiguous such that initially the whole area can be covered (3 hoblis out of the 5 in the Taluk.)

Much along the same lines, expansion in the number of villages is pursued; in that case, additional criteria are used like: existing natural lines between villages in terms of working habits of the Coolies and their shopping habits. Furthermore, the curiosity of youth plays an important role; many of them attend meetings in central villages which give an opportunity to discussions lie at the basis of starting night classes in new villages.

Apart from the 28 organised villages, ADATS Staff has some influence in a number of other villages which are not yet taken officially into the organisational structure but where a solid breeding ground is available to start a program. There are however not yet enough VLWs would cover the additional villages. In line with this projection, 3 more community halls, reps. houses cum offices had been planned.

The expansion did not materialise, i.e. no formal expansion took place. In this respect, ADATS' arguments were a bit ambiguous. In first instance, the Staff Group argued that the inclusion of geographical – and Staff expansion was rather premature; By that time there were still 7 CWs and co-incidentally those CWs who left were all supporters of the expansion. For those who stayed the matter was not at all the logical. A bigger Group would, in their opinion, automatically mean more internal rivalries and politicking, while at the same time, co-ordination problems would grow bigger. Apart from that, real committed Staff Members were difficult to contract.

However, informally expansion did take place in the number of villages where ADATS had influence; but these new villages were added to existing clusters. All in all 18 such villages were added to existing clusters. All in all 18 such villages were added without contracting more CWs or VLWs. according to the Staff, the prospects of successful work in these villages are good. Although the existing Staff had to do the work, in 11 out of the 18 villages, CSUs have been set up and all in all 40 volunteer cadres are in training.

Apart from this expansion, there are 3 Panchayat (altogether 19 villages) in Guler Hobli (north west part of Bagepalli Taluk) where people have shown a keen interest to form CSUs and join eventually the Bagepalli Collie Sangha.

In spite of these positive developments, it still is to be seen how serious there candidate-villages are it should not be forgotten that ADATS has been identified over time as an organisation which runs children's education programmes in the villages from which material benefits might accrue. Now that ActionAid has officially announced its phase-out as ADATS partner and that as a consequence no new children can be accepted in the sponsorship program, some potential village might drop-put.

According to the evaluation team, ADATS lack of interest in expanding the CWs team is not so difficult to understand. In the first year of its partnership with Novib, some good CWs left for various reasons and in the meantime, tensions quickly built up in the working area. Replacement of these CWs was not too successful; new candidates did not last long (see Annexe I; turnover along CWs) and the attractiveness of ADATS as employer deteriorated quickly. Under these circumstances the question may well be valid whether it was a free choice at all of ADATS not to expand the number of CWs and VLWs since such possibilities had become quite limited.

Looking at the near future, however, one wonders how the work lead ahead can be handled without an expansion in Staff; if the villages in the ADATS clusters are to be consolidated, and if the extra villages demand more attention, and if the work connected to the establish-

ment of the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha really starts demanding a lot of Staff – time (which it will, when seriously undertaken) than the evaluation team does not really see how all this could be handled by the 7 Members of the ADATS Group and the 30 VLWs. during the discussion with the ADATS Group, no remarks weremad3e which hinted at an expansion in personnel.

On the map under heading 5.3., the geographical spreading of ADATS clusters has been indicated including all cluster villages and the extra villages where ADATS has no VLWs under contract.

5.4. ADATS Work in the Political Context of the Villages

Not only the Staff of ADATS has felt the pressure for the opposition (see Para 4.6); the same is true for their work in the villages. Some example of such opposition are given below:

(1) YELLAMPALLI: In the period of January/February 1981 a problem had arisen, popularly referred to as the water tap issue

The opposition (RSS, some Congress-1 leaders and the police) managed successfully to let the issue escalated into a full fledged caste issue (Harijans versus caste people). The deputy Superintendent of Police, assigned in the subdivision of Chickballapur which covers 4 Taluks including Bagepalli taluk, was an RSS-man. The circle-inspector of Bagepalli taluk was a Harijan with little contrail offer his subordinates and apart from that – took little interest in the issue and showed little courage. The deputy superintendent gave direct support to a sub-inspector at Bagepalli, covering him whenever harassment operations would run out of hand; in fact, this sub-inspector could rule the Taluk with this backing.

By shrewd politicking, the RSS could get the support from some Congress-1 elements.

Between February and July 1981, there was a constant harassment of ADATS Staff by police forces out of which rape issues were the most nasty ones. Liquor was distributed among Harijans which created a to of full during Sangha meetings; Harijans colonies were stoned once the petromax light was lighted to start the meetings and evening classes. Rape threats made it to a growing extent impossible for CWs and VLWs to go to meetings at night and for about 2 months all classes had to be fully stopped. Furthermore, all moves of the ADATS Staff were monitored by the police. Except for the central office at the campus in Bagepalli, all other places were raided without warrant and lots of materials (a/o. song books) were taken away under the pretext of being incriminating evidence. The general aim was to create tension and a feeling of insecurity and they fully succeeded since everyone of the ADATS Staff started feeling surrounded.

The harassment culminated in the burning down 9iof the community hall in Yellampalli on July 17, 1981; it was planned by the RSS and some powerful Congress-I peasants and executed by a Group of drunkards. The Caw of Yellampalli, M.S. Nagaraja, moved away from the village in spite of fanatic efforts of his co-Staff to stay in the face of such violence. His departure was a big drawback for ADATS people lost confidence and in nearly all cluster villages, the Sangha became very weak. In spite of this, only one village was lost; Varadayagarepalli. But the opposition success in chasing out an ADATS CW invited for an expansion of violence in other cluster villages as well.

Lagumaddepalli: Tarale people with assistance from police and RSS started harassing the Harijans and the wife of ADATS CW Shivashankar. In this village, the police came up with a *Selapathi* scheme which existed from –/+ August 1981 to early 1982. In its essence it as something of a Para police force with limited powers, but with uniforms, sticks and a stipend to maintaining law and order. They got a training. After about six months, an outcry of dis-

gust among the village population stopped the experiment. By the way, this experiment only took place in Lagumaddepalli; every where else it was condemned by the village population.

The effects for ADATS operations in the area of Yellampalli and Lagumaddepalli were:

Classes were stopped by physical means (under the pretence that they had the power to do so) in Yellampalli Muguchinnapalli, Nallampalli, Sapprapalli, Lagumaddepalli Varadaragepalli and Shankavarampalli.

Member of the Coolie Sangha were attached on their lands where their harvest were forcibly taken away (looting cases during period August '81 to early 1982):

The Lagumaddepalli community hall was literally pushed down and erased to the ground in November 81.

Under pressure of physical threats, the village population shifted the CW and his wife from Lagumaddepalli to Aiavarapalli where they have settled now. in the process their baby died.

Nagarlu; this village does not have a left tradition for them, police atrocities are mainly events at the local level (if known by the higher ups, they would stop it). an attempt to set on fire the community hall in January 1982 by the Muslim youngster (son of a big contractor in the village; he was caught with the torch in his hands. That same night, the villagers threw out the whole family. The retaliations from the official side was quite strong; 5 villages were boycotted (in 3 of them ADATS had set up Sangha) government programmes were cancelled (Janata houses construction, IRDP program on Panchayat level drought Relief work, street-light construction, etc.). although it delayed ADATS work it certainly strengthened the movement; people vowed never to vote Congress-I or Janata anymore.

Somnathpura: congress I and police infiltrated the Harijan colony; there was change of CW: Sathyamurthy left on February 1981; Suryanarayana came and left in October 1981; after him Marappa Reddy came and lasted for about 2 months. The program continuity got completely lost. In the meantime infiltration continued, 4 Harijans (traditional leaders and drunkards were given passes for free-drinking in the liquor shops (arrack shops) these 4 controlled largely the 46 houses and families in the colony.

Another drawback was the fact that CW Sathyamurthy had taken with him most of the VLWs (good people, well trained). Only one, Shiva came back after 2 months.

The land-issue between the stone-cutters and Harijans (report 3/p.4-+) which was settled by a Panchayat between the 2 CSUs, was revived again and physical clashes started.

The fire in Nakkalapalli was a frame-up between congress-I elements, police officials and the 4 drunkards (Harijans). Except for Somnathpura villages itself, the influence of Congress I did not spread to other villages in the cluster.

As a result of all this the construction work got delayed; partly this was due to delay tactics from the officialdom papers for alienation of revenue land to Panchayat house site were delayed: licenses for building were given but revoked afterwards: police confiscated building implements (even now they still are in the police station); and about RS. 5000,worth of building materials were sold straight of the construction site by the 4 Harijans (drunkards). Due to protection of the police nothing could be done against this. Only aft4r the elections in January '83, about Rs 4000 worth of material could be recovered.

Billur by the dame tactics as described above (except for robbery of building materials). But in this village there is a quite shrewd congress-I personality who did not allow the police to jump on the Coolie Sangha Members in order not to alienate them as has happened elsewhere. Instead, a campaign was started to discredit CW, VLWs and volunteer cadres. Example 150 Coolies walked 32 kms to Bagepalli to demand relief works in August '82, the block development office and the public works department agreed to start the work next day as was

said by the executive engineer. The people went back to their villages but nothing happened for 10 days. Then, all Members of the Taluk Development Board and the Block Development office came to the village to explain what had happened: however, we have pity with you so tomorrow we'll start the work. And the work did start! the Billur Congress I has worked very shrewdly to create split between Coolie Sangha units and between Members of CSUs (ex. The distribution of Janata house was some differently than suggested by the CSUs). (but they lost the January 5 elections!).

Kondireddipalli was largely left out of these troubles.

What has been said about the problems of ADATS Staff individually and as a Group, is true as well for their work in the villages; the organised harassment have done a lot of damage to the implementation of ADATS program and caused considerable delays.

5.5. The Bagepalli Coolie Sangha as an Apex Body of the CSUs

according to the original plans, ADATS would set up an apex body of Sangha, The Bagepalli Coolie Sangha, as part of the consolidation efforts and the phase-out of ADATS itself. In the project proposal, the establishment of this BCS was foreseen to take place in the period mid-1982 to mid-1983.

The BCS should be a taluk body, representing the labourers in the CSUs. in the words of ADATS Staff: Accentral body that makes possible the translation of larger economic demands into reality. It will also enable the Coolies and their CSUs to translate their aspirations for political identity and their struggle against political domination into practice by giving a homogenous call and leadership on political issues. This is not to say that The BCS will enter into the spheres of electoral politics; it will be a mass organisation and not a political party or organisation.

As a mass organisation, BCS will have 2 objectives: firstly to raise the political consciousness of its members, and secondly, to solve the day-to day economic problems they face.

As to the functions visualized by the ADATS members, the following aspects came out in the discussions:

- to bring about unity among all Coolies in the taluk;
- to rely the support of the sympathizers and will wishes of the Coolies;
- to support the local level issues of individual CSUs
- to mediate between CSUs in issues that threaten inter-CSU unity;
- to coordinate functions between different CSUs:
- to analyse and take decisions on questions relating to political unity;
- to take up political training and maintain a high level of political consciousness among the Coolies;
- to fight the forces that threaten the unity of CSUs;
- to represent Taluk-level Coolies issues to various government agencies at the district and state-level;
- to represent The Taluks Coolies at district and state-level bodies, meetings and conferences.

In the foregoing, terms like would should, and could are constantly used; this is so since at the moment, the BCS still is very much of a paper issue and no concrete steps have yet been taken to formally establish this apex body.

The reasons for the delay are mainly to be found in the institutional violence let loose on ADATS from early 1981 up to the end of 1982. According to ADATS the harassment from

the combination ruling party police forces made it impossible to involve the organised Coolies in the villages into open discussion on the BCS its relevance, formation, role and functions, etc. and in their view, the formal constitution of the BCS with elected Members from the respective CSUs would have been meaningless, unless all Coolies at the village level had a fair idea as to the need and importance of such an apex body.

But in spite of the problems, the ADATS Group was able to conduct elections in the 30 CSUs at the end of 1982; one person for every 10 Members was elected, their main mission being to form the BCS. And in spite of the repression, ADATS was able to continue to a large extent its cadre training and political awareness building activities, be it in very which was neither formal nor open.

Now, after the elections of January 1983 and the subsequent changes in State Government plus the dismissal of police cases, serious efforts have been done by ADATS to re-start procedures.

3 rounds of cadre training have been planned out of which 1 had already taken place from February 13 to March 10; cluster wise, the entire village cadre (VLWs and volunteer cadres: + 200 people) undergone a 3 days training and political education the order 2 training will take place reps. In April and in May.

Content-wise, the agenda for the 3 meetings looks as follows; (1) During the first training the main topic of discussion was the political economy of Bagepalli with special attention for the relationship poverty-private property; (2) According to planning the topic for the second round in April will be united peasantry versus ADATS two- peasantry line and the economic, social and political working principles which are the result of the contradiction; and (3) the third training round in May will be a preparatory session in view of a big, decision-making meeting which will start in June /July and which will deal with matters pertaining to the establishment of the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha. Topics will be the phase-out of the funding element in ADATS programs, including the sponsorship program with in a strictly time bound period, the consequences for CWs and VLWs. and the question how to finance the constitution of the work. Furthermore the relationship ADATS/CSU/BCS will be on the agenda;

The big June /July meeting with all 180 cadres present will start off discussions on the form, role, functions and start of the BCS on the Taluk level; this will be the first time that such discussions will be (and can be) held collectively.

The BCS should evolve out of this series of monthly meetings which will be conducted in a participatory manner for 2 or 3 days. At the background of these meetings is ADATS conviction that the BCS at the taluk level is not in the culture of the Coolies which gives a special responsibility to ADATS during the first formative years in terms of popularising the concept of a taluk body.

From the discussions with the ADATS Group on the VCS, some other interesting aspects came up which give some insights in the way these Staff Members look at this process:

(*) CWs and VLWs will be Members of the BCS but should avoid at all cost to dominate the body or even create the impression of doing so. For example; if a CSU-Member who is elected in the BCS would not attend the BCS meetings regularly, he should not be part of the BCS. However, action should be taken to correct or out such representatives by the Coolies at the CSU-level they must understand the importance of well functioning representatives and enforce discipline. ADATS should never allow itself to become a discipline-enforcing element in the BCS,

(*) After settling the BCS-membership during the first 2 or 3 months, elections could be held to form a 7 Member committee to which the various identified responsibilities can be entrusted. In such election, the ADATS Group will have voting right equal to any other Coolie

Member. However, the secretary of the BCS should be nominated from the ADATS Group ranks with the approval of a majority of BCS-Members. Every effort should be made to strive for democratic unanimity in both The nomination and acceptance of the secretary since this will be a very delicate role. The secretary will have overall responsibility for ensuring that the monthly meeting and training are held, that the decisions of the BCS meetings are implemented, etc. he or she will be a full time working Members of the committee.

(*) Although decisions on how the CSUs and its Members should contributed financially to the BCS will have to be taken by the Members of there body, a few tentative ideas have been discussed in terms of possible outcome.

A levy equal to 2-day wages (RP. 6to 10,) will be to the local CSUs to be used e.g. for training purpose since the BCS will charge the CSUs a/o. for board and lodging when training are held at the Bagepalli campus; furthermore the levy would cover costs of communication materials like production of handbills, posters, etc.

Depending on the decision of the BCS to be independent or to join the KKS (Karnataka Krishi Karmika Sangha=Karnataka Agricultural workers Association) a membership fee of RP, 0, 50 will be paid by all CSU Members. According the standard procedures, 50% of the fees will go to the local CSU, 25% to the Taluk-level organisation (BCS) and 12,5%for both the Kolar District level and the State level.

This way, basic expenditure of the BCS could be covered at the program-level. The salaries and stipends of ADATS Staff and field workers are not included since they should take care of this themselves.

In spite of the initiatives to re-activate the procedures toward the establishment of the BCS, one should, however, not expect miracles. A number of problems will have to be solved before a full- fledged formal status of BCS (and the supporting CSUs) can be obtained.

A first set of problems is to be found in Indian rules and regulations. Although the BCS will function as formally as possible it will probably not be a registered body unless these problems are solved; there is no provision for registering an agricultural workers organisation under the existing Trade Unions Act; and even when this could be solved, BCS association with ADATS – an organisation receiving foreign funds – invites problems under the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act; in this act it is explicitly prohibited to channel foreign funds into political parties or political purposes directly or indirectly, Although this is not the case with ADATS, such laws makes the organisation vulnerable, hence solution have to be found first.

A second problem is the general political climate; although that climate may be relatively favourable at present, is felt that these BCS must maintain a low-key profile until the majority of the Taluks Coolies are organised into the CSUs and until there is a fairly high level of political maturity in the CSUs and the BCS. Programme like Coolie conferences fo4re instance, would attract the att3ention of political parties and Government and should, therefore be avoided. It is regarded for more important to broaden the mass- base in the villages and build-up the BCS politically than to show one's muscle prematurely.

The evaluation team has little problem in understanding why the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha has not yet come out of its starting blocks. The team agrees with ADATS view what it would have been unwise to go in such important venture in the face of substantial official harassment. such body is useless indeed, when not the maximum number of CSU – Members could have participated in the preparatory discussions, the planning and the actual establishment of th4e apex body. And evidence is abundant that such procedure would be extremely difficult and risky to set up.

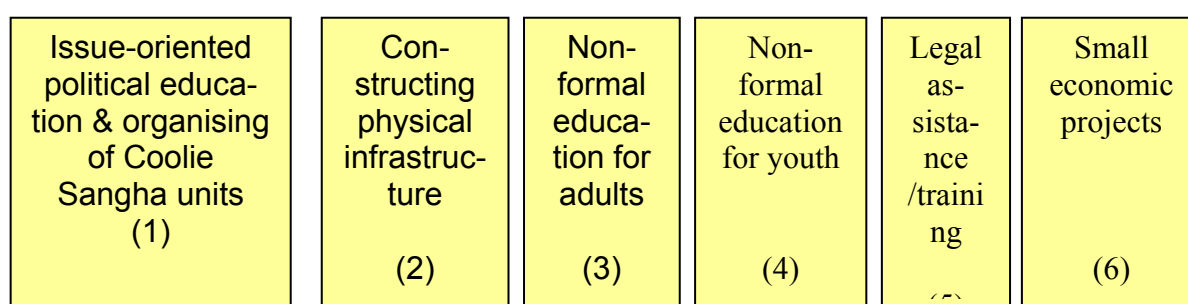
Moreover, one could ask the question whether it was realistic to plan such apex body in a relatively short span of time, even when harassment would have been absent. Obviously,

ADATS has asked itself this question since it was admitted that putting this plan in the 1980-proposal to Novib should be qualified at present as rather romantic.

But all this does not do away with the fact that strong CSUs and a well-functioning BCS apex body are of utmost importance to the success of ADATS work. Any discussion on a phase out become rather meaningless when such level of organisation has not been reached. An example of this importance is the fact that a transfer of physical outlays (community halls and offices cum houses) to CSUs reps. BCS, can not take place if the recipient bodies have no formal status and have not gone through a consolidation process; yet, such transfer of infrastructure has been an important pre-condition for Novib to build up a relationship with ADATS.

6. ADATS PROGRAMME:IMPLEMENTATION OF PLANS AND STATE-OF-THE ART

the schematic view of ADATS program looks as follows:



6.1. Issue Oriented Political Education and Organising of Colliers Sangha Units

Since a separate description of political education and organising of the village population in CSUs would give a rather artificial picture, these 2 program components will be treated as one.

Up to now, ADATS access to the villages was secured by the sponsorship program. This has been the medium to build up a rapport with the local population such that mutual thrust provided for a platform to set up a local CSU. Usually, every village knows conflicts (on lands water, wages, caste, etc.) which form an important part of the CSUs agenda.

At the moment the procedure is such that Coolies bring up an issue during a Sangha meeting and jointly decide whether it is important enough to pursue it; if so, plans are made as to how it is going to be handled, who is going to do what and in what way possible expenditures can be covered. In such a case the CWs give counselling whenever the meeting feels the need for it. Only in cases where difficult issues are at stake e.g. tenancy or land issues- the role of CW and VLWs is more prominent; the CW brings the issue in the Saturday meeting of the ADATS Group where chances of successful struggle are inventoried. In case of little chances, the CSU- meeting is advised to drop the issue; if not, the CW starts collecting as many details as possible with regard to the issue; all relevant materials (reports and documents) are dug up and observations are done at site to test out facts, figures and analyses. When all relevant materials are available, decisions are taken on how, by whom, and when actions will be taken. In such cases, the assistance of the CW is paramount in contacting officials, politicians, layers, etc. this procedure is followed mainly in cases when struggles are suspected to last quite long; e.g. land issue usually takes at least 4 years to arrive at some sort of solution.

Throughout the handling of the issue, the Sangha meetings aroused to act as a platform feedback, discussions and reflections.

Right in the beginning, ADATS gave the impression of being somewhat paternalistic in dealing with the Sangha; the Staff felt not yet familiar with the area and its population and acted

rather cautiously, specially when land issues came up. In their opinion, the Sangha-activities should gravitate from relatively small issue into bigger tones over time. That is why disagreement have arisen several times between the Sangha Members and the Staff in the starting period, but to a large extent, these early illnesses have been cured and operations are more mature now.

An example of an issue, taken up by one of the Sangha fully by itself occurred on the last day of the mission visit at ADATS (march 25). Some 150 Coolies were gathered in front of the Public Works office in Bagepalli, one of the contractors carrying out part of the local drought Relief Program had not paid wages for 3 days; the Coolies demanded payment of wages and removal of the contractor in favour of a PUD-supervisor. According to the ADATS Staff, the Sangha was acting fully in line with the 3 wording principles; there is a conflict with a contractor (a local farmer belonging to the middle peasantry); the Coolies have taken upon the issue by confronting directly the responsible PWD and demanding action. On the other hand, the social aspect of the conflict will be de-fused since the contractor will be thought a lesson in a stiff discussion with Coolies representatives. In such cases, the so-called culture of silence is not valid anymore. Further during following Sangha meetings as part of the process of political education.

During these analyses, not only the case itself is thoroughly discussed but the issue are expanded in scope as well. For example; in a tenancy issue, the struggle concerns an individual tenant-family, having legal right to own a piece of land. During The meeting it is explained that individual land ownership is not really providing the real solutions; socialist is not really providing ownership are introduced and as a consequence, lands have been tilled by people collectively while the struggle was going on.

A last element which is given attention has to do with the preparation of CSU-Members for the possibility that a case is being lost. The Sangha Members are thought that a defeat should be taken gracefully and no demoralisation is allowed to step in.

During the CSU-meeting attended by the team Members (4 visits), quite number of people saw the validity of the presence of ADATS and the existence of their CSU in the possibilities to improve on wages, to fight the need for bribing, and to have better access to government agencies and facilities : and in all cases the children sponsorship was presented as much cherished contribution of ADATS to the villages. Very few people were able to see the role of ADATS and the CSU in the proper political perspective. The BCS idea hardly came up in their minds during the discussion (which has been dealt with in the previous chapter5.5.).

According to the ADATS Group the external, often violent pressures have done quite some harm to the quality of political education. Too often, Sangha meeting could not be used for educational purposes since the threat to the very existence of CSUs forced them to organise for organisational survival and spend most of the available time for this sort of fire-brigade activities. They admit the most of the CSU Members have grown in organisational capacity at the expense of the ideological.

For the evaluation team, the level of organisation in the CSUs was disappointing; after 5 years of operation (out of which 3 with financial support of Novib) the visible result are meagre and did not match the teams expectations. The CSUs have not by-passed their ad-hoc status in terms of formal organisation (own president, treasurer and secretary and a solid committee structure) and in terms of autonomous decision-making, planning and execution of activities. Since the team has the opinion that the organising of the Coolie population into authentic people's organisations makes up an important Yard stick for measuring the impact of ADATS work. An extra effort has been invested in finding out the why's and how's behind the present state of the art.

The team readily admits that the organised harassment of both Staff and the program in the villages has been a heavy burden on the proper implementation of the plans. Seen from this angle, there is every reason to compliment the ADATS Group for keeping the program going under such circumstances. However, The team has problems with ADATS view that the CSUs still have an ad-hoc states by necessity. The Groups argument is that the CSU Members have not yet reached a stage of ideological maturity which excludes the possibility of turncoats (CSU being taken over by the opposition through shrewd manipulation). The team feels that ideological maturity is too much of an elastic concept when not properly defined, preferably by means of discussions with Coolies in their Sangha meetings. According to the team, the arguments could well be reversed as follows:... in the face of institutional violence it is highly necessary that the CSUs quickly get institutionalised with their own leaders in charge and with sufficient autonomy and responsibilities to run the bigger part of the program. Leadership and committee Members will be learning by doing since they weekly facet he Sangha Member who will call them to account for plans and their implementation. Furthermore, being the sparring partner of an enraged opposition, the CSUs will learn to operate under pressure. Both processes will speed up the ideological maturity of CSU- leadership and Members which given proper training and counselling by the ADATS Staff-will limit such dangers as e.g. turncoats to a minimum.... By presenting this hypothetical alternative the team by no means implies that ADATS made the wrong choice; the limited scope of an 11-days evaluation visit would make such an implication presumptuous, to say the least. But being appointed by ADATS as partners, invited to give a third opinion the presentation of such hypothesis is a valid exercise.

6.2. Construction of Physical Infrastructure

According to the project proposal, 7 community halls and offices cum houses were to be built in the first year of NOVIB's support followed by 3 more in the second year.

As has been disrobed, the expansion the second year did not materialise, thus the constructions were drooped.

All in all 8 community halls have been constructed or are in the process of being complete. They are located in the villages: Yellampalli, Nagarlu, Seegalapali, Nakkalapalli, Somnathpura, Billur, Byrepalli and Lagumaddepalli.

The office cum houses for the CWs are located in Yellampalli, Nagarlu, Somnathpura, Billur, Aiavarapalli and Kondireddipalli.

Only in Aiavarapalli and Billur, the construction is fully completed and the others are in an advance state of completion. As for as the office and kendra at the campus in Bagepalli is concerned, they are completed and already in use for some time. At the moment, the office opposite the kendra is functioning as a guest house; office work is done in the building, connected to the campus house.

The reasons for the fact that a Member o buildings has not yet been completed (after 3 years) have been described also where in the report (5.4.); throughout the years, community halls an defaced cum houses have been a target for harassment and outright violence. The organised harassment has to do with delay in alienation papers, building permits which were revoked, confiscation of building tools and theft of building materials. more violent acts were the burning down of community halls in Yellampalli and Nakkalapalli and the destruction of the hall in Lagumaddepalli. Against such Mafia practices, ADATS has been quite helpless.

On the other hand, the budgeting, design and construction have been problematic; the construction budget was over shot by an amount of -+ RP. 60.000,. the cost estimates were far too low since the ADATS Staff had little or no experience in this field; the assessments made by contractors were kept artificially low since these people hoped to obtain the construction

contract. Furthermore it is felt that the design and construction do not stand out for efficiency. according to the ADATS Group the building efforts have created more problems than solutions.

One such problem is the planned transfer of these buildings to the CSUs (or in a later state to the BCS). The ad-hoc status of the CSUs automatically means that these bodies have no legal personality; hence they can not be the official owners. As has been argued before the ad-hoc status of CSUs mainly exists to avoid take-over by other political parties or government agencies as has happened elsewhere, according to ADATS. As far as the buildings are concerned, the present legal formulas are as follows: the Community Workers buy the land and leases it out to ADATS agree of charge in consideration for building; the provision is included that no third party can claim ownership of land or buildings.

For most of the offices cum houses such an agreement has been made. However, for most of the community halls the legal formula come too late; they were already built before ADATS smelt legal loopholes and started taking action. Now there is no possibility to change the ownership status. As a consequence there are no real possibilities to settle the ownership as was foreseen in the project proposal. ADATS acts more or less as a trustee for the buildings and NOVIB is asked more or less as a trustee for the buildings and NOVIB is asked to have faith in the integrity of ADATS in this respect.

When trying to assess whether the community halls and offices cum houses are in tune with the village scene, there is reason for some hesitation; they do not stand out as landmarks of luxury but they compare, on the other hand, nicely with the outfits of the well-to-do villagers and government service. It must be said, however, that it is not always realistic to require that buildings fully blend with the village environment since most of the houses in the village are beyond any standard of decency. Apart from that, ADATS building performs a public function and therefore different standards should be applied a/o. in the field of fire prevention; local materials present such hazards (compare e.g. thatch roofing). The overall impression of the evaluation team is that the ADATS buildings blend reasonably well with the village scene and in so far constructions have been completed, they are well used by the Sangha Members.

6.3. Non Formal Education for Adults

this part of ADATS program, started at the very beginning, did not last long, i.e. in terms of professional approach. Lack of manpower with the required skills led to a phase out after some 6 months, according to the ADATS Group (after all, pedagogy for the oppressed is not that simple).

Some elements have been continued of a non formal educational nature and are to be found in the central (cluster) villages; the reading forum and the radio forum. In weekly meetings on Sunday, newspapers and weekly's are read aloud by the VHWs or VLWs. where a radio is available, news broadcast is listened to. In both cases, these reading and listening sessions are followed by a discussion on the political issue at stake. According to the CWs the rate of attendance is reasonable and can be called good whenever important events are in the news like e.g. elections. The evaluation team has not attended such meetings.

In connection to the non-formal adults education, the team has gone somewhat deeper into the position of the Harijans as a socially discriminated Group. The reason for such discussion was the observation that ADATS on the one hand is able to skilfully defuse tension which could end up in a serious communal clash but, on the other hand, there is no special program component which aims at a gradual eradication of caste feelings among the Coolies.

Through cultural programs and education the Harijans could be given support in overcoming

the much internalised inferiority complex were as caste Coolies could be made to understand the commonness of their cause and treating the Harijans as their comrades.

According to the ADATS, activities in this field are undertaken by a Group Members, Venkataramappa, who himself is a Harijan. Together with a number of educated Harijans in the Bagepalli area, ways and means are discussed to come up with a program in which due attention is given to the particular situation of the Harijans without isolating it from the broader socio political and economic issues. Other groups, claiming that they work for the emancipation of the Harijans, analyse the issue as being distinct from other problems; as a consequence their solutions are outside the political main streams of Indian society and lack validity.

The evaluation team feels the absence of an adult education program to be a missing link in ADATS program in view of the high percentage of illiterate Coolies and in view of the special attention which the Harijans should get given their particular situation. Given a proper training for a number of selected VLWs (or volunteer-cadres for that matter) it should be possible to work out a solid adult education scheme. Although it is easy to be wise after the event such scheme would have reduced the headaches which ADATS now suffers in the face of a phase-out of the child sponsorship program without having an alternative program component with a high impact on the village community.

6.4. Non Formal Education for Youth

The non-formal education program for youth in the villages was triggered off through the Sponsorship program of ActionAid when a support program was approved for some 260 children.

Supposedly, the financial support should be used for books, school fees, uniforms, writing needs, excursions, etc. for the selected youth; but in practice, over 500 children were made to profit by ADATS from this support scheme and some of the money was used as well for basic healthcare purposes like a hospital referral system for villagers and preventive aspects of community health like bleaching water well, catching and injecting dogs against rabies, some help in buying medicine in case of emergency, etc. in the beginning of 1983, ActionAid contribution per child was RP. 80, monthly.

The participating children are all from Coolie and marginal peasant families; their age is between 6 and 16 years.

Although in the beginning the CWs conducted classes, this now has been taken over by the VLWs. classes are 6 times a week from 17:30/18:00 up 20:30/21:00 hours.

All children attend the local government school day-time since ADATS has never agreed to build its own schools as was asked by ActionAid. Classes are conducted according to a rather strict schedule: until night fall there are games and cultural Group activities; after night fall there is studying (at least one hour) and a number of other educational activities like writing, painting, drawing, claying, etc. During the period that the children have exams at school, all non-studious activities are stopped (starting one month before the exams) and everyone concentrates on the exams.

The children's program has been a very important program at the start of ADATS operations as well as during the implementation of the wider program of education and organising the village population:

it gave access to the villages and a chance to do cultural work with youth;

It has been (and still is) a good reason for being constantly present in the villages and do the work with the youth and the adults, specially when police, opposition elements and tarale (or any combination of these three) are getting nasty;

Invariably, parents will be sitting in the vicinity of the class room (mostly women); this reduces boredom, drinking and fights at home while- at the same time-it gives a possibility to CWs and VLWs to discuss problems and other issues with these women. Apart from this, the ADATS Staff can move into rifts among the village people which threaten unity whereas it would be quite embarrassing to move into a village for such an issue only;

Specially in the early stage of ADATS operations, the ActionAid money helps a lot in helping out the village population in basic needs, mostly medical needs; this has given the organisation a lot of credibility in the first couple of years.

In line with the above argument, it helped to reduce the dependence of the village population on favours of landlords in a. c. medical emergencies; ActionAid money could be used to cover such costs.

The only serious disadvantage is the fact that ADATS has become identified with the sponsorship program; people expect them to enter new villages with these goodies. And setting up a Sangha is seen as a prerequisite to obtain financial support in clothing, Medicare teaching materials etc. according to the ADATS Staff, they would never have started such a program in view of these negative side effects and they are now weakening themselves for the moment that the sponsorship program phases out; a substantial drawback is expected since people might lose interest.

In the meantime, it is pretty sure that the program will phase out; beginning of March (during the presence of the evaluation team), ADATS was informed by ActionAid that their commitment to give support for another 5 years (from July 83 to June 88) had been withdrawn: no new children should be taken in the program to replace those reaching the age of 16; and CWs and VLWs will lose their salaries and stipends to carry out the program. According to ADATS no arguments were given for this in spite of the fact that this decision has a rather dramatic impact on ADATS overall financial position in the coming years:

Of the 30 VLWs only 16 will be kept on ADATS payroll during the phase out period; from 1985 onwards; no CWs will be on the pay roll anymore; for 1983, AIS will cover 4 CW salaries, for 1984 only 2 CW salaries.

ADATS is allowed to use a residual RP. 32.000,-for the completion of the community hall.

As a consequence, ADATS will have to re-adjust its financial position for the period July '83-June '88 and eventually remould its involvement in village development.

6.5. Legal Assistance and Training

a legal support structure has existed from the beginning although it was never made widely public. But friends and enemies were aware of it; people in the villages (Sangha Members) knew it and as a consequence they took up issues more easily. And the others knew it (police, officials, big and medium peasantry) which exerted a preventive effect since they would think twice before moving into actions with the possible consequence of a lawyer on their back.

As a matter of policy, ADATS does not launch cases against people; the legal support structure has only been used for the defence.

The legal support has been given by a party lawyer who has been handling party cases for the last 15 years. The support was not seen by this lawyer as an ad-hoc affair but as a continuous support. This means that he spent quite some time with the ADATS Staff, discussing legal matters at length. In fact, one could say that some sort of para legal training was given to ADATS Staff (CWs and VLWs)..

However at the end of 1982, the assistance has come to a sudden stop; for personal reasons the lawyer has dropped out. ADATS Staff could not think of any reason why this has happened.

Hence, at the moment ADATS does not have a high-quality legal advisor which is an important weakness. Although there are young lawyers available, they miss the experience in handling heavy cases. At the moment the ADATS Staff has no idea of how to solve these problems. But since they feel to have had a fair training in illegal matters, they expect less cases to come up against them.

The team feels that the relative absence of official hostility (due to the friendly MLA in Bangalore) should not lure ADATS into a position where competent legal support is felt to be less needed since most affairs could be handled by the Group itself. Specially in a period of time in which CSUs will have to get formalised and a BCS is going to be established, solid support will be needed more than ever. In the absence of an experienced elderly lawyer, ADATS might consider the possibility of getting together a small collective of younger fraternal lawyers to handle not only future cases but as well professionalise Para-legal training among Staff and village cadres. Furthermore, an important issue (for Novib) like the transfer of physical assets to CSUs and BCS would have more chances to come to a solution than it would have in the total absence of professional legal assistance.

6.6. Small Economic Projects

ADATS is not very fond of setting up small economic assistance schemes in the villages through the Sangha. Throughout the discussions on this topic, a number of arguments were used to illustrate the fact that such schemes usually created more problems than solutions. Among the arguments heard were:

ADATS will be identified by the population as an organisation which brings in money and other material benefits, which will distract people from the most important issues; education an organizing Sangha. Often a parallel was drawn with the sponsorship program of ActionAid where this negative side-effect is badly felt:

Once starting such small assistance schemes, ADATS will invariably be drawn into spheres of discontent and rifts when things do not work out well. examples of other projects were similar events happened were regularly used to illustrate such dangers;

ADATS sees itself as an organisation which helps people to help themselves in obtaining material support from existing government programmes and service through proper education (both general and political) an through help in setting up people's organisations; in this task description there is no room for economic schemes;

ADATS is an organisation which has given itself a limited role both in terms of program and in terms of time. By starting up small economic schemes, there is the danger that ADATS institutionalises itself and moreover itself into a sort of permanent support structure for the village population.

Whenever police forces or government agencies attack ADATS or the local Sangha, small economic schemes are easy prey for them; it makes operations more vulnerable. The same is true in terms of turncoats: through the backdoor vested interests could come in to take over initiatives.

The ADATS Staff does not agree with a presentation of the sponsorship program as a successful economic program component; when the program started mid-1979 it automatically meant a commitment towards the village population to fully carry out the children's education program. this in spite of a later decision not to go for economic programmes in the villages. The sponsorship program is looked upon as a service program, not necessarily an economic one.

During the discussions the Members of the evaluation team presented examples of project where organising and educating village population was successfully blended with well-chosen small to medium-size economic schemes. The examples showed that:

People's organisations could handle such projects, given a proper organisational structure and given parallel programmes in such fields as management, administration and marketing:

Such small projects helped tremendously to establish the organisations identity within the villages provided a platform for its Members to go in collective operations on a learning-by-doing –basis;

In many cases these small project not only provided new opportunities for income and employment for the villagers, but as well served as a source of income for the organisation itself to cover its expenditure, expand its operations, and strengthen the organisational structure.

In fact, most ADATS objections are based on a prominent role of ADATS in setting up carrying out and monitoring such small economic projects; this however need not necessarily be the case since the Sangha or the Sangha's committees should be in the spotlight while ADATS could support the Sangha in a less visible way.

Confrontations of such nature during the discussions between ADATS Staff and the evaluation team Members brought out that there should be room within ADATS program for small projects of a service nature, preferably not of an economic nature. Example of such service-oriented small support schemes could be:

- 1) to help set up fair price depots,
- 2) to support dairy societies establish a milk-circuit and make the village population profit from it by facilitating loans for buying cows, equipment to collect milk and tainting towards a proper handling of both the animal and the dairy products,
- 3) service pharmacies in support of the ongoing hospital referral system, and
- 4) legal aid service, possibly combined with Para legal training for Sangha members.

These are only a few examples.

When discussing these example, the ADATS Staff emphasized that such activities should not lead to an institutionalisation of ADATS through the backdoor but that such activities should be discussed and eventually set-up by the Coolie Sangha units or, at a later stage, by the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha or both in a joint operation.

In the view of the evaluation team, a move of ADATS towards starting up small service-oriented projects must be seen as a positive development, in spite of the hesitations of the Staff towards small projects of more economic nature. The small service projects can function as experiments for both the Sangha and for the ADATS Staff and in the process of planning, implementation and evaluation of results, useful insights will be gained which would reduce the Staff's reservations (or for that matter, boost up reservations in case of failure towards the potentials of economic project components).

7. SOME NOTES ON THE FINANCIAL STATE OF THE ART

Although not specifically noted down in; the terms of reference, the evaluation team sat together with the ADATS Staff to look into The financial side of the operations. *1)

	July 01/80	July 01/81	July 01/82	EXP. July '80	BUDGET
June 30/81	June 30/82	March 14/83	to March'83	1980/83	
0.1					
a. Salaries & wages		74.475,00	62.450,00	45.000,00	181.925,00
b. Provident Fund	6.345,00	4.320,00	4.560,00	15.225,00	
c. Field allowances	11.4000,00		9.350,00	6.050,00	26.800,00
					378.180,00

d. Legal & professional						
Charges	9.200,00	2.600,00	3.550,00	15.350,00		
0.2.						
VLW-stipends	30.179,00	55.328,00	42.714,00	128.221,00	129.600,00	
0.3.						
Training	15.746,78	12.022,04	12.319,15	40.087,97	48.000,00	
0.4.						
a) Rents	2.460,00	1.110,00	—	3.750,00		
b) Taxes	489,00	2.176,20	—	2.665,80	12.000,00	
0.5.						
Telephone	912,70		1.186,50	1.008,20	3.107,40	
)	18.000,00			
0.6.						
Electricity	2.091,37	3.190,69	1.958,57	7.240,63		
0.7.						
printing & stationery	1.891,22	3.478,90	159,10	5.529,22	17.000,00	
0.8.						
Post/						
Telegrams	1.277,95	1.763,30	666,45	3.707,70	10.800,00	
0.9.						
Travel costs	22.752,00	26.200,00	10.624,90	59.577,71	36.000,00	
10.						
vehicle						
maintenance	18.343,62	6.039,46	8.495,55	32.878,63	54.000,00	
11.						
Fuel &						
Lubrication	13.583,00	12.600,96	7.087,33	33.271,51	21.600,00	
12.						
a) Subscription						
Fees	143,30	787,35	4.231,50	5.162,15		
b) Library cost	10.651,85	8.648,80	2.470,70	21.771,35	30.000,00	
13.						
a) miscellaneous	4.249,65	2.967,69	1.602,40	8.819,74		
b) Bank charges	1.324,50	243,70	40,10	1.608,30	5.400,00	
14.						
Equipment	5.264,13	1.309,97	--	6.574,10	6.000,00	
15.						
a) furniture	14.701,48	-	-	14.701,48		
b) Repairs or)		10.000,00		
F.F.	166,20	5,00		198,00	369,20)
16.						
Vehicle	—	130.000,00	(87.5000,00)	422.500,00	104.000,00	
17.						
Cycle	13.815,00	—	—	13.815,00	28.000,00	
18.						
Construction	150.049,22	90.391,33	15.316,47	255.757,02	194.200,00	
	411.513,60	438.169,89	80.552,42	930.235,91	1102.780,00	

* Amounts Actually received from Novib:

Approved budget	Df1.	289.427,00	1.157.719,00
Amount received	—	289.427,00	Rs 1.015.113,11
Loss due to exchange rate fluctuations		Rs 142.595,89	

*1) To avoid any misunderstanding; the evaluation team globally discussed with the office Staff the financial data, provided by ADATS; no in depth checks or analyses of data were done.

Some notes on finance (numbers correspond with given account numbers)

01. a. Salaries and wages show a substantial reduction in the second year of operations. This is due to the period July '81 - June '82 when only 5 CWs had a full Staff status and 2 CWs were on probation; probation means that only a half salary and half field allowance is paid.

For the third year 6 CWs were on the pay roll only up to 31 December 1982; after that, ActionAid took over the salary payments.

As far as the budget is concerned, it must be taken into account that the 3 extra CWs were not contracted. The same is true for the driver.

0.1.d. Legal and professional charges stand for the monthly lawyers retainer fees during the period July 1980-December 1982. In the 1st year the fee was a monthly RP. 500, while from the 2nd year onwards it was raised to a monthly RP. 600, in the first year an advance payment was made which was recovered in the 2nd year. These costs were paid from the budgeted liaison workers who was not contracted.

02. VLW- stipends go up in the second year due to the employment of 12 more VLW, as was agreed upon by Novib (see ADATS letter of September 30, 1980 and NOVIB's reply of June 9, 1981).

03. Training cost were high in the first year since a number of items had to be purchased to handle bigger groups, like big cooking pots and carpets to sit on the concrete floor.

04. a/b. Rents were lower than planned in the first year; already in December 1980 ADATS transferred to its new office which reduced the rent costs considerably.

Taxes are substantially higher for the same reason; since the new office occupied land taxes had to be paid.

05. TELEPHONE costs were budgeted far too high.

09. TRAVEL costs were budgeted far too low; this was quite a miscalculation about which ADATS contracted Novib (see letter to Agnes Joseph, dated June 8, 1981).

10. VEHICLE MAINTENANCE was high in the first year when the ambassador car was in operation; it was sold in November 1981. Part of the second and third year, one jeep was under maintenance. This jeep, bought in January 1982 was sold in October 82 due to budget constraints. The 2 budgeted motor cycles were not bought.

15. a/b. Furniture/fittings & maintenance was budgeted too low; cost of furniture came out higher than foreseen.

16. VEHICLES expenditure did not occur in the first year. In the second year three jeep (115.000,00) and the scooter (15.000,00) were bought. During the third (budget) year, the jeep was sold again (October 1982) to make up for exchange rate losses. The selling price of RS. 87.500,00 is booked as an income in the third year. About this transaction, a letter was written to Novib dated September 13, 1982.

17. Cycle: in the first year, 21 cycle were brought; at the moment ADATS plans to buy 9 more cycle before the budget term ends.

18. CONSTRUCTION expenditure overshot the budget dramatically in the first year, expenditure was + RP. 150.000,00 (+ 25.000,00 more than budgeted) and in the 2nd /3rd year real expenditure was + RP. 105.600,00 (+ 40.000 more). The too low budgeting has mainly been caused by unreliable advises from potential contractors. The extra Rs 60,000 has already been spent.

In spite of the fact that a number of constructions has not yet been completed, it is not expected that Novib will be asked to supply extra funds to finish the construction works. In its phase out letter, ActionAid has suggested that a budgeted amount of RP. 32.000,00 will be used for this purpose; according to ADATS, this amount is sufficient to cover the residual expenditures.

Given the situation of overshooting and under spending in budget and real expenditure, ADATS discussed this issue with Novib field mission (15 April 1982) and asked for correction.

It was suggested That the budget should be lowered for the following headings:

1. a/b/c/d (minus RS.117.460,-), 4.a/b (minus RS. 2.000,-), 5/6 (minus RP. 5.000-), and 8 (minus RS.6.000,-). A rise in budget was proposed for 9 (RP. 36.000 extra),for 11 (RP. 15,000,-) and for 18 (RP. 60.000,-extra).

8. CONTINUITY OF ADATS INVOLVEMENT IN VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

As many be concluded from the foregoing information, ADATS has in spite of the political constraints in The last 2 years, done reasonably well in building up grass root CSUs at the village level; it now is in the stage of consolidating these organisational structures and forming the apex body Bagepalli Coolies Sangha in the next few years. at this moment, ADATS is seriously considering a phasing out of external funding (foreign or indigenous) for support and substance. Partly, this is a logical consequence of the temporary character of ADATS as it was foreseen; on the other hand important considerations are the opposition within the left movement against voluntary agencies with (specially) foreign funding and the vulnerability of CSUs and BCS in the light of the legal tricks that can be used against ADATS as long as this same foreign funding continues.

In the eyes of the Staff, organisational withdrawal is a process of handing over responsibilities to the people (their mass organisation) by ADATS. But for the Staff withdrawal of ADATS organisation does not automatically mean their own withdrawal; they have stabilised as a Group and have the intention to make their involvement in the taluk a permanent one (life long commitment).

Therefore, the Staff Group is developing in a planned and systematic manner the pre-conditions for self sufficiency at all stages. In short; the office Staff has taken the responsibility to mobilise the funds, necessary to run the main campus at Bagepalli town, the Community Workers their respective centres at the central villages, and the VLWs maintain themselves in order to be free to work without too many family and financial pre-occupations.

In practice, this means:

- 1) set up a dairy with 12 cows at Bagepalli Town, start up a kennel for pedigree dog-riding and take up the rearing of silkworms for cocoon production in order to maintain the families and house at Bagepalli and take care of all the administrative cost of running the office and training centre for the Bagepalli Collie Sangha;
- 2) set up 5 dairies with 4 cows each at the central villages in order to maintain the families of the 5 Community Workers at Billur, Somnathpura, Nagarlu, Aiavarapalli and Kondireddipalli and meet the basic travel costs and petty expenses of the clusters;
- 3) maintain of 1 cow by each VLW in the satellite villages in order to meet the family requirements of the 30 VLWs to ease down their financial constraints and be able to devote at least as much time and energy as they do now to building up and consolidate CSUs and the BCS.

As an example, a break-down is given below for a 4-cow dairy in terms of capital outlay and exploitation:

CAPITAL OUTLAY FOR A 4-COW DAIRY:

Cost of 4 cross-bred cows yielding maximum 20 lts per day and an average of 15 lts per lactation (@ 8000 Rs 32,000		
Cost of a shed for 4 cows	2,000	
Cost of 1 year's dry fodder stock at Rs 100 p/cow/month	4,000	38,800

EXPLOITATION OF A 4 COW DAIRY:**Expenditure:**

Cost of dry concentrate feed at 9 kgs per day at Rs 180 for one month /4 cows	1,944	
Cost of dry fodder at Rs 100, per cow/month	400	
Monthly wages for 1 worker	250	
Cost of medicine, veterinary charges etc. Rs 100 per cow/month	400	2,994

Income:

15 Lts of milk per cow/day at marker price of Rs 2,04 (4 x 15x 30x 2,04)	3,672	
Selling price for manure	100	3,772

Anticipated returns per month are**Rs 778**

The anticipated returns are more or less equal to the monthly salaries and stipends of resp. the CWs and the VLWs taking into account the different numbers of cows for each. As for the main campus, the income of the dairy and the estimated returns of the pedigree-dog breeding and silkworm rearing supposedly should cover their monthly expenditure.

In its medium-term planning, ADATS has counted with an ongoing assistance from ActionAid through the sponsorship program; salaries of CWs and stipends for VLWs would be covered for another minimum of 4 years from July '83 onwards. The repayment on bank loans for the investment in dairies was planned to be covered from both these incomes and the returns on the dairy exploitation. As for the office Staff a request to Novib for support of these 2 Staff Members would have made the ends meet.

But as has been described earlier, ActionAid has suddenly reversed its policies in spite of commitments made and their plan for phasing out is now definite. This sudden, unilateral decision on the part of ActionAid has caused severe strains in the financial position of ADATS for the coming years.

According to the ADATS Staff, they are considering to request Novib for another 3 years support. As for as the salaries of the office Staff, CWs and VLWs is concerned, they would like Novib to consider the payment of these costs in a lump sum transfer (RP. 493.200,- under same conditions as previous contract); the advantage would be that no bank loans would be needed which means saving a considerable amount on bank interest (12 ½%) and it will ease the tedious procedures and remove the great problem of producing a 200% collateral immovable property security. This last requirement is beyond the possibilities of many among the ADATS Staff members. The 3-year salaries/stipend lump sum is roughly equivalent to the capital outlays required for the set-up of the dairies.

A new constraint which recently has been announced in the newspapers has to do with the establishment of a so-called Prime Minister's fund for Rural Development. (see news paper cutting and Annexe 2 for other press releases). In short it means that tax – exemptions for donations will be cancelled unless the donations are given to this special fund. If this proposed law is passed, the government can put all voluntary agencies in the tax-squeeze when their activities are regarded as unwanted.

The evaluation team sees the need for an ongoing involvement of ADATS in political education, expanding and consolidating of CSUs and establishment and consolidation of the BCS; at present, the political conditions in the working area seem to be favourable to new efforts which certainly was not the case in the last 2-2 ½ years. This way, ADATS will be able to make up for the drawbacks and delays which they have experienced in the recent past.

When ADATS sends in a renewed request for financial support, it makes sense to carefully consider whether it is possible to take over suggestions on lump sum-funding towards financial self reliance.

In this respect, the Novib stance usually is that it is willing to help people's organisations to become self-reliant, not the counter-part organisation.

As far as ADATS is concerned, it has been able to make clear that no or only little financial support can be expected to come from membership fees through the CSUs at present. Moreover, the anticipated returns on the dairies will not only be used to support Staff and their family but as well to cover costs made for project work.

Apart from that, the position of the Staff in the villages will be more clear to the villagers since they visibly earn their own living which will add to their credibility.

Furthermore, the earlier ADATS as an organisation will be abolished the better it is for the position of the project within the left movement (absence foreign funding) and legal vulnerability will be minimised.

And, last but not least, and control mechanisms like the Prime Minister's Rural Development Fund will not bring the project's operations in jeopardy by heavy taxing since –that should be clear by now- a Coolie mass organisation will not get the Prime Minister Certificate of Good Behaviour.

9. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1. Conclusions

A. the general conclusion is that ADATS within the limits posed by the official hostility from the beginning of 1981 onwards to the end of 1982 has done reasonably well and has been able to implement at least a fair part of the program as it was approved by Novib;

B. SPECIFIC CONCLUSIONS REGARDING ADATS AS AN ORGANISATION INVOLVED IN FIELDWORK:

(1) on ideology:

ADATS analysis of realities and its translation into workable concepts are felt to be valid: the two-peasantry concept in combination with the 3 working principles make it possible to pay due attention to the Coolie segment of the village population in Bagepalli taluk. It facilitates to identify and act on Coolie issues in such a way that this poor, deprived and oppressed Group can be made to understand its daily realities as part and parcel of an exploitative economic system of which both they themselves and their direct oppressors- the middle peasantry – are the victims. Operationalisation of this analysis in working principles has shown its validity in past and ongoing struggles by the way social tensions are defused and a relative unity among the peasantry is maintained. This is true in spite of the creativity, required to make the struggle between allies work.

Working relations with the local and regional left movement are good and functional although no official or unofficial ties are said to exist. In spite of the controversy on the official united peasantry line and a traditional hostility towards voluntary agencies with funding from abroad, the ADATS Group is not seen as disruptive and fraternal support is given. In view of

the positive effects of this support on ADATS operations, there is little proof for objections or reservations against this symbiotic living apart together relationship.

(2) on ADATS organisation:

the planned impotence of the Governing Body in favour of a system of collective responsibility and decision making by the ADATS Group does not seem to create major problems with in or outside the organisation. Looking at it from a narrow angle risks for Novib to be (officially) identified as working with an organisation which has legally modified the required formal structures are hardly present. In connection with the externment case, an official investigation has been carried out which did not bring out any formal doubts as to the functioning of ADATS. Hence, one might say that these modifications are properly kept away from outside curiosity.

Over the years, ADATS has managed to build up a fairly stable body of field workers (CWs and VLWs) drawn from the taluk it self and living and working in their respective villages. In terms of ideology and skills they are well equipped although this does not show at first sight due to the limited articulation of some Staff Members in comparison to others, e.g. the project director.

To a large extent, ideological clarity and skills have been built up during the Staff development training which are regularly held and are taken very serious by every one. As proof of the Staff's commitment, the team underlines the fact that most of them stayed on in the villages during the past 2 years in spite of the risks involved and that they will stay in their villages to continue their work, regardless of what will happen to ADATS.

The decision making processes in the Group seem to function properly and are based on consensus rather than majority voting. Suggestions that the project director would be too dominant, were firmly pushed aside by the other Group Members. A freeze of the present structure in view of the limited scope of ADATS operations (planned phase-out) is accepted by the team as being a realistic stance.

The selection procedure are found to be effective although in the case of CWs the requirements are targeted quite high. It makes one wonder whether this has not blocked the expansion in Staff Members from the outset. Specially in view of the work ahead (expanding clusters, consolidating CSUs, and setting up the BCS) the question of Staff expansion will need further attention.

In terms of women's participation on Staff-level; the team feels that ADATS is wide of the bull's eye; not one woman is working at Staff-level at present, be it as CW or as VLW. This situation is felt by the team as being irreconcilable with the vanguard role which ADATS has given itself in the Coolie's struggle for emancipation, as is readily admitted by the ADATS Group.

(3) on program implementation (in the light of the general conclusion A):

- political education and organising work : political education through an issue oriented approach proves to work out well after some disagreement on strategy and tactics between ADATS Staff and CSU Members in the starting phase. At present, most of the issues are handled by the CSU Member themselves with support of the CW or VLW depending on the complexity and weight of the matter at stake. Within the CSUs the volunteer cadres are quite active and often play an opinion-leading role in this respect.

After through discussions between the Group and the team on factors which have hindered a swift implementation of the program, the team revised its initial attitude of sepsis and disappointment on the low level of organisation of and within the CSUs. given the circumstances, the Group has done the possible. However, the team does not share ADATS view that this

low level of formal organisation exists by necessity; the team's hypothetically phrased view on this matter speaks for itself. This is not a critique on the strategic and tactical choices of ADATS but more of an invitation to carefully look into the potentials of modification in organisation priorities.

The delay in the establishment of the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha as apex body is understandable given the circumstances. The team agrees with ADATS that any effort to set up the apex body without properly consulting the CSU Members would be an exercise in futility. But at the same time, the team has taken due note of ADATS ongoing efforts to revive the formal discussion on the establishments of the BCS: given the agenda of meetings as they are planned at present, there is every reason to expect important initiatives in this field in the (very) near future.

- physical infrastructure: as far as the set-up of community halls and the offices cum houses is concerned, the team feels that the Group has dangerously underestimated the complex operations of budgeting, planning and executing this part of the program. As a result, the operation has produced more problems than solutions, as the Group has admitted. With the extra finances of ActionAid (Rs 32.000), ADATS has planned to complete the work in April/may. The team feels that the constructions blend reasonably well with the village environment and as far as they are completed they are well used by the Sangha members.

- non – formal education for adults and youth: in the team's opinion, there is little room for discussing the adult education program since it died out soon after its birth. Obviously, the Group has under-estimated the implication in terms of manpower and skills which are required to go into such ventures. At the same time, however the team feels that the absence of such a program is a missing link in ADATS program in view of the many illiterate Coolies in the villages. Given a proper training to a Group of selected VLWS a solid adult education scheme is feasible and worthwhile. If it would have existed at present, it would, no doubt, have reduce the headaches which ADATS now suffers in view of a phase out of ActionAid in the child Sponsorship program: now, no alternative education program component exists.

They young education program (child sponsorship) has given reasons for both joy and grief; a joy because it functions well and is highly appreciated by the village population. The grief come in where the ADATS Group feels the at they are too much identified with this education program. There are fears that ADATS involuntary phase-out will have negative repercussion for the program as a whole.

The evaluation team does not fully share these feelings of fear; it is felt that the education program would have chance of survival when continued, be it on more modest level and based on low budget. As long as VLWs are on a payroll this should be possible. And if ADATS share the team's opinion on the importance of an adult educational program component, combinations are possible. This way, an initial liability could be turned into an asset not at the least because, the beneficial side-effects of a legitimisation of ADATS presence in the villages as a village development organisation is safeguarded.

- legal assistance: the involvement of a competent lawyer during the past years in ADATS operations has proven to be an important element, both in terms of Staff protection and in terms of program continuity. The teams share with the ADATS Staff the unhappy feeling of having lost such legal support in spite of the fact that the official hostility has eased away to some extent. However, the team does not share the Staff rather optimistic feelings of being able to handle most cases themselves in the near future on the basis of the para-legal training as a consequence of the past intensive working relationship with the lawyer.

Specially in view of the workload ahead (expanding cluster, consolidating CSUs, and establishment of BCS) ADATS will, more than ever, need a solid legal back-up. In this respect the

transfer of infrastructure to CSUs and BCS should be mentioned; there will be less chance to come to a proper solution when professional legal advice is absent.

- economic activities: the evaluation team has taken due note of ADATS arguments for not going into the promotion, planning or execution of small economic schemes. However, these arguments have not changed the team's opinion that there are many examples which show that will chosen and properly guided small economic schemes can have an important positive impact on educational and organising work in other projects else where. Given more mature organisational structure in CSUs (in terms of leadership and committees) such ventures could be undertaken by the Sangha without putting the main burden and the spot lights-on ADATS. The team feels that the present discussions on starting service-oriented scheme provides opening for further initiatives in this respect.

C. CONTINUITY OF OPERATIONS

The team sees the need for ongoing involvement of ADATS in organising work and political education. At present, the political conditions in the working area seen to be favourable which certainly was not the case during the past 2-2 ½ years. this way, ADATS will be able to make up for the drawbacks and delays which the organisational has experienced in the recent past. At the same time, the team has the opinion that a phase-out of ADATS as a formal organisation- as distinct from individual Staff Members who continue their work can only be discussed within the context of a solid effort to formalise, strengthen and consolidate the local CSUs and the BCS. If not, vacuum might be created which is even more dangerous than the possibility of turncoat-ism which made ADATS initially chosen for an ad-hoc status for CSUs. such formalisation of the village organisations needs not necessarily be in contradiction with ADATS view of avoiding to show one's muscles prematurely.

9.2. Recommendations

In view of the foregoing conclusion, the team feels the following recommendation to be relevant:

FOR ADATS:

1. Given the complete absence of women in Staff functions, ADATS is invited to seriously look into this matter and come up with decisions which make it possible for women to have their legitimate share in ADATS operations both on the CW-and on the VLW-level. Furthermore, ways and means should be developed to drastically enlarge the number of women participating in the volunteer cadre training.

ADATS is invited to carefully inventories the workload ahead vis-à-vis its present Staffing. Important in this respect are the number of new villages already in contact with ADATS and the potential new villages in the Hobli in north western Bagepalli taluk. Broadening the mass base might be too much of a task for the ADATS unless more people are contracted. Whenever expansion of Staff is considered, the team suggests that in line with the first recommendation-ADATS gives priority to women Staff.

When such Staff expansion is not envisaged, the Group is invited to work out way s an means with the CSUs and the BCS such that these bodies can take over the work connected to the broadening of the mass base.

The Group should start as soon as possible an in-depth discussion – preferably on the CSUs. the team feels that there must be ample opportunity for ADATS to hand over responsibilities and executive powers to trained volunteer cadres. Such discussion should be tied-up with the coming debate on the formation of the BCS. The team underlines again the fact that this is of crucial importance in view of ADATS formal phase out in the future.

As to the educational program components, ADATS is invited to look into possibilities for continuing the children's education program on a different footing and into ways and means to revive the adult education scheme. Such program have proven to be very helpful in support of ADATS main objectives: education and organising of Coolies towards full emancipation. Even after a phase out of ADATS, such programmes could have a high impact when they are taken over by e.g. a CSU-education committee. Since proper training of VLWs and volunteer cadres takes time- specially when it concerns adult education- early planning is a necessary.

As soon as possible, ADATS should fill up the legal vacuum which exists after their lawyer has stopped his support. A suggestion could be to see whether a small collective of young fraternal lawyers could be set up to handle future cases and eventually, continue and expand a form of para-legal training for Staff and future leaders and CSU committee members.

6. ADATS Group is invited to come up with a more structural view on its (non) involvement in small-scale economic schemes or projects. Such views should be based on a thorough analysis of constraints and opportunities in this field of activities on a medium- and longer-term perspective, taking into account the establishment of a BCS. According to the team, this suggestion derives its relevance from the fact that most of the Coolies live in object poverty with little or no means to support their families, let alone their organisation. Selected small scale economic activities could provide clues to such problems.

FOR NOVIB.

7. It is the team's opinion that ADATS should be given a partner's treatment when a follow-up request for assistance is made to Novib as has been shown, ADATS has performed reasonably well given the circumstances, and The organisation can neither be held fully responsible for a level of program implementation which was lower than expected, nor for the sudden financial crisis due to the unilateral phase-out of ActionAid. It goes without saying that the quality of a follow –up request will be decisive in giving scope to a continued partnership.

8. Novib should encourage the development of workable mechanisms towards self-reliance of project Staff either directly by providing Staff with the means to be on its own feet financially, or indirectly by providing the people's organisations with the means to support their CWs. and VLWs. such development demands experiments in which local ingenuity should be tapped to the maximum.

For the Indian context, such mechanisms towards self-reliance are particularly relevant at present in view of the official efforts to control voluntary agencies by means of the tax system (Prime Minister's Rural Development Fund).

9. given the fact that NOVIB sees evaluations as a natural element in a partner relationship in terms of mutual learning process exchange of opinions. And improvement of working relationship:

- Novib should put extra efforts in a campaign to make clear well to those partners with a smaller program than the Cod partners –what exactly is understood by the notion evaluation such that counterparts fully understand the why's and how's of the procedure from the outset. In many cases. The feeling persists that outsiders are coming in to investigate people and their problems as part of a contract enforcement procedure, giving corresponding marks for good or bad performance. By no means it seems to be common knowledge that a deepening of the partner relationship lies at the basis of jointly undertaken evaluation.
- in its present form, the Terms of Reference are not helpful in taking away these wrong impressions on the side of the counterpart, mainly because of a detailing to the extreme. ToRs are felt to be more confusing than helpful because: (1) people get the impression that something is wrong in their project, hence..... such detailed questions; (2) the ToRs are of little

help for the counterpart in preparing the evaluation exercise with the village population concerned; and (3) the long lists of questions seem to fix the parameter within which discussion are taking place to the detriment of data-gathering sessions of a more free wheeling nature.

It is suggested that ToRs are written more topic wise with proper indications of themes and priorities in information exchange. The detailed breakdown of topics into questions is only useful for the Members of the evaluation team as a check lists whenever the time –budget allows them to go into issues at length.

TURNOVER AMONG COMMUNITY WORKERS

NAME	CLUSTER	JOINED	LEFT
1. M.S. Nagaraja	Yellampalli	beginning	August 1981
2. Manjunath	Nagarlu	beginning	August 1981
3. Khasim Peera	Pathapalya	beginning	March 1980
4. Suryakumari	Lagumaddepalli	beginning	March 1980
5. I. Chandramouli	Lagumaddepalli	beginning	August 1978
6. P. Gopal Reddy	Kondireddipalli	beginning	June 1979
7. Sathyamurthy	Somnathpura	beginning	February 1981
8. Narsimha Reddy	—	for 3 months	
9. Ramachanda Reddy	—	for 3 months	
10. Bobbie Reddy	—	October 1980	December 1980
11. Thomas Anthony	—	October 1980	
12. Venugopal	Billur	December 1980	
13. Shivashankar	Aiavarapalli	1979	—
14. Venkataramappa	Kondireddipalli	1979	—
15. Surnyarayana Reddy	Somnathpura	Beginning	—
16. Marappa Reddy	Somnathpura	March 1981	October 1981
17. C. Gopal Reddy	Somnathpura	March 1981	June 1982
18. Prabhakar Reddy	Yellampalli	June 1982	October 1982
19. K.R. Krishnamurthi	Yellampalli	January 1982	March 1982
20. Adinarayana Reddy	Yellampalli	June 1982	September 1982
21. Aswatha Reddy	Yellampalli	June 1982	September 1982
	Somnathpura	June 1982	September 1982