

03. 2nd Evaluation Report – Peter v.d. Werff & Vanaja Ramprasad (Jul 1990)

1. INTRODUCTION

“These Ryot people rushed into my flock of goats to disturb them. The goats ran in all directions. It took me the rest of the day to get them back together. The Ryots hate us for our progress. 5 years ago we started the Sangha. They got scared and now keep pestering us. I received a loan for 15 goats from Coolie Credit Fund.. In the morning I have to pass a Ryot plot with the large tamarind trees. It is a traditional right. Now they make trouble. Yesterday afternoon they surrounded the tamarinds with thorn bushes. I could not get any shadow. These are the small worries. They occupy 90% of our life.”

It was in this way that a woman related her story during a meeting we had in the remote village of Devaramakalapalli, in the Chelur area. The Ryots (middle peasants) constitute a major obstacle to the development of the poor. After a local ADATS worker came to organise the poor into local associations called Sangha, the Ryots have observed their strength increasing. Contrary to the rich, the Ryots felt threatened, as their advantages were just minor ones. A reaction was predictable. As large scale obstruction was difficult, they took to petty resistance and harassments. Seen from the outside these problems do not look decisive in affecting the development of the Sangha. Yet, the stories about them clearly indicate how village Sangha member, indicates by themselves as “Coolies” have had to struggle for any real progress.

The image of goats running in all directions was not very strange to the mission, being similarly preoccupied with disparity and gathering. Collected data and impressions seemed to go in diverse direction as well, taking more than a day to put the information together and collate it in the form of a report. In order to prevent repetitions of information already available throw earlier documents prepared by ADATS and NOVIB, this had been deliberately omitted.

The documentation about the Sangha formation by ADATS was done bearing two perspectives in mind; what are the operation and perceptions of ADATS; and how do the villagers live and perceive reality? The writing is shaped accordingly. At the same time it follows the structure of NOVIB’s terms of reference for the mission. From a brief description of the political and economic context, we precede to ADATS objectives, organisational means, and implementation technology in chapters 2 and 3. The nonmaterial development of Sangha and problems arising in the development and sustainability, are described in chapter 4. Chapter 5 concentrates on material developments and problems. Chapter 6 deals with the role of Sangha in effecting positive discrimination of women. The special place reserved for women, however, does not imply their being excluded else where; on the contrary, it is attempted to give attention to the position of women throughout this report.

The sequence of issues discussed in the first 6 chapters, is reversed in the conclusions and recommendations in chapters 7 and 8, starting with Sangha women and ending with management issues of the head office.

2. WIDER SOCIETY

2.1. Politics

ADATS formerly sympathized with the Left Parties. At the middle of the century these parties drew locally its strength from the tenant-peasants. When these tenants moved on to become small land holder through the post-war land reform, they turned rather conservative and

aimed at consolidating the limited power they had gained. The resulting oppressive attitude of these *Ryots* middle peasants) towards the land less semi-landless became inconsistent with the ultimate goals of the Left Parties. Yet, the *Ryot* remained loyal the Left Parties, moulding it instead on their own interests. As ADATS gradually realised this inconsistency, it shifted from a sympathetic to an antagonistic position with regard to the *Ryots* and the Left Parties. In the second half of nineteen eighty nine tensions ran high, resulting in violence from both sides. People got beaten up, houses were burned, and a baby died. ADATS received police protection and got the consent of the regional authorities to continue see also ADATS 1990 : 33-38.

Annually during the period of the Muslim festivals in October-November, some Hindu fundamentalism arises in the southern part of the ADATS region. Muslim traders, being accused of exploiting Hindus who produce cottage industry raw silk. Vulnerable Muslims, such as those living in isolation, are threatened. Local Sangha Units, being opposed to fundamentalism or casteism, protect them. But they prefer to take refuge in the town of Bagepalli for a while. On the whole, however, it is not felt that fundamentalism will spread to other areas or over other seasons to the extent that it will endanger the Sangha's existence.

Through mobilising Sangha Members to vote for the less prominent Congress-I in the Karnataka State Assembly elections in 1989, ADATS managed indirectly to weaken the influence of the Left Parties in the taluk.

During the first Mandal Panchayat elections in 1987, the Coolie Sangha got 17 of the about 100 Representatives elected in the area where it operates. Mandals constitute local government bodies covering 20-30 villages. The Bagepalli taluk has 10 Mandals. They coincide partly with the ADATS Clusters in an average of 5 villages. 7 Mandals are covered by ADATS Sangha. After the elections, 1 Mandal is now controlled, and 3 are influenced by ADATS This influence in a Mandal implies that at least 1 elected Representative belongs to a Sangha. These Representatives inform the Sangha or Cluster about government funds becoming available for tapping.

2.2. Infrastructure

As in most places in India, the availability of infrastructure facilities increased in the area where ADATS is covering, without much special effort being made by it. Roads get tarred, electricity reaches into remote villages, drinking water bore wells appeared everywhere, schools are built. State bus transport, albeit not on a par with the rapidly growing number of commuting adults and school going children who use these buses. This shortage of buses produces a remarkable picture of school children blocking roads with pieces of rock, in order to force the already over-crowded buses to stop, so that they can enter, or even climb on the roof.

Other facilities that penetrate into the countryside are provided by local government bodies such as the Block Development Office, the Mandal, and the Tahsildar's office, all operating at levels between the village and the district. They provide for productive inputs, house improvement, and welfare benefits such as pensions for the aged, widows, the physically handicapped, and delivering women. Government and private banks spread out in the countryside, and give more productive loans. The reclamation of land illegally lost becomes gradually more feasible.

While all these facilities become increasingly accessible, they tend to benefit the population according to the already established hierarchy in the countryside. It is not so much the task of Sangha and ADATS to bring the new facilities to their areas, but to change the hierarchical pattern of tapping them. In this respect, ADATS' achievements are remarkable. Sangha have managed to get subsidies, welfare payments and loans from local bodies. They also constitute reliable partners for banks in need of safeguards for loan repayment, or they struggle to claim back lands that were previously acquired from the poor in an unjust way.

3. ADATS / BCS

3.1. The Organisation

In the late 1970s, ADATS started as an experiment development group of people with definite Marxist inclinations. In retrospect, ADATS now feels grateful to the Colies for patiently listening to the Marxist coloured talks. After 1983-1985, Marxism decreased as the exclusive world view. ADATS became more Coolie oriented, which resulted in the forming of a separate body, the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha (BCS). ADATS itself transformed from an informal group into a formal organisation. Experiments in development work were reduced, and well tested implementation techniques were consolidated. Personnel received clear job descriptions, including stipulated dates of entry and departure from the job. This reduced the growth of power among developing local workers recruited from the Coolie population. Simultaneously, the policy change reinforced central leadership. A group of local workers resigned in protest, creating a serious crisis in 1985.

In the late 1980s, ADATS, having learned a lot from its practical work, abandoned its exclusive Marxist approach. At the same time it initiated more cooperation with the national Congress government headed by Rajiv Gandhi. This government identified the non governmental development organisations (NGOs) as better vehicles for the implementation of its projects, such as for adult literacy or social forestry. According to the critical national intelligentsia, this policy enabled the government to control the growing power of NGOs in the process. Some dedicated NGO workers, joining hands with the government, felt torn to pieces under the criticism. Correspondingly, some sense of personal disorientation entered ADATS' leadership. This feeling was further reinforced, due to doubts about its cooperation with the local Congress, in order to defeat the Left Parties in Bagepalli that had turned so conservative, during the State Assembly elections in 1989.

Regarding internal matters, the headquarters of ADATS sees its role as backing up the Sangha and the overall BCS, which are gradually moving towards their independence (see also ADATS/BCS organogram). The Sangha have their own planning, such as regarding the implementation of the Dry Land Development Project (DLDP), loans by the Coolie Credit Funds, and the expenditure of their respective Sangha Funds. Women (Mahila) Sangha have responsibility for the decentralised health budget. At the headquarters of ADATS, financial data from Sangha are regularly fed into the computer by local workers. Along with the improved accuracy of book keeping, the computerisation provides for easy checking of finances.

The headquarters wants to preserve their right to intervene in Sangha and BCS affairs when it seems fit. One way to realise this goal is in keeping central control in Staff management, offering an efficient means of influencing workers in innovative, inspiring, or corrective ways. Although it is a policy clearly showing advantages, it is nonetheless worthwhile considering its possible disadvantages as well. One risk inherent is that of alienating senior Staff members possessing quality and the ambition needed to acquire responsible positions. Should too many of them leave, a quality gap could evolve between ADATS' core Group and its personnel. In case some members of ADATS' three person core group no longer be available, the sustainability of the organisation will be at stake. The dilemma the Core Group now faces, is that of an intensive personal involvement in the work, versus future viability of the organisation. It follows logically that further development combining both personal involvement and detachment would be the golden solution.

3.2. Implementation

ADATS has decided to implement the Sangha building over a period of 9 years, those being divided into 3 stages: formation, formalisation and withdrawal. By trial and error it developed this 3 stage approach in the central zone of Bagepalli taluk, the “Old Area”. Fund were generated locally from 1978, and by Novib from 1980 onwards. In 1990, the 3-stage Sangha building process is being implemented in 7 “Areas”, in 4 taluks of the Kolar district (see maps 1 and 2; tables 1 and 2; appendix 3, tables 1-7). If applied mechanically to an entire area, the 3-year stages pose a problem. Not all the Sangha in one Area started in the same year, or develop at the same pace. Decision making per Sangha, disregarding the exact 3-year stages, would be better.

When regarding the expenditure pattern in Areas and years, the average figure of Rs 60,000 per village per year in the Chelur Area (column 8 in Table 2) demands special attention. This figure is remarkably high in comparison with the other Areas covered by ADATS, mainly because of the substantial input in Dry Land Development by Novib. The Old Area received Novib funds, for dry land development in the same period, but there ADATS operated all in all for 13 years, instead of the 6 years in Chelur. This difference in total periods covered distorts the possibility of a direct comparison. In addition, the donor organisation ActionAid provided much economic support for the Chelur Area during 1990 as well (see also Tables 1-7 of Appendix 3).

Table 1 Estimates of ADATS/BCS Finances (in Rupees)

Non economic expenditure, 1978-1990	22,141,000
Economic expenditure, 1978-1990	20,641,000
Total expenditure, 1978 – 1990	42,782,000
Coolie Credit Fund, 1990	5,000,000
Sangha Fund, 1990	500,000
BCS Farm, Annual Income after 1995	600,000

Table 2 Expenditure in Areas, per number of villages and years

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Old	31	13	403	7,394	6,010	13,404	33
Chelur	52	6	312	9,248	9,475	18,723	60
Gulur	52	5	260	3,838	5,061	8,899	34
Chickballapur	58	2	116	1,042	95	1,137	10
Chintamani	54	2	108	408	-	-	4
Mitemari/ Siddalaghatta	48	2	96	211	-	-	2
Total	295	30	1,475	22,141	20,641	42,782	29

Key:

1 = Areas 5 = Non Economic Expenditure in Rupees (thousands)

2 = Number of Villages 6 = Economic Expenditure in Rupees (Thousands)

3 = Number of years of Operation 7 = Total Expenditure in Rupees (Thousands)

4 = Villages x Years 8 = Total Expenditure in Rupees (Thousands) per Village per Year

Note:

See also Appendix 3, Tables 1 - 7

Table 3 : Villages, Area wise and Stage wise

	FORMATION	Formalisation	Withdrawal	Cancelled	Total
1. Old Area	-	5	17	9	31
2. CEP Area	10	40	-	2	52
3. GEP Area	10	41	-	1	52
4. Chickballapur	56	-	-	2	58
5. Chintamani	54	-	-	-	54
6. Mitemari	26	-	-	-	26
7. Siddalaghatta	22	-	-	-	22
Total	178	86	17	14	295

3.3. Computerisation

One aspect of the implementation methodology applied by ADATS/BCS, the introduction of the computer, deserves special attention here. With the assistance of a computer consultant from Bangalore, ADATS is developing a management information system for its entire account keeping. An experiment to computerise the decision making process regarding the provision of loans neutralises the fear for the computer reducing the human aspect in social relations. Instead of converting human reality by “electronic screen reality”, the experiment shows that decisions have become more human, in bringing more openness and preventing possible favouritism.

The experiment concerns the specification of hitherto personal considerations made by the Executive Assistant, in order to reach decisions on co-signing cheques for loans from the Coolie Credit Fund (CCF). The loans are proposed by the Sangha and the Cluster. The final decision making by the Executive Assistant, in part consciously and in part intuitively, sometimes generate tensions. There is always the risk of misjudging the situation. Both the risk and the tension can be mitigated by a transparent accounting for the decision taken.

A number of considerations the Executive Assistant usually makes for himself, were observed by the Accounts Admn Assistant and computer consultant, and transferred into explicit steps followed. Subsequently, a computer programme has been written that generates all these steps on the screen. Now, for every decision, these steps are explicitly made via the computer. However, as long as there is no full guarantee that all the required considerations are adopted in the programme, some space for supplementary, subjective judgment is left as well.

This level of objectivity can also be developed for judgements in other fields. Some assessment processes were discussed with the mission:

- Previous agreements, noted in the minutes of various meetings.
- Loan repayment pattern per Member, Sangha, Cluster, CCF.
- Allowing consumption loans, instead of only productive loans.
- Material developments in households.
- Awareness building in politics, gender related issues, health and hygiene, tapping of government funds, environment.
- Mutual influencing of non material and material developments.
- Progress in building a Sangha, and deciding on withdrawal.

For these broad fields, detailed indicators can be developed through following and interviewing Sangha Members and Staff. By assembling these indicators in programmes, frameworks will develop that show which information should be collected, and how it is to be fed into the computer. The scores will help to assess progress of development work, or improve decision making processes.

In applying this computerisation, the existing transparency in ADATS' accounting, will be extended to assessments and decision making processes. The development of this new transparency may go through various stages. Not only the resulting use of computer programmes, but already the design itself of programmes will contribute to reflection, and adequate adjustments in activities and policies. Apart from these 2 stages of design and use by ADATS, a third stage can be envisaged. In this third stage, more or less similar NGOs use the programmes designed by ADATS for their own development work, be it in the original form, or in modified ways.

An important obstacle to the further development of computer programmes, regards the required input by a computer consultant. The presently employed consultant is both qualified and motivated, but the costs incurred by ADATS would run high, if an extension of the contract is to be realised. Obviously, these costs will receive adequate returns, through the above mentioned advantages in the stages of programme design and implementation by ADATS, and their application by other NGOs.

4. SANGHA DEVELOPMENT

4.1. Organisation

In general, policy responses to rural poverty in India have taken several forms, such as integrated rural development, creation of institutions for rural mobilisation, modernisation of peasant agriculture, and starting employment guarantee schemes. The efforts often aimed at the entire community as its target group, without any attempt being made to identify the poor separately. Together with this, policy responses didn't really attempt to empower the poor. Their capacities in dealing with their problems and asserting their rights within the larger socio-economic system were not built up.

Thus, the rural poor, existing in a social system dominated by feudal relations, were victims of various forms of economic and social discrimination. Harijans and other extremely poor people worked as bonded labourers for landlords. They got loans from the same landlords, for medical treatment, marriage and the like, worth Rs 500-1,000, while their yearly income was about Rs 100. Obviously, repayment was impossible. Debts urged them to sell parts of their lands, or "sell" themselves as bonded labourers. Harijan women were treated in a degrading fashion. Harijan children were prevented by the landlords from going to school.

In was under such conditions, that ADATS initiated its intervention in the Bagepalli taluk during the late seventies. The main objective was to bring the Coolies together, so that their collective power could oppose feudal injustice. A democratic mass organisation was built up for this purpose.

The Sangha formation was realised through regular weekly meetings, using a participatory and democratic process of decision making at the grassroots level, which was reinforced by an adult literacy programme using specially designed material. A wider form of organisation was realised through constructing Clusters of 5-7 Sangha. These Clusters, in turn, became represented in the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha.

The building of Sangha by ADATS is a substantial achievement. However, the Sangha in the "Old Area", around the town of Bagepalli, experienced the disadvantage of having been the subject of ADATS experimental phase (see maps in Chapter 2). At the same time, the with-

drawal has been completed. The physical presence of ADATS in the form of Village Level Workers (VLWs) and Community Workers (CWs) is not there any more. The ideological involvement seems to have been weakened (see also Figure 1).

Formally, the President and Secretary of the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha (BCS) are responsible for the survival of Sangha in the Old Area, largely through their participation in Coolie Credit fund. Admittedly, this participation strengthens the continuation of identification with the BCS. Sangha Members in the Old Area maintain both personal contacts and political solidarity with ADATS. The Dry Land Development Programme gave a new incentive to the Sangha spirit. The Adult Literacy Programme seems to have slackened because of the orthodox, one-way style of teaching.

The Sangha in the New Areas benefit from improvements in implementation methodology. A decentralised system of people's organisation has evolved that combines management skills with the participatory process in the Sangha Meetings. In the Meetings, formalised procedures are adopted, such as coming together regularly, the recording of minutes, and the collective planning and decision making.

Apart from an improved implementation methodology, Sangha, in the New Areas, in the stages of "Formation" or "Formalisation", benefit from a larger Staff input. On top of this, they benefit from the special programme for Dry Land Development, and participate actively in the Coolie Credit Funds. The child literacy programme sponsored by ActionAid, being implemented in the Old and Chelur Areas, gives the additional advantage of attracting parents to participate in the Sangha.

4.2. Sangha Development

Now that in the Old Area the physical presence of ADATS in the form of VLWs and CWs have been withdrawn, the CSUs here are standing the test of continued survival. It is observed by the mission that the process of conscientisation has weakened and the Sangha continue to come together around the issues of CCF and that their identification with the BCS holds (Figure 1).

An important observation made at this stage is the "plateau effect" on the Sangha model and the possibility of tapering off in the course of time (see Figure 2). It is probably the right time to take a serious look at the model itself and the sectoral approach to some of the basic problems encountered by people. It would be advisable to re-assess the methodology and approach of Adult Literacy Programme. The very fact that there is an element of compulsion and focus on the "literacy" aspect, there is also the possibility of rejection.

While building awareness and touching the critical consciousness of people is core to the formation of Sangha, the economic base provided was considered to strengthen the material base of the poor. The reality justifies the position taken, that, as long as the economic base remains weak and fragile, the poor will continue to lack the staying power to face a crisis. While one favours the fact that conscientisation alone without corresponding initiative by the poor to improve their economic strength could, after a point, erode their enthusiasm and even create frustration among them, it is important that the methods adopted to improve the economic base of the poor should be different from the normal run of development projects. ADATS has evolved to a stage where it meets with cross-roads between more economic input or strengthening people's organisation through conscientisation.

It is observed that also the methods adopted need not be emulations of the dominant forms of economic behaviour, but could give credence to alternative forms of reliance on people's own creativity, assertion of people's rights, collective endeavours which are basic need oriented and use of alternative technologies. It has been pointed out already, that the attempt at economic improvement could degenerate into pure "economism" to create the illusion that the latter has provided space for some marginal economic improvements for them. Therefore the

importance of the constant need to relate efforts to improve the base of conscientisation as action-reflection-action exercises (see Figure 3). In this scheme of action-reflection-action, the Coolie Sangha has space to develop alternative value systems and through networking and visibility strengthen the process of Sangha building.

SUSTAINABILITY OF COHESIVENESS IN CONSCIENTISATION WITHIN THE GROUPS

PROCESSES	STAGES OF ADATS INTERVENTION	OLD AREA	CHELUR	GULUR
LAND STRUGGLE	FORMATION OF COOLIE SANGHA CONSCIENTISATION THROUGH ADULT LITERACY	X	X	X
POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS	FORMALISATION OF COOLIE SANGHA THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION OF DLDP, CCFs STRENGTHENING OF ECONOMIC	X	X	X
WITHDRAWAL	ALP ON WEAK FOOTING AND HENCE WEAKENING OF THE CONSCIENTISATION PROCESS BUT THE IDENTITY WITH BCS HOLDS	X		

(Figure 1)

PLATEAU EFFECT

D R A W

(Figure 2)

Adapted from: The Animator in Participatory Rural Development: Some experiences in S. Tilakaratne, Sri Lanka.

(Figure 3)

There is evidence of the powerful pressures operating within the community which reinforce and perpetuate the kind of value system that is initiative of the life styles oriented towards consumerism. On the contrary, it is worthwhile for ADATS to look at the available space for participatory action to generate new life styles that represent alternatives to the prevailing elitist systems.

It is also necessary that in order to emerge as an alternative to the elitist structures, participatory processes have to move beyond the confines of an isolated village, group of villages, or even a taluk to higher levels of operation such as a district, and the state. Again if the development process is a movement, participatory processes however successful they might be within isolated villages, WILL HAVE NO RELEVANCE TO THE BROADER SOCIETY UNLESS THEY MULTIPLY SPONTANEOUSLY TO ELEVATE SUCH WORK TO A SOCIALLY SIGNIFICANT AND VISIBLE LEVEL.

4.3. Learning Process

According to ADATS, the VLWs' role in the Adult Literacy Programme (ALP) was primarily an effort to assist to bring out their intellectual capabilities. The interaction is expected to spark off a certain reaction – to enquire into the life situations.

As an outcome, the poor grew out of their sensory perceptions of and fatalistic beliefs about their poverty into a conceptual analytical framework which enabled them to relate their poverty to the social reality around them. In this process, the emergence of internal leadership holds the key to stabilising the animation process. In stimulating this, the ALP has had its limitations. The role of the animator is important in stimulating people to build up their capacities for self inquiry and analysis and confidence in their own capabilities. Also it is one of self-liquidating role. In other words, it is transference of the role of animation and facilitation

from the external to people’s own cadre. Therefore, it is desirable that the methodology is participatory, paving the way to the emergence of “organic skills” among the people.

An attempt was made to measure indicators like awareness, leadership, desire to change, and dependence through semi-structured group discussions around topics specifically related to the objectives of the intervention. Broadly speaking the areas of discussion were on gender issues, inequality and perceptions of standards of living.

These areas of discussion were further broken down to sub-topics. For example the discussion on the status of women was covered by concepts on “gender discrimination”, importance given to educating the female child, role stereotyping, right to ownership of assets and other discriminating social customs. The semi-structured group discussion was held with a sample of 10 selected villages to represent the 3 Areas (see Appendix 3).

The outcome of the discussion is presented in Figure 4. The outcome is very closely related to the focus of the ALP, where the inequality and class conflicts have been dealt with. The key words recorded as clippings are indicative of the scores for indicators like awareness, confidence, internal leadership, desire to change and dependency. The response to the discussion on inequality emerged as positive when compared to the ones on gender issues and perceptions of standards of living. Therefore, it is obvious that positive discrimination of women it is to do the awakening in both men and women and spread across every aspect of people’s lives, it is yet to happen in the Sangha. Chapter 6, on Women, attempts to cover the scope for furthering the “Hamila” and nurturing the concept of feminism, to give it a special emphasis.

4.4. Four Culture Model

The building of Sangha is based on the assumption that, through conscientisation and collective action, the behaviour of the poor will turn to their own benefit. Obviously, this process of behavioural change can occur neither in a political and economic vacuum, nor a cultural and psychological vacuum. The political and economic context has already been summarised in Chapter 2, Wider Society, of this report. The cultural and psychological make-up of people, both within and outside Sangha, is discussed briefly in this and the following paragraph.

The Members of Sangha are operating, quite impressively, in a setting of no less than 4 cultural or sub-cultural spheres (see Figure 1). There are liberating themselves gradually from the traditional culture of apathy and uncertainty, and of submissive and docile behaviour towards “feudal” landlords and higher castes in general.

Figure 1 : Four Culture Model

Originally	Recently
Feudalism	Modernisation
Development Ideology	Revive Native Wisdom

This “feudal” culture is being replaced by a “development” or “intervention” culture, provided by western influenced development ideologists as a whole, and ADATS in particular. It consisted originally of a mixture of leftist political ideologies aimed at a radical change of power relations in the society. Subsequently, the radical options became more modest, and have been mixed to some extent with feminism and environmentalism.

According to some Sangha Members and Staff, the replacement of internalised feudal characteristics by the development culture, adopts the form of the phoenix model. Firstly, the old culture is completely eradicated, burnt to its ashes. For only after the entire removal of the old culture, can a new one be created. In fact, at the same time that this internal, mental develop-

ment is taking place, the external power struggle is being fought against the traditional, “feudal” establishment in the countryside, a double achievement of formidable proportions.

Although observed often with severe criticism, the wider society of India cannot simply be identified as still being feudal, or becoming once again dominated by feudal-capitalist powers exerting the same oppression as previously. In many places, labour relations and other social situations change to become a part of, what is broadly referred to as being the process of modernisation and the development of social-democratic elements. The mainstream of Indian society is being characterised by this.

Sangha Members and development workers have no alternative but to acknowledge the modernising society around them and keep in touch with it. They cannot but face the question of how to maintain the development culture, and to simultaneously relate to the modernising world outside, to the “mainstream”.

A fourth cultural sphere is considered by looking particularly at the Harijans and searching for hidden, but authentic, positive traits, existing under a layer of adaptive behaviour evolved simply to survive under feudal conditions.

Among both Harijan women and men there seems to be a good capacity for a “feminine” attitude, called “*Madiga tannam*” in Telugu. “*Madiga tannam*”, or the feminine attitude, does not make men weak or passive, but less destructive and more caring towards women, children, and their natural environment. For instance, Vandana Shiva, in her widely read book “*Staying Alive*” (1988:48-54; 218-224), points at this attitude as well.

Derived more or less from the feminine attitude, is the skill in using herbs growing wildly for their medical purposes. Another derivation is their original habit of growing vegetables and other food crops in a haphazard manner. To the western influenced, “scientific” observer, this style of cultivation suggests an unorganised, and thus unskilled way of operating. However, the multi-crop variation may be much more in tune with requirements for long-term soil treatment, than mechanistic mono-cropping is.

The feminine attitude and its derivations, combined perhaps with other authentic traits of the Harijans, and supplemented by some western ideas about Marxism, social-democracy, feminism and ecology, could constitute the basis for a fourth culture to be developed in the Sangha. Certainly, any separate Harijan culture in Sangha may face the same problems in articulating with the mainstream of society, as the development culture described earlier has at present. It requires serious reflection and social experimenting to establish the most suitable direction for the Sangha.

4.5. Child Development

As contrasting as the four cultures relevant to the Sangha members may be, they tend to show some typical characteristics of the dominant Indian culture. For instance, certain aspects of the gender differentiation, or hierarchical structuring are quite persistent. These traits originated as the functional parts of the traditional society in India, and remain to be reproduced as a culture possesses its own impetus, and does not adapt itself quickly to new external conditions.

For development policies attempting to change behavioural patterns, it is useful to gain an understanding of the mechanisms that continue reproducing the old culture., or may start reproducing a new one. An important mechanism of cultural reproduction regarded is the parents’ influence in the raising of their children. Orthodox sociology confines itself to explaining cultural reproduction by referring to norms and values as taught to the children. They become rules that guide consciously positive and negative sanctioning of certain patterns of behaviour.

However, sometimes positive and negative sanctions, applied by others and ourselves, have difficulty in succeeding. Apart from in-born temperamental forces possibly operating in a contradictory manner, subconscious patterns, ‘internalised’ later on in life, may bring about behaviour that differs from the norms and values sanctioned. Deliberate attempts to change these internalised patterns may produce disappointment as the importance of both considering norms and values, but also internalised, subconscious patterns in our brains.

Internalised patterns are often experienced as having always existed in our lives. Such a feeling is consistent with the idea that internalisation begins as far back as in early childhood. According to this line of reasoning, the subconscious origin of behaviour such as found in gender specific roles or hierarchical manners, does not develop after a number of years, but start at birth. Obviously, parents are most influential then.

Among modern childhood psychologists, our ‘preverbal’ childhood, the period before we develop conscious thinking and start talking, is seen as being dominated by subconscious awareness and behaviour. The parents, in practice most of ten the mother, establishes subconscious contact with the infant. In this ‘symbiosis’ between mother and child, her pattern of subconscious awareness or perceptions of herself and the outside world are transferred to the child. This transfer enables the child to eventually becoming aware of both its inner and outer world, and shape its behaviour accordingly.

Actually, subconscious transfers through symbiosis will vary individually among mothers, children, and their cultures. In India, apart from regional variations, a subconscious symbiotic pattern is distinguished that generates, for instance, vague structuring of the inner world, compensated by strong structuring of the outer world. The more outer compensation is sought for, the more rigidity may arise within the social structuring, such as in caste and community formation, hierarchical behaviour, including that between man and woman, bureaucratic regulation, and other adherence to classification. In common with other cultures, this pattern suited the historical system of economics and politics in its society, but resulted subsequently in unnecessary extremities, out of touch with recent developments.

It served the mission very well to discuss some of these ideas with the Sangha members and staff. There was understanding for the problem that, although early childhood is perhaps most formative, its subconscious, preverbal character, precludes conscious direct assessments. However, through indirect reasoning, the formative power in the subconscious ‘symbiosis’ between mother and child was well understood.

Future extremities such as found in the gender difference, to an extent generated subconsciously by the mother, may be reduced. Consequently, the lives of mothers may improve, as their emotional conditions, influencing the future of the family, are more carefully considered. However, in order to come to grips with these matters, an explicit understanding of cultural reproduction in early childhood is required.

As is known among the Indians, the dominant cultural pattern, social mechanisms, having shaped the minds of people already at an early stage. This understanding assists us in ascertaining that long periods will be required for gradual change in nature of parent – child transfer of culture. It prevents us from expecting quick results and becoming disappointed after a short period of time. It directs our attention to the deep rooted causes of social mechanisms we wish to change, and thus contributes to an improved development thinking.

To return to the examples given above, inequalities in sexes may now be understood through their origins, and recognised as being difficult to overcome by adapting superficial and short-term measures. Changes in the hierarchy between men are traced likewise to their subconscious origins. It becomes logical that young men cultivate a ‘clientelist’ attitude, while they develop a patronising attitude at an older age, in a way showing two sides of the same coin. At intervention methodology that aims at fundamentally changing gender inequality and hier-

archical structuring, may benefit from including considerations such as the subconscious patterns generated in early childhood.

4.6. Sustainability

Acknowledging the intricate constellation of cultural backgrounds and political-economic powers, ADATS feels itself confronted with the question of sustainability for the Sanghas. On the one hand, short term survival of the Sanghas is at stake, without much reservation about the need for empowering the Sanghas. The development methodology becomes refined and criteria for measuring progress are discussed. On the other hand, for the long-term, both the need for survival of Sanghas, and policy principles to be adopted, are subject to discussion.

In assessing the short-term development methodology, some criteria are reviewed here. One important criterion to measure a Sangha's take off pertains to the phenomenon of internal group dynamics. Members coming together in meetings may constitute a mere gathering of unconnected individuals, but after a certain period, the discussions may grow into something more than a series of statements without much cohesion. This phenomenon is also referred to as 'the result being more than a mere sum of the parts'. The development of this cumulative mechanism in Sanghas can be accelerated under good leadership. When a Sangha occasionally reaches this cohesive or cumulative level in its meetings, the common spirit is expressed in talks about mutual human care, wider society, the future, ideology, and philosophy. The probable survival of this capacity seems a suitable criterion for measuring sustainability.

Another short term and middle term criterion for sustainability finds itself in the growth of new power and finance within the Sangha. The village level workers rapidly gain power, while most Sangha members have no experience in checking this power. Also due to insufficient control by all members, financial operations run the risk of turning slightly more to the benefit of the already better off members. This may result in differential growth of power, properties and income. In attempting to limit differences, ADATS developed the policy of appointing community workers for periods of three years only, and the village level workers for six years.

The objective of long-term sustainability for Sanghas poses a dilemma in its feasibility. It seems attractive to consolidate stems from a family structure that has adapted to the needs of large agricultural units. In order to maintain these units, and ensure inheritance thereof, the sons remain with their father on the farms. On marrying, daughters must leave the parental house. Male solidarity arises in order to preserve the economic viability of the family, and women become regarded as liabilities. When married, the husband may be pulled away from his male relatives by his wife. As a consequence, the male group tries to prevent an intimate, harmonious relationship occurring between the married couple, by discouraging the man from having a close relationship with her, or by simply keeping her away from him.

Especially the recently married woman undergoes this traumatic situation as her fate. All she can do is wait eagerly for a son that will improve her prestige in the family and provide her with a substitute for a negligent husband. The theory of the author Sudhir Kakar is that once the mother has given birth to a son, she subconsciously directs her love and attention towards him. The son's narcissistic fantasies, a natural characteristic of any infant, are largely encouraged. Glowing in the light of so much exclusive attention and love from his mother, his feelings of limitless power, greatness, perfection, glory and bliss, are not reduced but reinforced. Meanwhile, the mother does not detract from her deep longing for intimate, sexual contact with her husband. Apart from normal variations as do occur in any culture, her wishes tend to remain unfulfilled. Subconsciously she then directs her adult sexuality towards the boy as a substitute for his father. The boy may find her pleasing, but he develops a fear for the over-

whelming adult female sexual need in her, a fear that may reoccur later on in life when relating to other women as well.

Consequently, the son carries with him a subconscious ambivalence towards women being perceived as sources of paradise-like comfort, embodying frightening sexual demands. When he grows up and marries, his longing remains longing for the comfortable female atmosphere, while he subconsciously avoids adult emotional and sexual contact with his wife. The fear that lies at the root of avoiding his wife, may result in women being prevented from manifesting themselves in general, being oppressed and treated with aggression and violence.

In highlighting just one more element of the dominant Indian culture, reference is made to another formative period and another type of relation in the family. When a son becomes three or four years old, he lives to see a radical change in his position. He is, in a way torn away from his mother and put into the world of the men. This transition is rather unexpected for him, since in his first years, with his boundlessly tolerant mother, he is not gradually prepared for it. In the men's world he is taught to obey, to follow the strict instructions of elderly men in exchange for approval. He experiences the transition as very frustrating and unjust, but must recognise that there is no escape. Thus he develops a 'clientelist' attitude towards the powerful men, forces his pride and anger to the back of his mind, and waits silently for revenge and compensation once he is powerful himself.

How far this cultural pattern is true for India, just as other patterns are true for other societies, is a subject of discussion and prolonged research. What could be possible here, however, is an attempt to recognise the subconscious force behind certain

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the Sangha and the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha, to the benefit of its members. Both the development of individual Sangha members, and relations with wider society will be supported. However, if membership to a Sangha should start interfering with these developments, the members may be inclined to leave.

In Summary: initially, the survival of Sanghas, through uniting the poor, should be a clear objective, whilst in the long run, the objective of Sangha formation should not obstruct the development of its individual members.

5. ECONOMIC BASE

5.1. Dry Land Development

The term 'dry land development' rather confusingly, does not refer to cultivation of land to remain dry, but to preparing wasteland or pasture for cultivation fed by rain water. It is distinguished from 'wet land cultivation', which is based on ground water pumped to the surface. Wet lands can have various crops through out the year, including paddy and mulberries. Rain-fed, or 'dry land' cultivation enables for only one crop, during the monsoon in July – August, for which predominantly groundnut is preferred.

ADATS arranged for a wide scale, collective effort of dry land development. With technical assistance from ADATS the Sanghas were in a position to plan and implement the massive program involving 3000 coolie members from 87 Sanghas. ADATS' last completion report of this project (DLDP) covers the inventory of details. The mission will confine itself to highlighting specific features of the DLDP.

First hand knowledge of the kind of waste land that has been converted into cultivable land is very impressive. The entire program has been executed in a participatory manner; skills of common decision making and management were developed as part of the process. Pride and sense of achievement were visible amongst the people involved in this.

On the part of ADATS, they have facilitated the process with systems, procedures and formats and technical advice which otherwise would not have been available to them. One of the concrete achievements with the bargaining power the poor have had through DLDP, is the equal wages for men and women. There has been practically no migration to other areas in search of work, since the DLDP commenced. The coolies dissolved differences of caste and gender while working together. Through their Sanghas have successfully evolved a code of conduct and discipline during their work. Along with these and other positive aspects that have emerged, a careful analysis of the data generated during the survey, allows certain dilemmas to emerge.

Table 1. Land holdings in three areas, of all families and Sangha families

	Old Area		Chelur		Gulur	
All families	3142	100	3176	100	3700	100
Sangha families	958	30	1255	39	1662	44

A quick survey of agricultural developments on the DLDP lands in ten sample villages clearly indicate a fall in production of millets and increase in cash crops. A first dilemma here is the question of sustenance and erosion of self-providing mechanisms, vis-à-vis the short term benefits of cash cropping. A second dilemma is the immediate profits vis-à-vis exploitation of the soil nutrients through mono-cropping and over use of fertilisers and pesticides (table 2)

Table 2 Ten selected CSUs before and after the Dry Land Development Project

Village Code and CSU	Crops grown before DLDP			Crops grown after DLDP		
	Gnut bags	Millet	Paddy	Gnut bags	Millet	Paddy
002 Kothakota CSU	184.5	85.7	7.0	267.0	100.0	17.0
014 Seegalapalli CSU	65.0	73.0	3.0	275.0	39.0	8.0
036 Mandyampalli CSU	128.0	89.3	72.0	326.0	12.8	267.0
050 Venkatapuram CSU	79.0	23.0	1.0	189.0	7.5	5.5
067 Gadivanlapalli CSU	294.0	61.8	50.0	450.5	44.0	50.0
072 Ramanpadi CSU	325.5	36.8	0.0	513.0	37.2	0.0
107 Nanjireddipalli CSU	173.0	43.5	14.0	224.0	11.0	29.0
109 Bommaigaripalli CSU	239.0	204.0	5.0	474.0	160.5	9.0
123 G. Maddepalli (HC)CSU	86.5	39.9	9.5	159.0	27.9	14.0
140 Donnakonda CSU	13.5	75.8	8.0	106.0	45.0	20.5
TOTAL	1,608.0	732.8	169.5	2,983.5	484.85	420.0

Table 3 Membership and Land Holding in the Three Areas

	Old Area	Chelur	Gulur	Total
Families covered by CSU's	958	1255	1662	
Total number of families	3142	3176	3700	
Percent covered by CSU	30	39	44	
Land holding patterns	%	%	%	
Landless	9	5	11	9.2
0 to 1 acres	16	14	14	19.1
1.1 to 2 acres	16	15	16	16.0
2.1 to 3 acres	13	10	8	10.4
3.1 to 4 acres	6	7	5	6.5
4.1 to 5 acres	12	13	7	10.4
7 to 10 acres	21	30	23	25.4
Not known	7	6	16	3.0

Table 4 Distribution of land as against distribution of credit as observed in 10 selected villages

			Total %		Credit %
Landless	28		15.4		
0 - 1	10.3	55.8	8.2	39%	
1.1 - 2	17.5		15.4		
2.1 - 3	11.2		15.4		
3.1 - 4	13.1	24.3	13.6	29%	
4.1 - 5	5.6		11.6		
> 5	14.0	19.6	20.3	32%	

Table 5 The trend of consumption loans

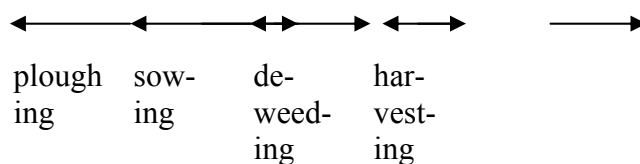
	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees
Old Area	(Sept. 86 to Aug. 88)		(Sept. 88 to Jun. 90)	
	5.7	4.8	15.0	9.6
Chelur	(Sept. 87 to Sept. 88)		(Oct. 88 to Jun. 90)	
	14.2	16.5	18.7	18.1
Gulur	(Mar. 86 to Sept. 88)		(Oct. 88 to Jun. 90)	
	1.8	2.8	4.5	6.2

DRY LAND AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR FOR AN AVERAGE YEAR IN BAGEPALLI TALUK

Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Colloquial name of the season					Krithi ka	Mru-gashi	Chin-nabo	Uttar a-	Atta-Chith	Swat hi	Visha ka-	Anur adha

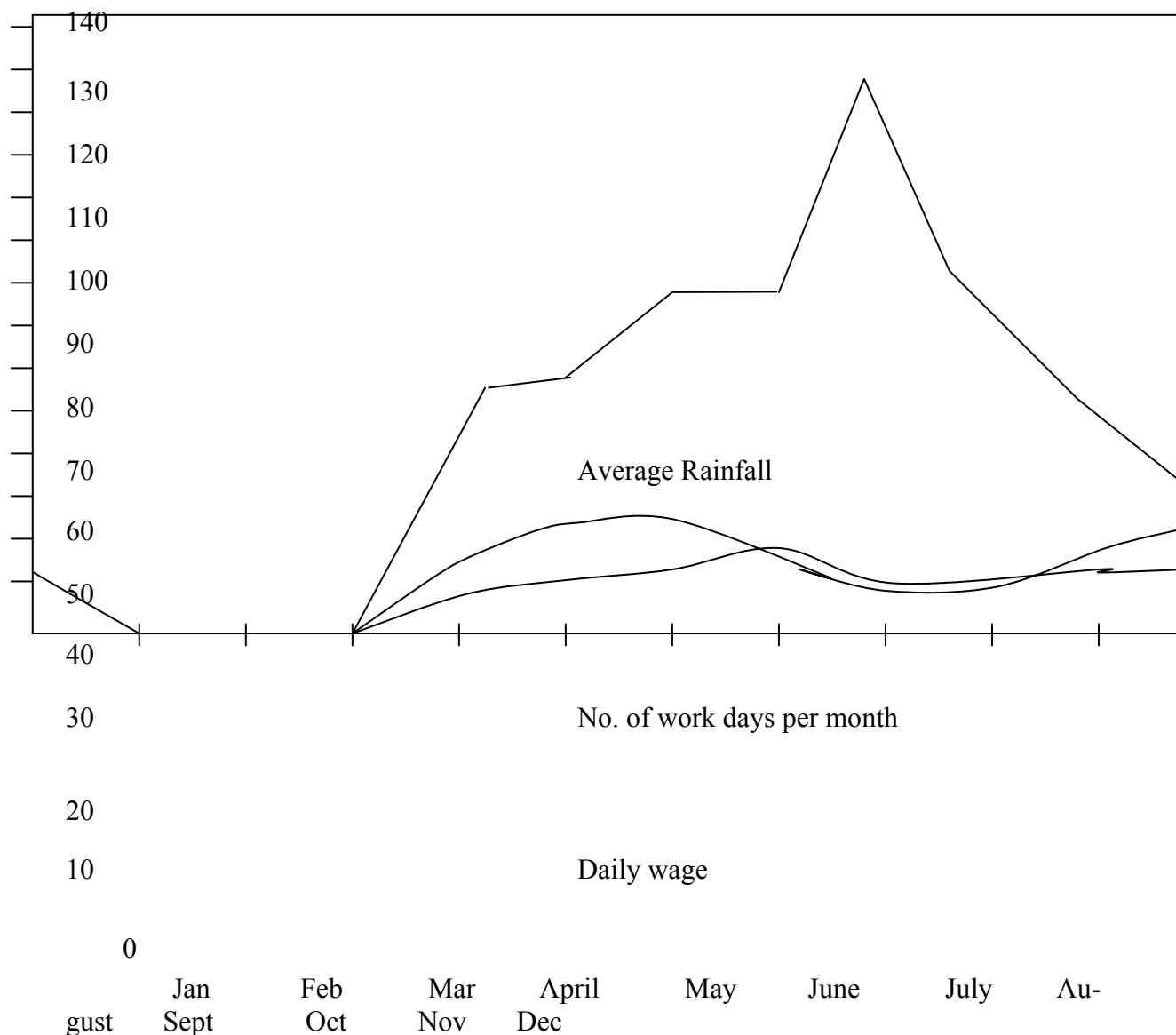
					Ro-hini	ra Arudra	osi Pedabosi	Atta	a		Anura dha	
Average rainfall in mm												

Agricultural activity



Number of days	10	nil	nil	Nil	15	25	25	15	10	10	20	25
Daily wage	10.00				10.00	10.00	15.00	15.00	12.00	12.00	15.00	15.00
Therefore a coolie's income	100.00				150.00	250.00	375.00	225.00	120.00	120.00	300.00	375.00

DRY LAND AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR



As a result of the DLDP, the total land holding increased by 5%. There was a net increase of nearly 90% in the value of crops. There was an increase of nearly 150% in the production of coarse paddy, which the coolies themselves consumed, there was a decrease of nearly 35% in the value of other millets that the Coolies produced.

Distribution of land amongst the Sangha Members show that the landless have decreased over a period but date also indicates that it tends towards inequitable distribution. It may be worth while to look at power dynamics within groups (table 3). Following this, is the observation that those who have more land, have also availed the CCF loans (table 4)

Discussions during the Sangha meetings also gave room for requests for more inputs in the form of tube well irrigation. The dilemma is that such an intervention would lead to increase the distance between the “relatively” poor and the “absolutely” poor through further inputs. This concept of the lack of mobility of the absolutely poor has been well explained by Amartya Sen.

5.2. Coolie Credit Fund

The facility of the Coolie Credit Fund (CCF) being available to people has helped in eliminating the money lender's exploitation of the Sangha members. The scheme pursues a solution for the every day economic problems that Coolies have and at the same time aims at further strengthening the Sangha and the position of the Coolies in the village economy by the very way its implementation procedures have been formulated. It is commendable that there is a high rate of repayment, but the data on time lag between borrowing and lending raises an important issue; In a given period how many times does the entire CCF amount get rotated?

Some interesting details like the use of CCF over a period records increasing consumption loans, from the earlier period when loans were availed for purposes of capital investment and production purposes (see table 5).

It has already been pointed out that an argument in favour of the idea to charge loans with a certain interest rate is the fact that capital has a certain value in any economy because of its scarcity. Therefore, it has a price. If one finds capital free of charge one overlooks the price of capital which is a characteristic of any productive system. This may lead to an alienation from economic reality. ADATS should be careful not to put the Sangha into an economic glass house which may definitely not enhance the Coolies social consciousness and political strength in the long run. Even though ADATS had raised several ideological objections to the above concept, what is important is to spread the benefits to the very poor.

6. INTEGRATION OF WOMEN

6.1. General

The question of women has been taken up at various forms and the NGO is no exception to that. Many a times the efforts to organise women is taken on as an after thought and frequently as a funding compulsion. ADATS on the contrary has made a conscious choice not to segregate the issue of oppression and discrimination against women as an isolated problem but to bring it into the agenda of development. In this effort the first step has been in establishing equal wages for men and women and a collective bargaining power in the consciousness of men.

This step has now been followed up by examining deeper issues. The philosophy of ADATS on issues of women is based on the understanding that the man women relationship is akin to the dynamic interplay of two archetypal poles associated with images of opposites taken from natural order is one of dynamic balance between the two poles. With this concept at the base ADATS is searching for ways and means of restoring the balance that has been unsettled over the years resulting in discrimination, oppression, deprivation and desolation of women.

As a recent activity ADATS has started with organising separate Mahila meetings to encourage the participation of women recognising the latent potentials and in order to involve them in decision making. ADATS has taken a deliberate step in letting the women handle the "health budget". A recent move by ADATS to give women a moral boost has been to create the "*Vokkaku Sanchi Duddu*" contingency fund of Rs 1,000 which allows women to dip into this for small needs that arise. Though these are very progressive steps in strengthening the hands of the women, they are not at the root of the problems. To raise women's consciousness on this. ADATS is contemplating on training the women from a particular geographical area.

Towards this, the mission recommends that ADATS spends enough time in understanding the nuts and bolts of the rural scenario, cultural context and the historical evolution of the dis-

crimination against women and restore the balance, instead of the routine training approach which divides the problem into categories.

6.2. Case study

The group discussions were followed up by recording case studies of individual families to understand the social change occurring at family level. Three families from five Sangha belonging to different areas were selected by purposive sampling, falling under three categories viz joint family, nuclear family and a female headed family.

The case study (see appendix 3) presented as demographic and economic profiles is super imposed on the social fabric of customs and beliefs. Some of the oppressive customs like women have to keep a pleasing countenance even if they are suffering inwardly. It is the wife who has to perform rituals to pray for the husband's long life. Dowry practices that did not exist have found a place amongst the lower caste, are just a few examples to highlight the deep discriminatory attitudes. Emulating the rich or high caste is a result of this - liberating powers of the development dilemma.

Table 1 ASSESSMENT OF QUALITATIVE CHANGES AS OBSERVED IN A SAMPLE OF 10 CSUs

	1	2	3	4	5
STATUS OF WOMEN					
Gender Discrimination	↓	↷	↑	↑	↑
Education of Female Child	↓	↷	↑	↑	↑
Role Stereotypes	↓	↓	↓	↓	√
Ownership of Assets	↓	↓	↓	√	√
Social Customs	↓	↓	↓	√	√
INEQUALITY					
Caste Consciousness	↑	↑	↑	√	×
Bargaining Power	↑	↑	↑	-	×
Political Status	↑	↑	↑	-	×
Economic Dependency and resulting Poverty	↑	↑	↑		
Access to Resources	↑	↑	↑		
STANDARD OF LIVING					
Basic Needs to improve Standard of Living	↓	↓	↓	-	√
Purchasing Power	√	√	↓	-	√
Health Facilities	↓	↓	↓	-	√
Environmental Consciousness	↓	↓	↓	↓	√
Increasing Assets	↑	↓	↓	-	√

Key:

1 = Awareness 4 = Desire for Change

2 = Confidence 5 = Dependency

3 = Internal Leadership

↓ = Low

↷ = Partly High

↑ = High

√ = Yes

x = No

-- = Can't Say

It has been established by sociologists that economic mobility leads to the Sanskritisation - the process by which low Hindu caste or other groups change their customs, and way of life in the direction of the high caste. It is also indicated that another sign of Sanskritisation among village peasants is the change from bride wealth to dowry.

6.3. Agriculture: The mainstay of their lives

Were present patterns of agricultural growth and development likely to exacerbate or diminish the burden of women in poor rural households? Given the existing intra household gender inequalities in the division of labour and in access to food, health care, cash income and productive resources, women of such households have been worse off than men. It was apparent that women have the primary responsibility for fuel, fodder and water collection, and the overall deforestation and erosion of natural resources base has affected them adversely in an uncompromising manner.

Further long term negative associations between women's contribution to family earnings, dowry payments and the extent of anti-female bias in food and health that are within the home were expressed. The agricultural developments based on the dominant development of cash crop economy was discussed as a case in point to see the shifts it brings about in the food economy of the house hold and its adverse effect on women.

Table 2: Comparative advantages of millet and groundnut crops

	Millet	Groundnut
Market demand and price	Low	High
Change in price	Low	Increasing
Subsistence consumption	High	Low
Benefit in low season	Food reserve	No reserve
Bargaining capacity	High	Low
Alienation of land	Not likely	Possible
Exhaustion of the soil	Low	High

Similarly, it was understood that various options existed to strengthen the scope of positive discrimination towards women through credit facilities increasing their access to basic needs, and social change in fighting oppressive practices. Therefore most important features in such a concept of a holistic approach to the problems of women is not to consider that a 'women's programme' appended to the intervention would solve the problems. The linkages in their entirety have to be identified and incorporated into the mainstream of development. rather than separating men and women as distinct objects of development efforts. It suffices to describe the concept of development efforts. It suffices to describe the concept and elaborating further is beyond the purview of this assignment.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1. Sangha and sustainability

The development work gained through Sangha is substantial. A clear mental involvement exists amongst the Members with the Sangha, as well as the capacity to manage their internal and ex-

ternal affairs. The interaction between various development programmes reinforces this capacity.

The food intake has improved remarkably over the last few years. Various factors are accountable for this: the dry land development, subsequent raises in daily wages from about Rs 5 to Rs 10 for both women and men, productive loans from the Coolie Credit Fund and local banks, and the more effective tapping of government funds.

Problems arise in preventing differential growth of power and income within Sangha created by caste, gender and land holding. ADATS appointing its local workers for only a few years - reduces the power may now try to gain maximum power within a shorter period. The differential income growth may continue, for instance, because economic programmes and provision of credit tend to reach the landholders and other better off households.

In the short-term, Sangha Members face the problem of an inadequate internal control of newly gained power and finance by some of them. The local workers gain power, while most Sangha Members often have no experience in checking them. Financial operations run the risk of turning to the benefit of better off members. The emergence and prevention of differential growth is considered by ADATS with regard to a number of issues: the Sangha model itself, the adult literacy programme, involvement of women, staff training and cadre formation, cash crop agriculture, position landless and semi landless, Coolie Credit Fund, and development of the farm.

The objective of long term sustainability for Sangha poses a dilemma in its feasibility. It seems attractive to consolidate the Sangha and the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha to the benefit of their members. The development of both individual Sangha members, and relations with society at large will be supported. However, if membership to a Sangha starts interfering with these developments, Members may be inclined to leave.

7.2. Special Programmes

The dry and development Project (DLDP) was implemented with great zeal. IT has gained new cultivable land for the Coolies, while Sangha group dynamics got a spur through the common work. It created much employment, causing a shortage in the labour market, and a subsequent raise in daily wages.

The dairy, poultry, and tree planting projects suffered due to insufficient planning and training of Sangha Members. Drought periods added to the problems. While the first two projects succeeded to a limited extent, the tree planting project largely failed. A few trees, of various types, were selected for planting, but they did not suit the dry environment. Perhaps traditional knowledge of the local people could have been utilised. The trees were not well maintained during their initial period of growth, and only some coconut palm trees in each village survived.

7.3. Integration of women

It is observed by the mission that a good beginning has been made towards strengthening the position of women ADATS is careful not to divide the community into two separate entities of men and women.

ADATS has a long way to go in bringing about a change in the physical condition and social status of women. The awareness on various gender issues is low amongst Sangha members. There is also a danger that the direction of “development” could perpetuate further discrimination against women.

7.4. Adult education

In the “formation” stage, the adult literacy programme was the integrated base of Sangha building. In the ‘withdrawal’ stage, this integration with Sangha building has decreased. By changing the contents and methodology used for teaching, and giving more attention to functional literacy, reintegration may be possible.

7.5. Poorest section

Material improvement of the poorest section of the population was not directly achieved. The landless and semi landless households, including many headed by women, constitute approximately a quarter of the Sangha members. Because of their lack of land, they benefited less from dry land development and credit facilities for productive purposes. Consumption loans did not generate any real additional income. These disadvantages were partly compensated for by increased wages and more employment opportunities due to the general growth of the local economy.

7.6. Child development

The mission found a positive response in the Sangha to the proposition that the psychological development in children starts immediately after birth. There was an acceptance of the fact that early childhood is perhaps the most formative period of a person’s life. The suggestion of a subconscious “symbiosis” between mother and child was also readily acknowledged. Adult extremities in gender difference and inferiority feelings were understood as being subconsciously generated by the mother, and could possibly be reduced by paying attention to her feelings.

When this understanding is generated by qualified expert input and education, it could contribute toward creating a society with less gender, since it shapes the very nature of family relations. Due to its intimacy with individual persons, the Sangha is well suited for realising this essential objective.

7.7. Implementation methodology

Tested techniques have been converted into an implementation methodology by ADATS. Complex Sangha building operations have been formulated into clear steps, placed within a time matrix, participation accessibility have been the guiding principles.

Based on the already existing management practices, book keeping, finances and the Sangha building processes have been computerised, enabling full access for all the staff and functionaries to see and use. The computer also helps in the making of sound decision regarding CCF loans to be given, as well as preventing arbitrary treatment or favouritism.

Computerisation at ADATS does not reduce the human aspect of social relations to mechanical ones. The entire staff was involved in the design and development of packages to be used in the raising of the level of efficiency in implementation of the project.

In a similar manner, the field staff see a role for the input of qualified social scientists, in order to make studies and assess both the material and the nonmaterial results of their development work. These studies will reduce reflection on the effectiveness of implementation.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Sustainability of Sangha

Sustainability of Sangha and the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha should be reached by preventing differential growth of power and income. Self financing capacity has to be enhanced by proper handling of the Coolie Credit Fund and the Sangha Fund.

Long term sustainability, after the withdrawal of ADATS, can be visualised as long as it stimulates, more than obstructing, the development of individual Sangha Members and their relations with the outside world. The Sangha should be instrumental for these developments and not hamper them by becoming a goal in itself.

8.2. Integration of women

The process of integration of women should be based in the philosophy that ADATS holds regarding women-men relationships. At every stage an attempt should be made to restore the balances between women and men.

It is recommended that ADATS spends time and internalises expertise, in order to understand the nuts and bolts of the social structure, cultural context and historical evolution of this particular form of discrimination against women in this region.

This exercise requires moving away from the conventional approach of dealing with problem of women as being an isolated one. There is no set formula on which the integration of women can be initiated. This should take place through commitment and reflection.

8.3. Adult education

It is recommended that the adult literacy programme be continued in the older villages with adult education.

New local cadre should be trained to implement this, since the Village Level Workers may not always be available. A participatory approach should be central in the teaching methodology. Local culture and media should be mobilised.

8.4. Poorest section

It is recommended that all further emphasis should be on the poorest section of the Sangha. The landless and semi landless households, in particular the ones headed by women, are identified as being this section.

The mission recommends a follow up of the relief and rehabilitation programme (DLDP), wherein the poorest people should get utmost priority. Each Sangha should identify them and systematically assess their needs and capacities. Detailed plans for implementing these self employment schemes should be evolved. In the follow up of the DLDP, the Coolie Credit Fund can be the instrument for channelling further capital to reach the poorest sections. Local funds can be supplemented with financial contributions of NOVIB.

8.5. Child development

Child literacy programmes should be an integrated part of Sangha building. Wherever not being undertaken, ADATS should introduce this activity. Vocational skills should be enhanced as a part of it.

For the long term development of Coolie families through reduced gender inequalities and increased self confidence, early childhood influences deserve attention. The ADATS staff needs to be trained by competent persons, so that the child literacy programmed becomes more than a charitable activity.

8.6. Implementation methodology

The risk of centralised staff management alienating senior staff Members who possess the quality and the ambition to acquire responsible positions, should remain minimal. Further development by way of a combined personal involvement and detachment in ADATS core group is recommended.

In order to strengthen the implementation methodology further, ADATS own experience could merge with external know-how. A stage has been reached where social scientists and other technical experts have to come in. However, scientists, in turn, should creatively merge their experience with local know-how or wisdom available in the Sangha.

Input by an ecologically competent agriculturist is needed to prevent further exhaustion of the soil by groundnut mono-cropping, to introduce viable trees and bushes, and to provide proper training and guidance to Sangha members.

An educationalist can assist in preparing attractive and effective adult education material.

Perception studies in the pre implementation phase will improve implementation methodology; household budget studies will indicate the direction of material changes; awareness studies will assess the direction of nonmaterial changes. Recent literature on social science research techniques have a relevance.

The experience with computerisation can be adapted and replicated in new areas that ADATS will work in. Other NGOs can also benefit from it.

Sangha building know how, and the way in which the DLDP was implemented, should be made known at a national level. Since ADATS does not have the personal inclination to do this, NOVIB could find a third person or body for this purpose.

9. LITERATURE

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APPENDIX 1 : COMPOSITION OF THE MISSION

The mission to evaluate ADATS in 1990 was assigned by Novib, the Netherlands. It consisted of:

Dr. P.E. van der Werff, Social Scientist, Free University, Amsterdam.

Dr. Vanaja Ramprasad, Social Nutritionist, Consultant, Bangalore.

For Telugu translations and case studies, the mission was assisted by Ms. Jayalaxmi, Women's Liberation & Rehabilitation Society, Madhugiri, Karnataka.

APPENDIX 2 : MODUS OPERANDI

In enacting the study and compiling the report, the mission had the full cooperation of all staff of ADATS and the Sangha members. It could also draw on extensive documentation available from ADATS. These factors facilitated to a large extent the tasks of enquiring and recording. Apart from the direct work, interesting discussions emerged on wider issues of psychology, ideology and philosophy. During one of these talks the idea cropped up of comparing ADATS to a shell of a large building, in need only of the finer touches prior to completion. The mission hopes that its suggestions will contribute towards making some of these touches, for the benefit of the oppressed.

The members of the mission adopted a certain division of labour which was generated by different dates for initiating the work, and different professional orientations. Dr Ramprasad started on 14 June 1990 by studying documents, paying visits to ADATS in

Bagepalli, prepare Sangha visits, and discuss matters with DEVCON in Bangalore. AS requested by NOVIB, she concentrated on the position of women. She selected 10 villages in the Old Area, Chelur and Gulur for case studies. For translation in and from the local language telugu during the planned meetings, she invited Ms Jayalaxmi.

Dr van der Werff arrived on 10 July 1990. The mission decided that Dr Ramprasad would continue her field visits, in studying women and general issues. In the villages, she attended meetings for women (Mahilas), and for both men and women (Sanghas), where she initiated semi-structured group discussions.

Ms Jayalaxmi acted as the telugu interpreter. She also conducted 15 interviews independently with women in 5 out of the 10 selected villages. Her main conclusions have been integrated into this report. The systematic results of her case study are listed in Appendix 3. She will write a more extensive report in Telugu to be published by ADATS.

Dr van der Werff concentrated on the role of the head office. He studied and discussed documents with the ADATS leadership, and discussed policy and management problems. With the Accounts Assistant, he drafted a number of tables, figures and maps to be used by the mission. He familiarized himself with the computerization, attended centrally held meetings of field staff and conducted interviews with the highest staff members. In addition he organized meetings in 5 villages, and saw dry land development under various conditions. Some draft section of his report he wrote on a personal computer made available by ADATS, and were discussed with the project leaders.

After field work, the members of the mission discussed their findings. Draft sections of the report were exchanged. Meetings were held with Adrian Saldanha and M.K. Bath of DEVCON.

The draft conclusions and recommendations were finalized and subsequently presented to ADATS in Bagepalli on 26 July. The common discussion was used as a base for rephrasing the text together with the ADATS Project Director. In this way, the text of the conclusions and recommendations became commonly supported by the 2 parties.

Dr van der Werff left on 28 July. In Amsterdam he finalized his part of the writings, and integrated it with the contributions of Dr Ramprasad provided on computer diskette.

APPENDIX 3 : TABLES

Year-wise monthly averages of Sangha funds

	1987	1988	1989-90
MEMBERSHIP STRENGTHS	2099	2412	2033
INCOMES	%	%	%
Voluntary Contributions	94.0	91.2	74.5
Membership Fees	4.1	2.2	5.2
Interest from Bank	2.0	6.7	20.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Absolute Total	Rs. 26,339.03	Rs. 35,029.87	Rs. 47,781.19
EXPENDITURES	%	%	%
Salaries and Stipends	39.6	64.2	22.1
Legal Aids	29.7	2.4	0.2
Coolie Pandaga	20.6	0.0	40.5
Travel Allowance for Reps	0.0	33.4	22.9
Electricity charges	0.0	0.0	1.8
Postal Charges	0.2	0.0	0.0
Land	9.9	0.0	0.0
Tours	0.0	0.0	12.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Absolute Total	Rs. 505.23	RS. 2,771.00	Rs. 9,365.28

REPAYMENT PATTERN OF THE COOLIE CREDIT FUND (CCF)

. : Approximate Period of Repayment

NON CONSUMPTION (PRODUCTIVE)

1	Crop loans	: 6 to 7 months (Dec to Jan)
2	Cattle rearing	: from 1 to 3 year installments
3	Cattle feed and fodder	: 3 to 6 months
	Petty trade	: monthly installments or 1 year
	Bullock cart repairs	: monthly installments
	Redeem land	: 1 to 3 years
	Artisan implements	: 3 to 6 months
	Oil engine hire/ purchase	: 3 months
	Basket/ leaves etc making	: 3 to 6 months
	Beedi making-raw materials	: 6 months to 3 years
	Repay loans	: after crop harvest
	Seri-culture equipment	: 2 to 3 months
	Brick kilns	: 4 to 6 months
	Bullock cart	: monthly installments
	Limestone	: 4 to 6 months

CONSUMPTION (NON PRODUCTIVE)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Repair/ re-thatch hut | : 3 to 6 months |
| 2 | Consumption and others | : monthly installments |
| 3 | To build house | : after crop harvest |
| 4 | DLDP Wage advance | : When payment is made |

TOTAL UTILISATION PATTERN OF THE COOLIE CREDIT FUND (CCF)

	OLD AREA July 85 to June 90		CHELUR AREA Sept 87 to June 90		GULUR AREA March 88 to June 90	
	Amount in Rs	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs	No. of Loanees
Crop Loans	43.0	52.1	30.7	37.9	14.0	29.8
Livestock	16.0	14.2	20.2	13.5	49.5	24.8
Fodder	1.6	2.6	0.5	0.8	0.3	0.4
Petty Trade	7.1	8.3	9.3	7.8	15.7	13.9
Repair Huts	9.7	8.3	12.2	13.0	3.9	3.8
Repair Bullock Cart	4.7	3.8	2.4	2.7	2.2	2.1
Redeeming Land	8.8	3.5	5.6	4.5	1.9	2.1
Artisan Implements	1.0	1.3	2.1	2.5	9.3	18.9
Consumption and Others	8.1	5.9	17.0	17.3	3.3	4.3
Percentage Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Absolute Total	1,295,280	4,073	670,880	1,649	559,332	729

UTILISATION PATTERN OF THE COOLIE CREDIT FUND (CCF) IN THE OLD AREA

IN PERCENTAGES	July 85 to Aug 86		Sept 86 to Aug 88		Sept 88 to June 90		TOTAL	
	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees
For crop loans	5.1	56.3	40.7	46.5	39.8	52.9	43.0	52.1
2. To buy and rear cattle, pigs, sheep, goats etc.	14.7	11.1	14.0	16.4	21.0	17.7	16.0	14.2
3. To livestock feed and fodder	3.4	3.9	1.7	2.2	0.0	0.0	1.6	2.6
4. To trade in leather hides, vegetables etc and working capital for petty shops	10.4	11.2	6.3	6.9	5.4	4.1	7.1	8.3
5. To repair and re-thatch huts	6.7	6.3	11.1	10.2	9.8	9.5	9.7	8.3
6. To repair bullock carts	3.7	3.2	7.0	5.9	1.2	1.2	4.7	3.8
7. To buy back and redeem lands sold by the fathers to the ryots	3.4	1.0	12.9	6.3	6.3	4.1	8.8	3.5
8. For village artisans to buy tools and implements	1.0	1.7	0.6	0.8	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.3
9. For consumption and other purposes	5.4	5.3	5.7	4.8	15.0	9.6	8.1	5.9
Percentage Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Absolute Total	316,013	1,852	636,157	1,485	343,110	736	1,295,280	4,073

UTILISATION PATTERN OF THE COOLIE CREDIT FUND (CCF) IN THE CHELUR AREA

IN PERCENTAGES	Sept 87 to Sept 88		Oct 88 to Jun 90		TOTAL	
	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees
For crop loans	28.1	33.9	32.3	41.8	30.7	37.9
2. To buy and rear cattle, pigs, sheep, goats etc.	15.3	12.1	23.1	14.9	20.2	13.5
3. To livestock feed and fodder	0.8	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.8
4. To trade in leather hides, vegetables etc and working capital for petty shops	14.0	9.9	6.5	5.7	9.3	7.8
5. To repair and re-thatch huts	11.1	12.5	12.8	13.6	12.2	13.0
6. To repair bullock carts	4.3	3.9	1.2	1.4	2.4	2.7
7. TO buy back and redeem lands sold by the fathers to the ryots	9.6	6.8	3.2	2.3	5.6	4.5
8. For village artisans to buy tools and implements	2.7	3.5	1.8	1.6	2.1	2.5
9. For consumption and other purposes	14.2	16.5	18.7	18.1	17.0	17.3
Percentage Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Absolute Total	252,430	811	418,450	838	670,880	1,649

UTILISATION PATTERN OF THE COOLIE CREDIT FUND (CCF) IN THE GULUR AREA

IN PERCENTAGES	Mar 88 to Sept 88		Oct 88 to June 90		TOTAL	
	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees
For crop loans	19.2	32.4	9.8	26.1	14.0	29.8
2. To buy and rear cattle, pigs, sheep, goats etc.	27.8	11.6	66.6	43.1	49.5	24.8
3. To livestock feed and fodder	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.4
4. To trade in leather hides, vegetables etc and working capital for petty shops	24.0	15.8	9.1	11.1	15.7	13.9
5. To repair and re-thatch huts	1.3	1.2	5.9	7.5	3.9	3.8
6. To repair bullock carts	2.9	1.7	1.7	2.6	2.2	2.1
7. TO buy back and redeem lands sold by the fathers to the Ryots	2.1	1.9	1.8	2.3	1.9	2.1
8. For village artisans to buy tools and implements	20.7	32.4	0.3	0.3	9.3	18.9
9. For consumption and other purposes	1.8	2.8	4.5	6.2	3.3	4.3
Percentage Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Absolute Total	247,335	423	311,977	306	559,332	729

1. OLD AREA – Year/ donor-wise expenditure

PERCENTAGES	NOVIB		ACTION AID		OTHERS	TOTAL	
	Non-econ	Eco-nomic	Non-econ	Eco-nomic	Non-econ	Non-econ	Eco-nomic
1978	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	30.8	1.7	0.0
1979	0.0	0.0	5.7	0.0	7.2	2.8	0.0
1980	5.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	31.8	4.9	0.0
1981	9.4	0.0	8.9	0.0	18.1	9.7	0.0
1982	8.1	0.0	1.5	0.0	11.6	5.6	0.0
1983	4.7	0.0	7.9	0.0	0.2	5.8	0.0
1984	11.1	0.0	6.1	0.0	0.3	8.5	0.0
1985	11.7	1.5	9.4	0.0	0.0	10.1	1.5
1986	13.5	21.3	18.0	0.0	0.0	17.3	21.3
1987	8.6	19.2	13.9	0.0	0.0	10.3	19.2
1988	18.3	26.3	23.4	0.0	0.0	19.4	26.3
1989	3.3	31.4	5.1	0.0	0.0	3.8	31.4
1990	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total in Rs	3,936,593	6,009,925	3,047,918	0	409,930	7,394,441	6,009,925

2. CHELUR AREA – Year/ donor-wise expenditure

PERCENTAGES	NOVIB		ACTION AID		TOTAL	
	Non-econ	Economic	Non-econ	Economic	Non-econ	Economic
1985	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
1986	27.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.1	0.0
1987	30.4	24.3	24.0	0.0	26.4	19.2
1988	32.7	33.2	36.6	0.0	31.5	26.3
1989	16.5	42.2	25.8	18.8	22.4	27.3
1990	1.4	0.3	13.7	81.2	9.1	17.3
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total in Rs	3,700,633	8,185,924	5,547,086	1,289,104	9,247,718	9,475,028

3. GULUR AREA – Year/ donor-wise expenditure

PERCENTAGES	EZE		TOTAL	
	Non-economic	Economic	Non-economic	Economic
1986	4.0	0.0	4.0	0.0
1987	28.8	0.2	28.8	0.2
1988	31.4	26.8	31.4	26.8
1989	26.7	70.3	26.7	70.3
1990	9.0	2.7	9.0	2.7
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total in Rs	3,838,140	5,061,040	3,838,140	5,061,040

4. CHICKABALLAPUR AREA – Year/ donor-wise expenditure

PERCENTAGES	ICCO		TOTAL	
	Non-economic	Economic	Non-economic	Economic
1989	64.4	14.0	64.4	14.0
1990	35.6	86.0	35.6	86.0
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total in Rs	1,041,881	95,486	1,041,881	95,486

5. CHINTAMANI AREA – Year/ donor-wise expenditure

PERCENTAGES	ICCO		TOTAL	
	Non-economic	Economic	Non-economic	Economic
1989	48.9	0.0	49.9	0.0
1990	50.1	0.0	51.1	0.0
Total (%)	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Total in Rs	407,547	0	407,547	0

6. MITTEMARI & SIDDLAGHATTA AREA – Year/ donor-wise expenditure

PERCENTAGES	ICCO		TOTAL	
	Non-economic	Economic	Non-economic	Economic
1989	30.2	0.0	30.2	0.0
1990	69.8	0.0	69.8	0.0
Total (%)	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Total in Rs	210,978	0	210,978	0

Gadivanlapalli	-	CEP Area
Ramanpadi	-	CEP Area
Mandyapath	-	CEP Area
Venkatapuram	-	CEP Area
Kothakota	-	Old Area
Seegalapalli	-	Old Area

Bommaigaripalli	-	GEP Area
Nangireddipalli	-	GEP Area
G. Maddepalli	-	GEP Area
Donnakonda	-	GEP Area

IN PERCENTAGE	Sept 87 to Sept 88		Oct 88 to June 90	
	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees
1. For crop loans	28.1	33.9	32.3	41.8
2. To buy and rear cattle, pigs, sheep, goats etc	15.3	12.1	23.1	14.9
3. To livestock feed and fodder	0.8	1.0	0.4	0.6
4. To trade leather hides, vegetables etc and working capital for petty shops	14.0	9.9	6.5	5.7
5. To repair and rethatch huts	11.1	12.5	12.8	13.6
6. To repair bullock carts	4.3	3.9	1.2	1.4
7. To buy back and redeem lands sold by the fathers to ryots	9.6	6.6	3.2	2.3
8. For village artisans to buy tools and implements	2.7	3.5	1.8	1.6
9. For consumption and other purposes	14.2	16.5	18.7	18.1
Percentage Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Absolute Total	252,430	811	418,450	838

UTILISATION PATTERN OF THE COOLIE CREDIT FUND (CCF) IN THE OLD AREA

IN PERCENTAGE	Sept 86 to Aug 86		Sept 88 to June 90	
	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees
1. For crop loans	40.7	46.5	39.8	52.9
2. To buy and rear cattle, pigs, sheep, goats etc	14.0	16.4	21.0	17.7
3. To livestock feed and fodder	1.7	2.2	0.0	0.0
4. To trade leather hides, vegetables etc and working capital for petty shops	6.3	6.9	5.4	4.1
5. To repair and rethatch huts	11.1	10.2	9.8	9.5
6. To repair bullock carts	7.0	5.9	1.2	1.2
7. To buy back and redeem lands sold by the fathers to ryots	12.9	6.3	8.8	3.5
8. For village artisans to buy tools and implements	0.6	0.8	1.5	1.0
9. For consumption and other purposes	5.7	4.8	15.0	9.6
Percentage Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Absolute Total	636,157	1,485	343,110	736

UTILISATION PATTERN OF THE COOLIE CREDIT FUND (CCF) IN THE CHELUR AREA**UTILISATION PATTERN OF THE COOLIE CREDIT FUND (CCF) IN THE GULUR AREA**

IN PERCENTAGE	Sept 87 to Sept 88		Oct 88 to June 90	
	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees	Amount in Rs.	No. of Loanees
1. For crop loans	19.2	32.4	9.8	26.1
2. To buy and rear cattle, pigs, sheep, goats etc	27.8	11.6	66.6	43.1
3. To livestock feed and fodder	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.7
4. To trade leather hides, vegetables etc and working capital for petty shops	24.0	15.8	9.1	11.1
5. To repair and rethatch huts	1.3	1.2	5.9	7.5
6. To repair bullock carts	2.9	1.7	1.7	2.6
7. To buy back and redeem lands sold by the fathers to ryots	2.1	1.9	1.8	2.3
8. For village artisans to buy tools and implements	20.7	32.4	0.3	0.3
9. For consumption and other purposes	1.8	2.8	4.5	6.2
Percentage Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0