

THE MILLENNIUM EVE STUDY

A Report

Submitted to ADATS, Bagepalli, Kolar dt., Karnataka

April to September 1996

INTERVENTION (INDIA) PVT. LTD.

1. INTRODUCTION

This is a report of an "Accompaniment" Study carried out by INTERVENTION (INDIA) PVT. LTD. over a six month period (April to September 1996) with ADATS (Agricultural Development and Training Society), Bagepalli, Kolar District, Karnataka.

ADATS has a tradition of inviting concerned friends from time to time to give them a "Third Opinion" (*Mooda Abhipraya* in the local Telugu used by Coolies). Ram Esteves (Ram) of ADATS felt it would be useful for INTERVENTION, a professional management consultancy firm to play a special role, providing a "Third Opinion" in an "Accompaniment" mode rather than an "Evaluation" mode, over a relatively long period of time.

1.1. About ADATS

ADATS describes itself as "a secular non-government development organisation (NGO) working with 15,402 small and poor peasant families in 619 villages of the northern taluks of Kolar district, Karnataka, since December 1977.

"Bagepalli is situated 100 kms north of Bangalore on the Bangalore-Hyderabad National Highway. The taluk is situated just outside the southern border of the Rayalaseema desert belt. It is a semi arid drought prone region with 560 mm of erratic rainfall. Chickballapur, Siddalaghatta and Chintamani taluks lie to the south of Bagepalli".

1.2. About INTERVENTION

INTERVENTION (INDIA) PVT. LTD. is a Development Management Action Consulting agency based at Bangalore, India.

INTERVENTION provides a cross-disciplinary corporate response to assignments which were traditionally handled by one person consultancy firms.

INTERVENTION was registered under the Indian Companies Act, 1956, on 9 March 1992. Since then INTERVENTION has relied entirely on professional fees for its services in the harsh environment of the marketplace.

Most of our work has been in the Development sector, with INGOs forming our main clientele, and Indian NGOs our customers. We have experience of working in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal with rural communities.

Ajit Mani of INTERVENTION was the Field Director of ActionAid, a British Charity from 1986-89, and knew ADATS closely during that period, when an ActionAid Child Sponsorship programme was in place at ADATS.

2. APPROACH TO THE STUDY

Methodologies are determined by objectives. We first need to clarify our purpose, which takes precedence over processes. Our understanding is that processes without purpose are a set of

empty activities.

Most debates over methods are debates over assumptions and goals, over theory and perspective (HENWOOD & PIDGEON, 1992). So what are our assumptions and goals?

2.1. Terms of Reference (ToR)

The study was intended to concentrate on clarification of ADATS' purpose and strategic emphasis, proceeding in a mode of "Accompaniment" rather than in a mode of "external evaluation".

We had proposed that a Strategic Planning study would look at the evolution of ADATS' mission in the light of the rapid changes taking place in the external environment and the aspirations of the constituents of the BCS.

2.1. Choice of Methodology

This study is clearly not testing an hypothesis. It concentrates instead on the rapid changes taking place in the operational environment of ADATS, and examines its decisions, intentions and vision for the future.

The study is accordingly less driven by very specific hypotheses and categorical frameworks and more concerned with emergent themes and idiographic descriptions.

We believe that in a project such as ADATS, the search for an "objective truth" which might be lurking out there somewhere would be misguided. We are accordingly not pursuing an objective truth waiting to be revealed through the "scientific method"; which examines cause and effect.

We have relied instead on the perspectives and interpretations of situations by members of BCS and ADATS. We have tried to understand how these members have described and tried to make sense of the forces that influence their lives.

Ram told us that the three evaluations that have been carried out in the past have helped ADATS/BCS policy makers to get an objective external perspective of their work. Our study, therefore falls in this genre.

The methodologies described on the next page were selected with this orientation in mind, and the fact that ADATS/BCS is both the arranger and principal consumer of the study.

Ram also made it clear to us during the study that while the study report is an important outcome signifying the completion of the assignment, what is more important to him is the process of "accompaniment" which could stimulate and nudge the project to experiment with alternate strategies.

The appropriate methodologies we have used in the study are listed below:

METHODOLOGY	NOTES
• Participant Observation	• As a team, one member of which has intimate knowledge of ADATS and its work, we spent considerable time with key participants and tried to understand their work and their interpretations of their situations with as little formality as possible. This methodology has been possible only because our study was extended over a six month period.
• Depth Interview	• Detailed interviews with key participants
• Group Discussions	• Group discussions at various levels of BCS and ADATS hierarchies
• Customer Satisfaction Survey	• If the members of the Coolie Sangha can be viewed as the "Customers" of the project, to whom "Development Goods and Services" are being delivered, how do they view and value these goods and services?
• Documentation Analysis	• ADATS has produced a considerable amount of documentation, which gives a clear exposition of the organisation's ideology and the forces driving its work.
• The Twenty Statements Test (TST)	• We administered this test to the senior executives of the project. This test is based on the premise that key decision makers and leaders frame their actions in terms of internalised social definitions and self-reflections.
• Intervention Techniques	• This methodology is based on the understanding that our prolonged study involvement with ADATS and its key decision makers impacts upon their world, influencing some of their actions directly or indirectly.

2.2. Structure of the Study

Although we visited ADATS on a monthly basis, the study was not over-structured and formal. This called for deep understanding on the part of the project leaders, who must have wondered more than once whether this was a costly, and not particularly useful exercise.

In a study of this kind, understanding behaviour and coping mechanisms is more important than administering questionnaires, holding meetings, filling in check-lists and being generally busy and preoccupied.

This process could have a slow start, making sense only as the "critical mass" of information begins to accumulate.

My colleagues selected areas of interest to them and spent considerable time in the field with staff of ADATS, BCS office bearers and coolies, trying to understand the important interventions of ADATS - the CCF, the DLDP, and Involvement in Politics, and its implication for the stakeholders.

We have selected the principal documents of ADATS and studied them systematically with a view to understand them rather than to interpret them. This methodology is initiated with a search for themes within each document and then in clusters of documents.

Goffman (1971) has pointed out that all purposeful human interaction is based on presentation of the self, using carefully planned *performances*. This behaviour is influenced by the situation an individual finds himself or herself in, and the meaning which individuals give to these situations.

3. ADATS' Mission

What ADATS is today is the result of a clear vision, skilful management and hard work. We have known ADATS since 1986 and can make this assertion with some authority on the basis of our professional association.

The discussion in this section is based on our organisational study of ADATS, and is intended more as a record of our understanding rather than as a critique or recommendations for change.

Our perception of ADATS Mission is governed by our training, experience and contact with ADATS. *When we look out at the world we never see raw data. The data we receive has already been organized into patterns by previous experience. This organization into patterns, sequences or groups we call perception.* [de Bono 1992]

3.1. Evolution of ADATS Mission

In this section, we follow the evolution of ADATS' Mission, by reviewing the changes in the stated Long Term Objectives in several documents produced from 1986 to 1993.

Management literature on Corporate Planning and Mission Planning is littered with jargon, which could create some confusion until we choose and retain a set that we are comfortable with.

Thus we find "Purpose", "Aim", Goal, Development Objective, Superordinate Objective, and Long Range Goal, all used for Long Term Objective/s, while the term "Immediate Objective" is used to describe the objective, which, if achieved, will contribute in substantial measure to the achievement of the Long Term Objective.

We have an original cyclostyled copy of DOCUMENTS OF ADATS (Manuscript Copy) - [circa 1986], in which ADATS articulated two Long Term Objectives as follows:

(1) To build up a taluk level mass organisation, the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha/ALEDO that agricultural labourers struggling for their humanisation can identify themselves with.

(2) To enable the organised labour class to identify themselves with larger national movements, discover and play their historic role in the countryside.

The document also contains six Short Term Objectives.

In the **GEP II Phase Formalisation Application**, we find that there are five Long Term Objectives and nine Short Term Objectives. The first Long Term Objective has undergone very little change and reads as follows:

(1) To build up the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha as an authentic and independent mass organisation of the Coolies, so that agricultural labourers struggling for their humanisation can holistically identify themselves with it.

The Objective of identifying with larger national movements has disappeared in this document, and the second, third and fourth Objectives are really strategy declarations:

(2) To pursue a policy of decentralisation in order to encourage and ensure the development of a positive pluralism through village level autonomy and diversity so that the Coolies may find a recognition of their individual and personal contribution in the shaping of the structure, discipline, content and direction of their organisation.

(3) To support the Coolies without any inhibitions, through all and every form of material as well as non-material assistance, to give effective expression to their own knowledge base through an articulation of their wisdom, and which they normally exhibit only through the survival strategies they have developed in order to eke out an existence in an environment which is hostile to even accepting their very intelligence.

(4) To follow a two-organisations policy which is totally transparent not just in day to day functioning but also in the formulation, stating and perusal of plans and intentions, and which alone will enable the achievement of these above stated objectives.

The fifth objective is quite significant, in that it is an economic objective, bundled along with its own OVI (Objectively Verifiable Indicator) and MOV (Means of Verification):

(5) To achieve a real and tangible increase in the Coolie families' income level and standard of living as a final measure of the effectiveness of the Coolie Sangha Model of development, and to wholly involve the Coolies in the periodic measuring of these achievements so that we may be impartial and critical in making an honest impact appraisal.

The nine Short Term Objectives include such policy statements as, "Integration of Member Coolies into the BCS", "Encourage the development of Autonomy and Positive Pluralism", "Budget Decentralisation", "Mahila Coolie Meetings" etc.

By the time of the **CEP III Phase Consolidation (Endowment) Application**, the First Long Term Objective has undergone minor modifications as follows:

(1) To permanently establish the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha (BCS) as a taluk level mass organisation of coolies so that small and poor peasants struggling for their development can continually take stock of wider societal changes and make necessary adjustments to survive with dignity and security in a rapidly changing political economy.

The Second Long Term Objective reflects the need for "financial wherewithal" to achieve the First Long Term Objective. In the LFA terminology, it would be called an "Immediate Objective".

(2) To create the financial wherewithal to guarantee permanence and posterity for the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha.

At this point there are 5 specific objectives (briefly reproduced below), which are steps to ensure the organisational future of the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha as ADATS prepares for "total withdrawal" from Bagepalli Taluk.

- To assist the coolies to take over all responsibilities by the end of 1994
- To establish an endowment fund of Rs.25 million in the name of the BCS
- To enhance the management skills of the coolies, particularly the women, to manage their funds
- To accompany the DLDP 2nd Phase Project with skill and training
- Redefining the relationship between ADATS and BCS after the planned 2 year withdrawal phase.

3.2. LFA Methodology

We decided to analyse ADATS' Mission using LFA (Logical Framework Approach) methodology, drawing attention to ADATS' Mission or Long Term Objectives within a widely recognised framework; raising, in the process, technical questions to provoke discussions which could help to introduce alternate thinking on the very important subject of the project's future.

LFA was developed for USAID towards the end of the Sixties, and has been used extensively with modifications by NORAD, the OECD, many UN Organisations and GTZ.

LFA is particularly useful for clarifying the purpose of a project, and considers that Processes without a Purpose are an empty set of activities.

LFA proceeds on the assumption that a project is a response to a well-defined problem, and that if the problem can be formulated in clear terms, it can be solved. This is a typically Western approach, which can be traced to the ancient Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. This system of analysis, which has also been called the principle of contradictions was directed towards pointing out error and then removing these errors. This principle, coming as it did to Europe during the Renaissance had a tremendous influence on Western thinking, coming out of the shackles of religious dogma during the Dark Ages.

This point is made to emphasise that there are several Oriental systems of thought, which were not influenced by Classical

Greek philosophy and developed along totally different lines.

According to Dr.G.K.Valecha¹, an expert in Japanese Management systems, the Japanese do not understand argument, but prefer parallel thinking. The Japanese approach which substitutes for the Western Problem Solving Approach is called *Kaizen*, which roughly translated, means "Continuous Improvement". This approach does not wait for a problem to appear - but states, "This is perfect. Now let us make it better." The manual typewriter did not become obsolete because it had a problem. There was simply a far better way of providing the required result. The question is, without any argument, *What is the required result?*

Some of the relevant and most important methodological considerations in the use of LFA are listed below:

- How the problem is formulated determines how it will be solved. For example, the situation, "My salary is Rs.3000 per month and my monthly expenses amount to Rs.3,500" can be formulated as two different problems: "I overspend" or "I am underpaid". It is obvious that the solutions will be different for both these formulations.
- A "solvable" problem is not the absence of a solution - but an existing **negative state**. For example, "Inadequate Rainfall" is not solvable, although "Low Farm Productivity" would normally have technological solutions.
- Identify a **Focal Problem** which is within the capacity of the individual or organisation to solve through an intervention.
- Identify the substantial **Causes** and **Effects** of the Problem, to create the **Problem Tree**.
- These Causes and Effects are then converted to **Means** and **Ends** in what is called the **Objective Tree**.

¹ Dr. G.K.Valecha Ph.D. (Ohio), trained as an Industrial Psychologist, was Professor of Organisational Behaviour at the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore, where he offered a very popular elective course in Japanese Management. He is presently the Director of Essae Chandran Institute, Bangalore.

- Now we are ready to prepare the **Project Matrix**, which will show the **Objectives, Project Outputs and Activities**, the **Objectively Verifiable Indicator/s (OVI)** of each, and the **Means of Verification (MoV)**. The Matrix will also assess the uncertainties (External Factors over which the Project has no control) in the achievement of each Objective, Output and Activity, to evaluate the project risk.
- An Objective must **always** be expressed as a desired **state**, and **never** as a process. For example, if a School's objective is "To continuously motivate students through realisation of their creative potential", it would be very difficult to judge if the project was successful or not.
- From the earliest days of MBO (Management By Objectives), we find Gurus like Bill Reddin² warning managers about the "Deadly Sin of Inputs". Inputs are activities rather than outputs or results.
- Objectives or Goals using verbs such as "To Build Up", "To Enable"³ or "To Pursue", "To Follow"⁴ or "To Create", "To Assist", "To Enhance", "To Accompany", "To Discover"⁵ and "To Support", "To Initiate"⁶ are activities-oriented and not result-oriented.
- An Objective such as "To achieve a real and tangible increase in the Coolie families' Income Level" (GEP) is result-oriented, but should not be combined with another Objective covering the Coolie families' standard of living. The Logical Framework Approach might suggest that the Low Standard of Living of the Coolies is due to an inadequate Income Level.

The Solution therefore is to come up with PROJECT OUTPUTS which will lead to increased income levels, which will then contribute to a higher Standard of Living. Each PROJECT OUTPUT is the result of a Schedule of Activities, the ACTIVITY being found at the lowest level of a Strategic Plan.

- Each Project can have **only one** Immediate Objective, which is expected to contribute to **one** Development (or Superordinate) Objective. A Major Programme can be broken down into a number of Projects so that projects are well focused and demands a high level of accountability.
- The achievement of an Objective cannot be used as an Indicator for another Objective.
- Indicators should specify Target Group, Quantity, Quality, Time and Location. This makes the Objective **SMART**

S - SPECIFIC

² See Handbook of Management by Objectives by Bill Reddin and Denis Ryan (1988)

³ Please See Long Term Objectives of ADATS - Page 3 of DOCUMENTS OF ADATS (Manuscript Copy)

⁴ See Long Term Objectives - GULUR EXPANSION PROGRAMME II Phase - p.57 of DOCUMENTS OF ADATS Book 3 (1988 to 1993)

⁵ See Long Term and Specific Objectives in CEP III Phase - p.193 of DOCUMENTS OF ADATS, Book 3 (1988 to 1993)

⁶ Please see page 8 of ADATS' PROJECT PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO SAVE THE CHILDREN NEW ZEALAND for CHILDREN'S EDUCATION & FIRST LINE HEALTH SERVICES (Undated, circa May 1996)

- M** - MEASURABLE
- A** - AGREED UPON
- R** - REALISTIC and
- T** - TIME-BOUND

3.3. ADATS' Problem Tree

Based on the discussion on LFA methodology, ADATS' Problem Tree might resemble Chart MA-1 overleaf. As in any schematic representation, a certain amount of simplification helps us to examine the focus of ADATS work on the basis of existing planning documents.

3.4. ADATS' Objectives Tree

The negative states in the Problem Tree are converted to positive states to create the Objectives Tree.

The focal problem converts to the Immediate Objective, while the effect of the focal problem converts to the Long Term (or Development) Objective. Please see Chart MA-2 overleaf.

3.4.1. ADATS' Development Objective

From our study of ADATS planning and other documents, ADATS' Development Objective (or Long Term Objective) is:

Coolies enjoy a higher standard of living with dignity and security in a rapidly changing political economy.

This objective is not completely within the control of the project, as this result involves resources and actors who are external to the project and its influence.

We need to operationalise *higher standard of living*, and the concerns behind the expression "dignity and security", if we are to achieve our Objective by measuring our performance.

3.4.2. ADATS's Immediate Objective

The Immediate Objective is considerably more within the control of the project, and, on the basis of existing planning documents, might be stated as follows:

Coolies achieve a real and tangible increase in family income levels.

Here again we need to operationalise "real and tangible increase in family income levels" if we are to succeed in achieving our Objective.

4. PROJECT OUTPUTS

ADATS has already initiated project intervention activities to achieve the Immediate Objective, which it is hoped will contribute substantially to the achievement of the Development Objective.

The four major Project Output categories are Political, Organisational, Economic, and Social, and are discussed briefly in the sections that follow. Please see Appendices for detailed reports on the major project initiatives.

4.1. Political

The BCS has been able to make "*impressive political gains like the capturing of co-operative societies, gram panchayats, taluk panchayat and other local bodies. This has vastly increased the quantum of civic services mobilised from the government and also improved the quality. The coolies are able to supplement government services in a responsible manner*".⁷

Any kind of organisation of people is basically political in nature, although there might be no party affiliations or compulsions. When the organisation has the discipline and transparency of BCS, it is a simple step to electoral politics, particularly at a time when decentralisation of state power through Taluk Panchayats and Gram Panchayats is taking place.

A BCS member, Ramachandrappa has become the President of the Bagepalli Taluk Panchayat, and has been able to insist on delivery of Government programmes without the usual kickbacks to bureaucrats and politicians. When political leaders and other factions opposing the functioning of ADATS demanded the resignation of Ramachandrappa, the establishment got a taste of people power, as the coolies mustered in strength to demand their rights and support their elected leader.

We have here a clear alteration of the local balance of power, with members of the Coolie Sangha learning how to ensure that benefits are not hijacked by the state-level politicians and local bureaucrats.

Coolies expressed a feeling⁸ that elected Gram Panchayat and Taluk Panchayat members could benefit from specialised, fast-track training in the management of local government business. This would be particularly valuable for women members among whom illiteracy levels are higher. In the words of the coolies, the training inputs they require are in the following areas:

- Public Speaking
- Self Confidence
- Courage to face corrupt officials
- Office procedures

4.2. Organisational

4.2.1. Organising for Change

⁷ See COOLIE SANGHA CONSOLIDATION & WITHDRAWAL - ADATS Report: August 1995

⁸ Group Interview at ADATS Praja Kendra on 25 September 1996

One of the most popular English words used by Coolies of the BCS we talked to was the word *struggle*, which we, with our biases initially saw as Trade Union jargon.

We realised shortly after beginning this study that there is a relatively new subject of interest to all those who study how man organises himself and permits an institution called Government and its many arms to control him.

Since the late Eighties, "Civil Society" is one of the buzz-words which has captured society's concern for the balance of power with the institutions he has created.

The State-Civil Society dynamic has been described as a Ying-Yang metaphor in the contemporary context (BRATTON 1991). "...the State can be seen to represent the politics of *domination* while Civil Society represents the politics of *consent*.⁹

If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favour freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to, and you have found the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them and these will continue until they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

- Frederick Douglas
Letter to an abolitionist associate, 1849

ADATS has been working in Bagepalli Taluk since 1978, organising Coolies with the singular purpose of helping them to survive with dignity and security in a rapidly changing political economy.

We understand the success of ADATS' work in Bagepalli in terms of providing an organisational response to an oppressive society and local government, which has ushered in social and civil change while altering the existing balance of power.

While Ram has repeatedly agreed that ADATS/BCS has followed a high-cost programme, it is clear that this experiment would not have succeeded so far if:

- a. The Coolies did not see real improvements in their lives.
- b. The Coolies did not get a feel of their power.
- c. The Coolies did not feel that they have altered the balance of power in their local political institutions.

The BCS is clearly a well established organisation today, and faces the questions all mature organisations have to eventually face. How will the organisation **sustain** itself in the coming 10 years? Is the organisation as **relevant** today as it was 10 years ago?

⁹ See ISAGANI R.SERRANO, CIVICUS 1994 : Published in the Philippines

4.2.2. The "2-Organisation Policy"

From the earliest days, ADATS has declared in several documents, it's "2-Organisation Policy". This policy sees ADATS as a "Promoter Organisation", while BCS is the "Mass Organisation" (which is not necessarily a "Political Organisation").

ADATS exists for the growth and development of BCS, but remains a distinct entity, while the BCS finds its own leadership, and remains under the control of this "Creative Minority".

Unless this relationship is clearly understood, it will be impossible to comprehend what "Withdrawal" means, and what the "Post-Intervention" relationship between ADATS and BCS in Bagepalli Taluk is.

4.2.3. NGO Sustainability

In the Indian NGO sector, "Sustainability" has become an important buzz-word. The questions that come to mind are, "Sustainability" of what? Or Whose "Sustainability"?

- a> Sustainability of the Target Community
- b> Programme Sustainability
- c> Sustainability of the NGO

Every programme is an organisational response to an issue. The community is organised around an issue, and the campaign arising out of it. It is only in this context that the NGO derives its raison d'etre.

The sustainability of the NGO depends, therefore on its relevance, and not the size of its funding or other resources.

4.2.4. Organising around Issues

Campaigns built around issues have a clear beginning, middle and end. A campaign built around a single issue cannot sustain itself and an organisation for ever.

If a campaign does not come to an end, it is obviously because it was too ambitious, given the available resources and power structures. We have to ask if we are throwing resources into a bottomless pit.

On the other hand, if an issue campaign comes to an end, should the organisation disband? Or move to new issues, using its experience, networks and public credibility to fight better campaigns?

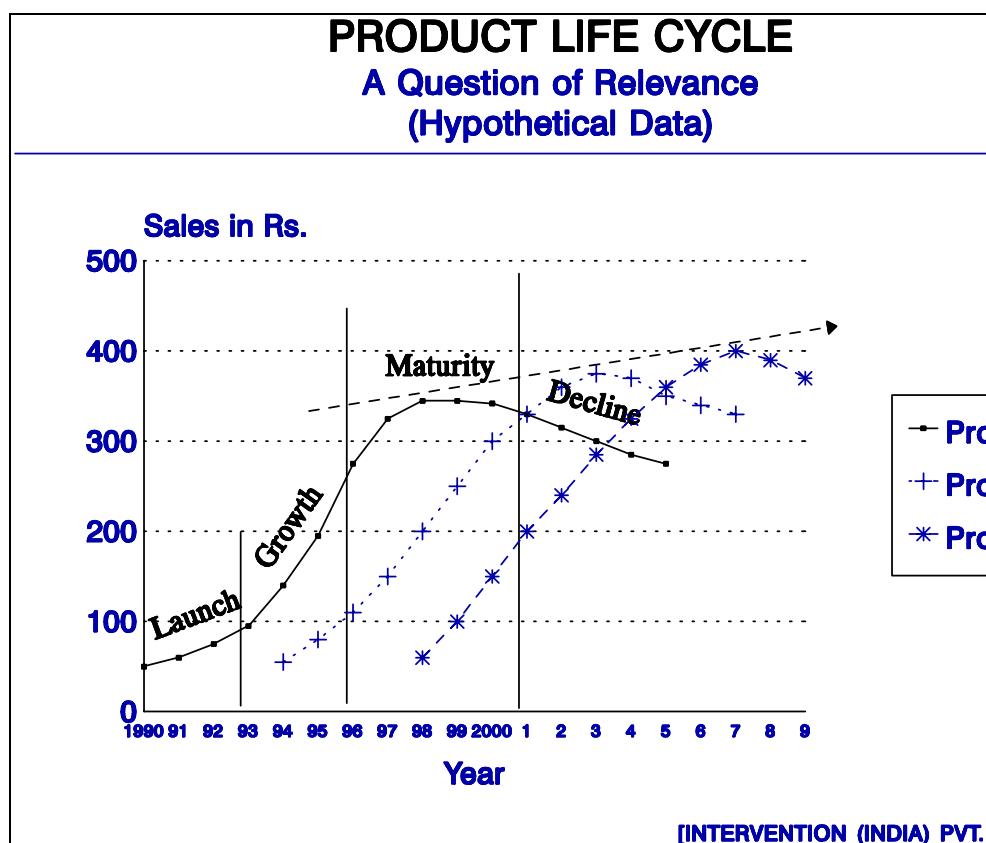
We wonder whether the word "Withdrawal" as used in NGO and International donor circles signifies the end of an issue campaign.

It would be a great waste if an organisation that was successful in fighting a campaign had to be abruptly closed down. This is why it is necessary to constantly examine the achievement levels of each issue and determine what new issues need to be identified for organising around.

The Girl Guide Movement in America is cited as an example of an organisation that began to languish during the Seventies, because young women could no longer identify with the "old fashioned" values associated with the character building of adolescent girls. Social Marketing consultants were called in to revise the objectives of the organisation

4.2.5. A Question of Relevance

Purely to introduce an alternate thinking approach to the question of NGO relevance, please see the chart below, which depicts the "The Product Life-Cycle Model", frequently used in Consumer Marketing.



The products may come and go, but the campaigns and the organisation go from strength to strength, as suggested by the upward sloping curve touching the stationary points of each life-cycle curve.

4.2.6. Project Funding

ADATS has been receiving funds from several foreign donors, and currently has three main donors, NOVIB, EZE and ICCO.

A Time Series Analysis of 19 years funding shows a sharp upward trend in funding. Please see Chart Below:

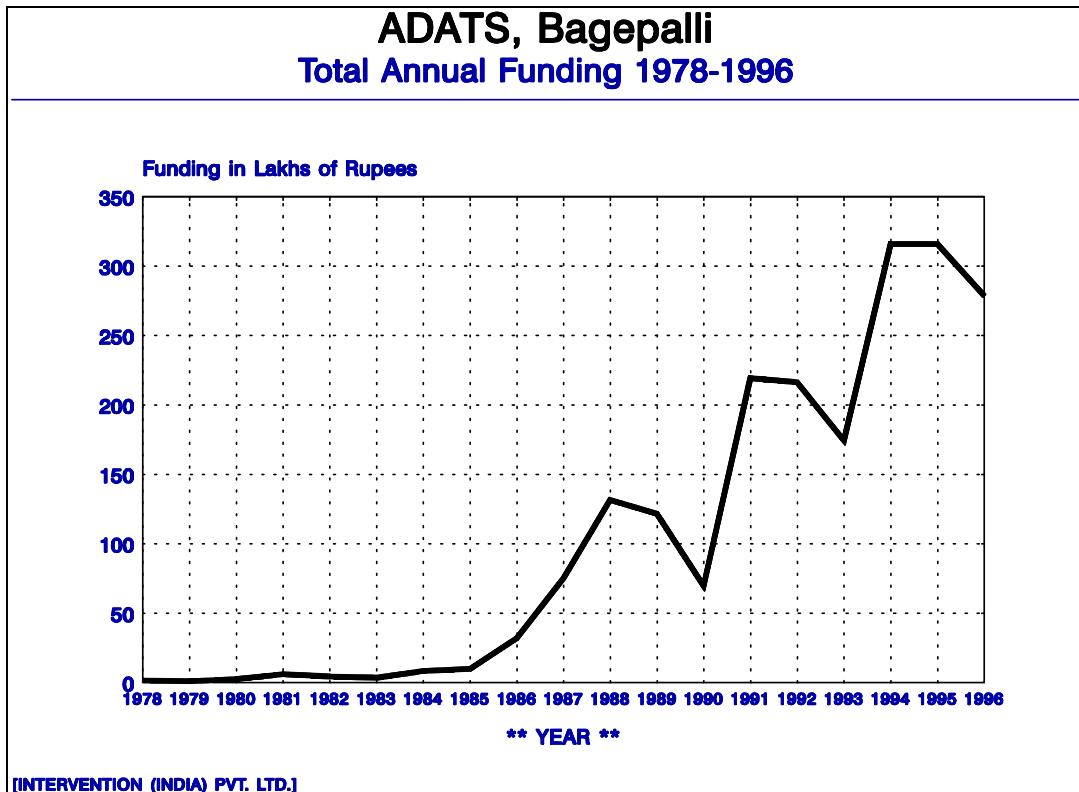


Figure 2

The series begins with an annual funding level of Rs.1.43 lakhs in 1978, rising steeply to Rs.278.69 lakhs in 1996. In 1994 and 1995, the funding exceeded Rs.300 lakhs (Rs.3 crores).

The series is characterised by cyclical variations caused by funding patterns of individual donors.

The curve that best fits this series is described by the following Quadratic Equation:

Install Equation Editor and double-click here to view equation.

The fitted curve is shown in the chart below, and used to predict the funding for the next three years, on the assumption that the present trend will continue:

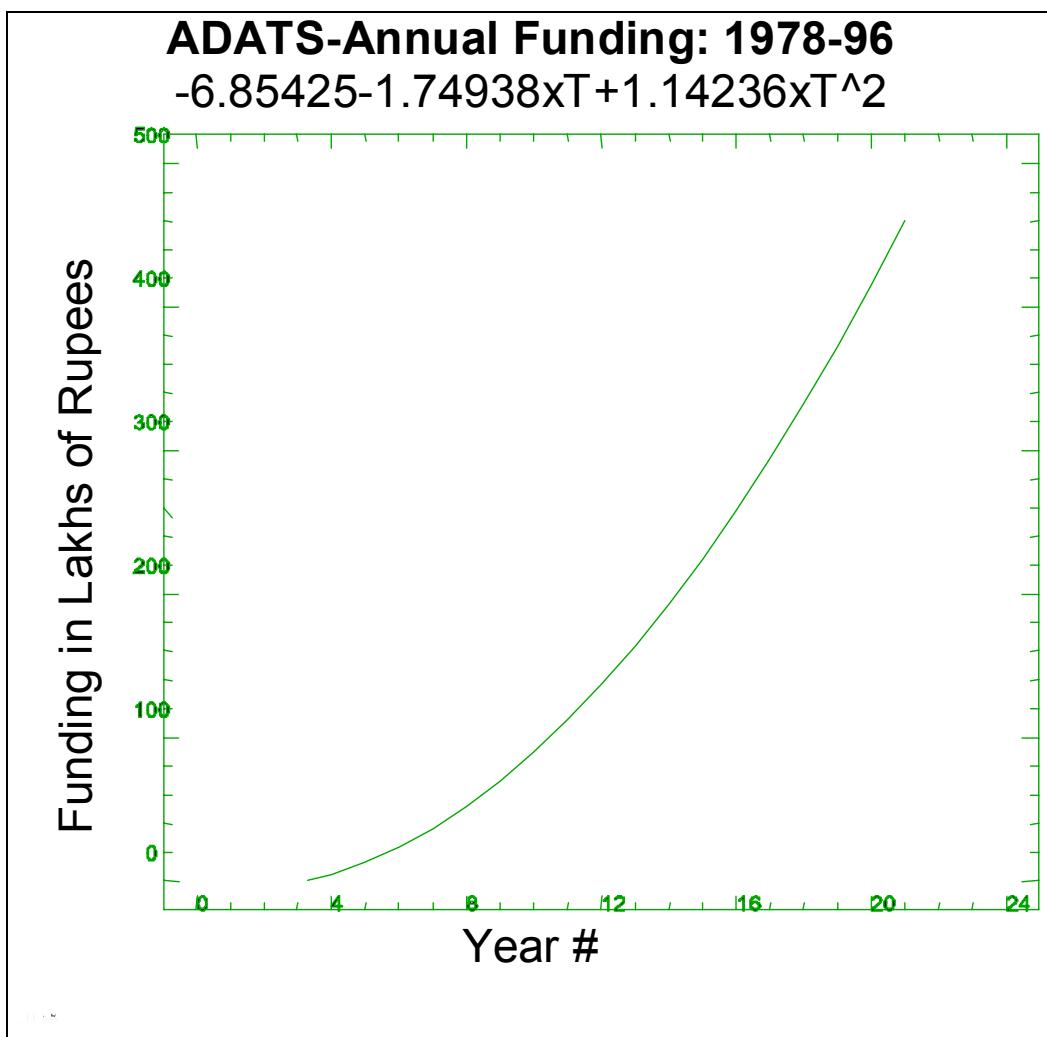


Figure 3

The predictions are given in the table below:

1997	- Rs. 372.298 Lakhs
1998	- Rs. 415.101 Lakhs
1999	- Rs. 460.188 Lakhs

We had noted that the series fluctuates sharply, and in order to study these variations, we have split the series into two series, the first from 1978 to 1985 (8 years) and the second from 1986 to 1996 (11 years). The "character" of these two series will be seen to be quite different.

The series for 1978-85 is presented below, with a straight line trend fitted to it.

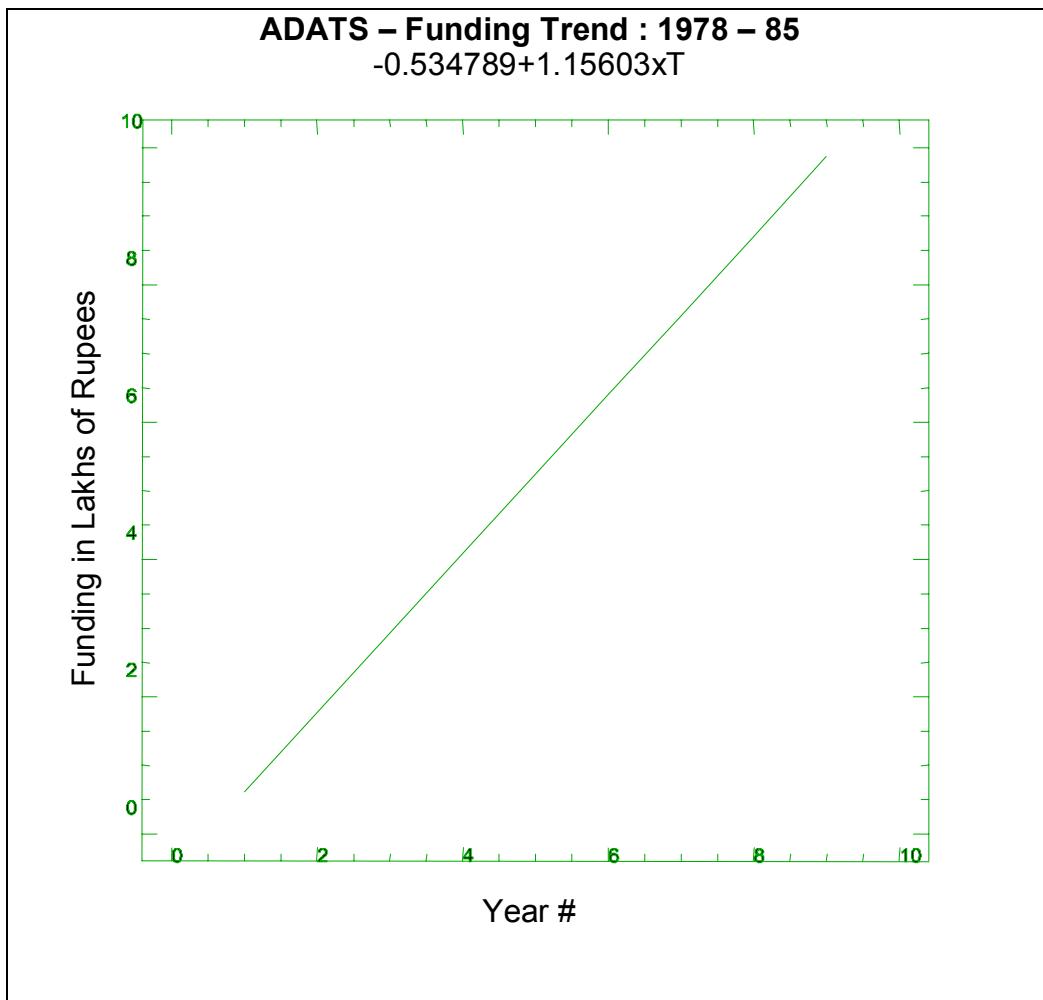


Figure 5

It may be noted that the 1978-85 series is cyclical, although it is not readily apparent in Fig.1, due to the steep rise of the curve in the latter part - 1986-96 of the series.

This is the second part (1986-96) of the series, where the growth is very rapid.

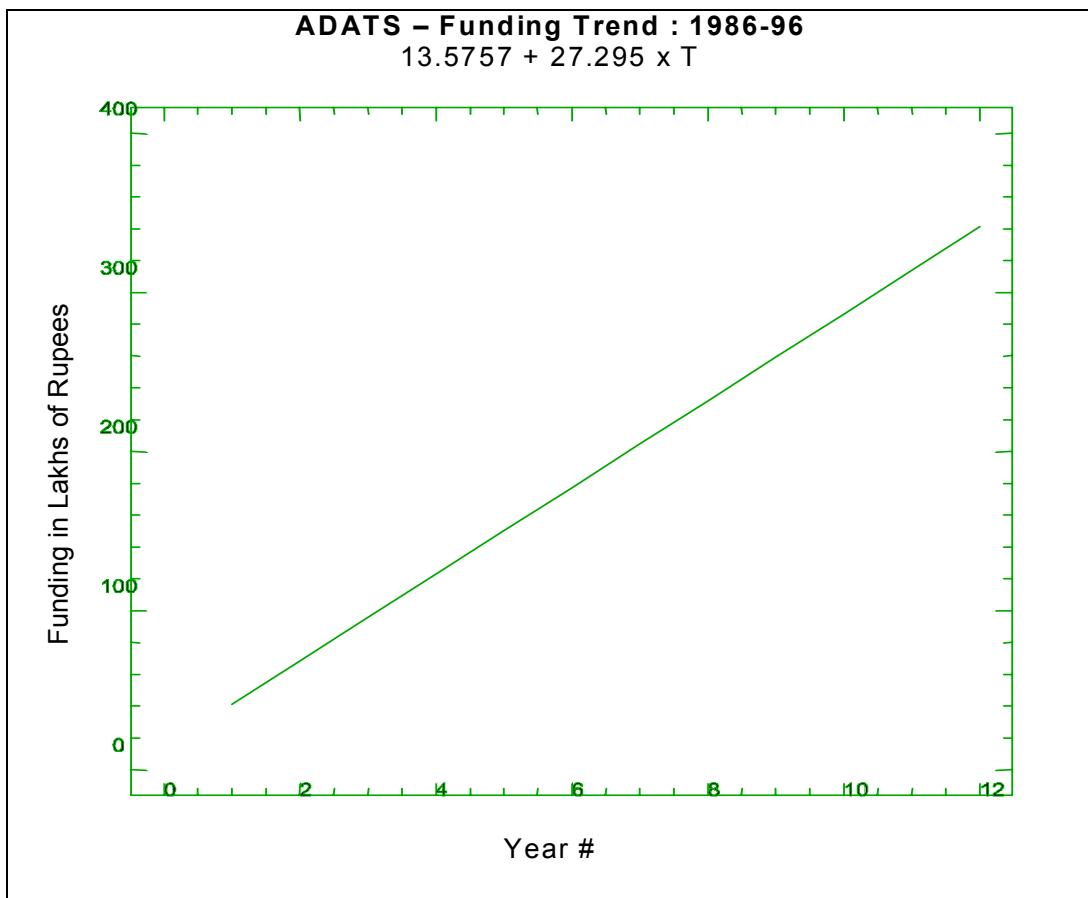


Figure 5

We see from the slopes of the two curves (Fig.3 : 1.15603 and Fig.4 : 27.295) that during 1986-96, the funding increased 24 fold, a substantial growth.¹⁰

The table below analyses the cyclical-irregular relatives, which vary around 1, depicting both cyclical and irregular activity in the series.

YEAR	X _i	Y _i Lakhs Rs.	Y' _i Fitted Trend	Y _i /Y' _i
1978	0	1.43	-0.53	-2.68
1979	1	1.05	0.62	1.69
1980	2	2.52	1.78	1.42
1981	3	6.12	2.93	2.09

¹⁰ The slope in Fig.4 is visually not as steep as the slope in Fig.3, but this is because the Y-axis dimensions in Fig.4 are 0 to 400 lakhs, while in Fig.3 it is from 0 to 10 lakhs only.

1982	4	4.41	4.09	1.08
1983	5	3.57	5.25	0.68
1984	6	8.38	6.40	1.31
1985	7	9.86	7.56	1.30

YEAR	X _i	Y _i Lakhs Rs.	Y' _i Fitted Trend	Y _i /Y' _i
1986	0	32.06	13.584	2.36
1987	1	75.07	0.87	1.84
1988	2	131.52	68.17	1.93
1989	3	121.56	95.46	1.27
1990	4	69.71	122.76	0.57
1991	5	219.41	150.05	1.46
1992	6	216.47	177.35	1.22
1993	7	174.39	204.64	0.85
1994	8	315.96	231.94	1.36
1995	9	315.96	259.23	1.22
1996	10	278.69	286.53	0.97

Although there is no discernible pattern in the first of the two series (1978-85), as it consists of only 7 years data, in the second series, a pattern showing a regular dip every three years from 1990 is seen.

This is the result of three year funding cycles.

In 1978, ADATS had only one funder, CHRISTIAN AID, and from 1981 to 1986 had two funders - ACTIONAID and NOVIB. ADATS never had more than 4 funders at any time, and during the last three years, there have only been 3 funders - NOVIB, EZE and ICCO. The funding pattern is depicted in the chart below:

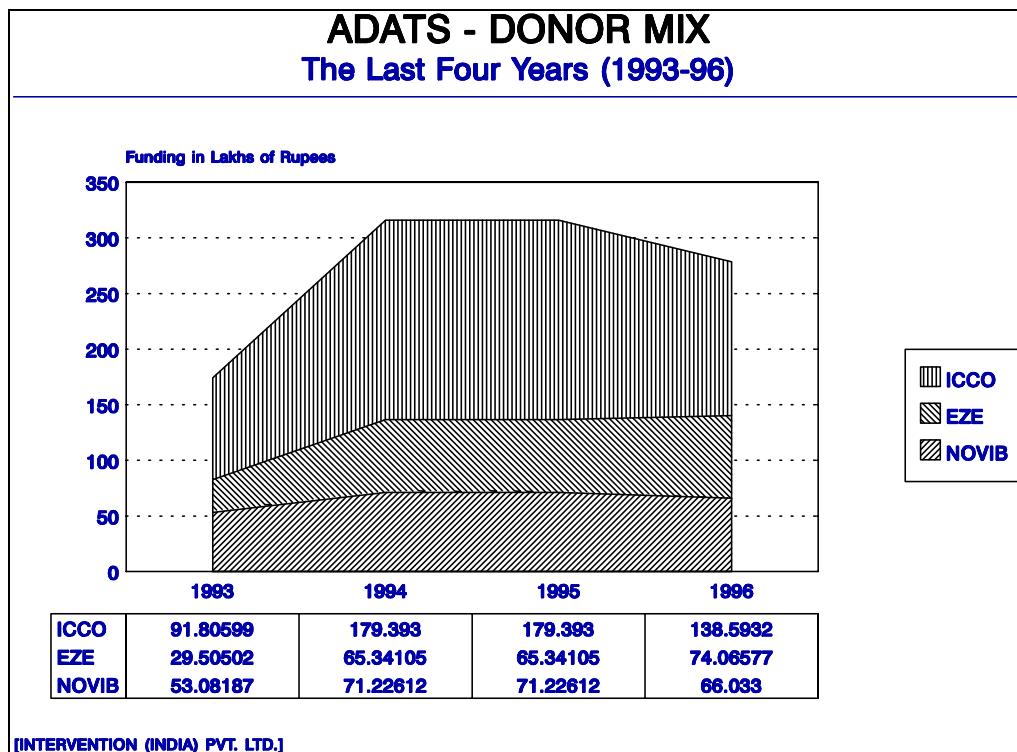


Figure 6

We see that ICCO is the major donor, accounting in 1996 for almost 50% of ADATS' total funding, while NOVIB and EZE account for 24% and 26% respectively.

From 1978 to 1996, a total of Rs. 19.88 crores has been received from all the funders.

4.3. Economic

This section looks at some of the Economic project outputs initiated by ADATS/BCS.

4.3.1. The Coolie Credit Fund (CCF)

The Coolie Credit Fund (CCF) was conceived by BCS members and set up in March 1985 with grants arranged by ADATS from its Northern partners, NOVIB, EZE and ICCO. The CCF is intended to provide coolies with interest-free credit for their petty production and consumption purposes.

Members of BCS are eligible for loans on the basis of need and the recommendations made by their fellow-members. Initially, CCF grants were small and ADATS/BCS kept increasing the loan size from time to time based on proper and prompt utilisation.

The main objectives of the CCF were to provide a source of small credit to coolie members and expose them to the world of small enterprises and fiscal discipline.

The CCF is mainly utilized for crop loans, agriculture, cattle, trade, small enterprises and consumption purposes.

• **HOW THE CCF WORKS**

Member coolies of each village CSU decide who shall receive CCF loans, how much, for what purpose and when he/she will return it. These decisions are made separately and independently in the weekly CSU meetings and exclusive women's Mahila Meetings. They are then ratified in the weekly cluster meets.

Mahila meetings exercise have veto rights on all CCF decisions, in recognition of the role of women in the proper utilisation of credit.

Although the loans are interest-free, borrowers contribute 10% of the loan amount to Sangha funds.

From the time the CCF was started in 1985 to the present time, the loans have been mostly in the category of crop loans. There has, however, been a shift towards loans for purchase of cattle and petty trade. This pattern shift could indicate either changing preferences, or the deliberate encouragement of off-farm loans by the ADATS/BCS leadership.

The analysis in this section was considerably limited by the rigidities in the CCF data storage system, which shows only cumulative figures at any point in time. Programming inputs are required for isolating data for discrete periods to facilitate comparisons and study. There is a good argument for considering a more flexible data system which will allow custom-determined queries and easy transfer of data to other formats.

We would recommend an Annual Performance Data Survey for the various programmes at ADATS, which would reduce the search time for programme monitoring data. ADATS could consider placement of a summer trainee from the IIM Bangalore to design this database.

• **DECLARED PURPOSES OF LOANS**

The tables below show the purposes for which loans were taken. More than two thirds of the three months data (1986) shown below were for crop loans and cattle loans.

	JULY '86	AUG '86	SEPT '86	%	INCREASE
		(Rupees)			
CONSUMPTION	420	16755	19260	6.74%	4585.71%
LAND	1050	9786	10850	3.79%	1033.33%
CROP LOANS	20645	140937	137105	47.95%	664.11%
CATTLE	10385	36175	57950	20.27%	558.02%
HUTS	6025	15205	27850	9.74%	462.24%

TRADE	10845	22095	18525	6.48%	170.82%
FEED/FODDER	5480	5280	8150	2.85%	148.72%
CARTS	3200	8650	4500	1.57%	140.63%
TOOLS	1780	1300	1750	0.61%	98.31%
TOTAL	59830	256183	285940	100.00%	477.92%

By 1996, there was a distinct change in the loan application pattern:

DATA FOR 16 MONTH PERIODS - Amounts in Rupees

	SEP 1993 DEC 1994	MAR 1995 JUN 1996	% INCREASE
CROP LOANS	3286545	4300853	30.25% 130.86%
CATTLE	2556867	1850737	13.02% 72.38%
FEED/FODDER			
TRADE	500990	7145478	50.26% 1426.27%
HUTS			
CARTS			
LAND	429150	873038	6.14% 203.43%
TOOLS			
CONSUMPTION	89500	45841	0.32% 51.22%
TOTAL	6863052	14215947	100.0% 207.14%

We find that loans for "trade" now occupies 50% of the total funds loaned out, while crop loans and cattle account for only 43%. Between 1993/94 and 1995/96 (16 month periods), although the increase in crop loans between the two periods was only 30.25%, the increase in loans for trade show a sharp rise of 1426%.

The number of borrowers of CCF loans have increased from 477 in 1985 to a cumulative 18,177 in 1996, i.e., a 38-fold increase in the number of borrowers. This indicates an impressive growth of the CCF movement in Bagepalli taluka.

• AVERAGE AMOUNT BORROWED

The average amount borrowed by the coolies was Rs.125 per capita in the year 1985 and now as shown in the report stands at Rs.1728 per capita for an eleven year period. Average loan amount for trading has increased dramatically from Rs.1202 in 1994-95 to Rs.6703 in 1995-96.

Since the average borrowing is shown cumulatively for 11 years, we have calculated the average amount borrowed at a specific period during a particular year. The formula that was used to calculate this is given below:

Average amount borrowed per member per year =

Install Equation Editor and double-click here to view equation.

Based on these calculations, the average amount borrowed by members for different categories is shown in the table below:

AVERAGE AMOUNT BORROWED PER MEMBER PER YEAR AS ON JUNE 1996

Crop loans	Rs. 96.34
Cattle	Rs. 229.00
Feed/fodder	Rs. 17.36
Trade	Rs. 609.39
Huts	Rs. 24.50
Carts	Rs. 20.08
Lands	Rs. 272.71
Tools	Rs. 11.55
Consumption	Rs. 44.89

TOTAL **Rs. 157.17**

What do the shifts in the average borrowing capacity indicate? In 1985, average loans on cattle were the highest. In 1986 average borrowings for land topped, suggesting a move to acquisition and legalisation of land. By 1995-96 the demand had switched to trading loans. This shows the choices of people during a particular period, shifting from cattle loans to land loans, and finally towards trading. It is not possible to assert that this was due to external demand, as the demand may have been created internally through project intervention.

Discussion with Ram suggests that in fact, land redemption was probably the first need, followed by investment in cattle, and the progression towards trading activities.

• CCF CAPITAL

As of June 1996, the CCF capital stands at Rs.1,90,23,734 - nearing the Rupees Two crore level.

STATUS OF CCF CAPITAL										
	As on August 1992		As on September 1993		As on December 1994		As on March 1995		As on June 1996	
Total Capital	7352781	100%	10056446	100%	15870990	100%	16939954	100%	19023734	100%
Good loans	4015035	55%	4348630	43%	3205770	20%	1742457	10%	8889648	47%
Overdues	485707	7%	1107141	11%	3340440	21%	4553873	27%	4897879	26%
Bad Debts	19080	0%	19080	0%	62975	0%	62975	0%	62975	0%
Bank Balance	2832959	39%	4581594	46%	9258335	58%	10580648	62%	5172932	27%

Even though the Total capital of CCF has been increasing there is a gradual dip in the percentage increase in it from 1992 to 1996.

• LOAN REPAYMENT

After a big dip in 1994-95 year in the good loans status, there has been a huge increase in good loans in 1995-96. This is because of the overdue and delayed loan repayment by the members.

Even though there is an overall increase in the overdue amount, the increase is less than the previous years for the last two years under review. This suggests that in another two to three years BCS could overcome the overdue problem to a certain extent.

The bad debts situation worsened in 1994, after which it has stabilized till date.

The overdue status of BCS shows a wide range throughout the five years between 1992 to 1995.

OVERDUES	As on August 1992		As on September 1993		As on December 1994		As on March 1995		
	1-6 MONTHS	7-12 MONTHS	OVER 12 MONTHS	1-6 MONTHS	7-12 MONTHS	OVER 12 MONTHS	1-6 MONTHS	7-12 MONTHS	OVER 12 MONTHS
TOTAL OVERDUE	485698	100%		1107538	100%		3340440	100%	
									4553873

The repayment rate from 1992 till date shows that it is quite satisfactory in Bagepalli taluka, with an overall average for those five years standing at 83.6 %. Non-repayment and overdue has been reported at 27% during 1994-95 year when Sangha tax of 6% of the total income was proposed to be collected from the members.

An analysis of the CCF as it operates in 170 villages of Bagepalli Taluka, where CSUs were operating showed that there are two distinct groups, one group of 104 (61%) villages where the overdue by normal (as opposed to cancelled) members was equal to zero, and the other group of 66 (39%) villages where the overdue by normal members was more than one rupee. Statistical analysis of both the groups was done separately to understand the reasons for overdues by correlating variables like strength of the sangha with cancelled members, good loans, CCF balance, CCF capital, number of loans, rotation and repayment rate.

The limitation of this study and analysis was the lack of availability of year-wise Sangha CCF transactions. This analysis was based on cumulative figures obtained from ADATS of Sangha CCF from 1985.

Sixty per cent of the sanghas in Bagepalli taluka have overdue by normal members equal to zero. Forty per cent of normal members with overdue more than one rupee are likely to repay within a one year period as they are not cancelled members. This gives a good indication of repayment rate by normal members.

Seventy-five per cent of sanghas with overdue less than Rs.20,000 have a membership of less than ten members. With the increase in sangha members the overdue amount also increases. From this we infer that chances of high overdues are more likely from sanghas with more members.

Cross tabulation of strength of sangha by overdues

Overdues---->							
Members		Rs.1 to 20 K	Rs.20001 to 40 K	Rs.40001 to 60 K	Rs.60001 to 80K	Rs.80001 to 100K	Rs.100001 to 120K
1-10	10 CSUs	-	-	-	-	-	-
11-20	19 CSUs	3 CSUs	1 CSUs	-	-	-	-
21-30	10 CSUs	1 CSUs	2 CSUs	-	-	-	-
31-40	5 CSUs	1 CSU	1 CSU	1 CSU	1 CSU	1 CSU	-
41-50	3 CSU	1 CSU	1 CSU	1 CSU	1 CSU	-	-

> 50	3 CSU	-	-	-	-	-
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Two-thirds (66%) of the sanghas have overdue less than Rs.20,000 by cancelled members. Cancelled members have taken amounts exceeding Rs.1,20,000 in sanghas where normal members have zero overdue.

As this data is cumulative of all years starting from 1985, it shows that in sanghas where overdue by cancelled members is more, normal members tend to repay the CCF loan on time (BCS taking more caution in sanghas with high overdues) and keep their overdues equal to zero. In other cases, where normal and cancelled members both have overdues, because the amount of overdue is not very huge, normal members tend to be slow to repay. (BCS pressure is comparatively low on such sanghas).

Relative Cumulative Frequency Tabulation of Overdue by suspended members

Overdue amount (Rupees)	Sangha with Normal member Overdue= 0	Sangha with Normal members Overdue = 1
0	52 CSUs (.50)	9 CSUs (.13)
< 20000	69 CSUs (.66)	44 CSUs (.66)
< 40000	80 CSUs (.77)	53 CSUs (.80)
< 60000	91 CSUs (.87)	66 CSUs (1.0)
< 80000	98 CSUs (.94)	-
< 100000	101 CSUs (.97)	-
< 120000	102 CSUs (.98)	-
above 120000	104 CSUs (1.0)	-

Cross tabulation of Sangha strength and good loans show that sanghas with higher amount of good loans are the sanghas with greater membership. This could only be because a loan of Rs.1000 repaid by 30 members will be more than that repaid by 10 members.

4.3.2. The Dryland Development Programme (DLDP)

The Dry Land Development Programme (DLDP) was conceived when implementing the Drought Relief Works (DRW) project in 1986, as a sustainable long term programme alternative to isolated, one time efforts.

• OBJECTIVES m OBJECTIVESm OBJECTIVES

The DLDP was not started as an agricultural programme. The basic objectives of the DLDP were:

- (i) to unite the coolies, cutting across all caste barriers
- (ii) to support coolie wages during the dry weather
- (iii) to avoid migration and
- (iv) provide equal wages for men and women.

DLDP also had a politico-legal angle, helping to legitimise strips of coolie land which had been encroached from government lands.

In August 1986, the DLDP aimed to develop over 9,000 acres of marginal land in 87

villages.

The coolies and their CSUs were to be technically assisted in planning and implementing these DLDP works, thereby strengthening and enhancing their traditional knowledge.

The DLDP proposed to pay an average daily wage of Rs.9 for five months a year for 3 years, and provide tools and implements worth Rs.100 to each member of the CSU.

From ADATS' political perspective, the DLDP was a vehicle to accelerate the Coolie Sangha building process by providing a tangible organisational focus.

- **LAND DEVELOPMENT m LAND DEVELOPMENTm LAND DEVELOPMENT**

The process of land development could begin only after the Coolie Sangha was formed and strengthened.

Land development began with the systematic removal of pebbles and boulders. Thereafter, soil conservation measures such as contour bunding, ravine and gully plugging, and check dam construction were introduced.

In the next phase, silt hauled from tank beds was spread on the land to improve the tilth and replace the topsoil which had been washed away.

ADATS technical staff provided advice on such subjects as soil testing, compost making, production of vermicompost, mulching, green manuring, seed procurement and treatment, and deep ploughing.

- **MIGRATION m MIGRATIONm MIGRATION**

One of the stated purposes of the DLDP programme was to check migration of coolies during the drought months.

Among the coolies, mainly men migrate to Bangalore, Tirupathi, Srinivasapura and parts of Kerala State. They find employment which earns them Rs.70 to Rs.80 per day, mainly in the construction sector.

The DLDP is a high cost programme, which is possible only when programme funding is available, and is in that sense not a sustainable programme.

Migration, on the other hand is a seasonal phenomenon when agricultural labour from drought affected areas move to areas where there is demand for unskilled labour. They earn relatively good wages which is saved and brought back to their village economy.

J.K.Galbraith has pointed out¹¹ that migration is a natural phenomenon which benefits all concerned. He calls it "**the oldest action against poverty**". It selects those who most want help. It is good for the country to which they go; it helps to break the equilibrium of poverty in

¹¹ J.K.Galbraith, *THE NATURE OF MASS POVERTY*. Penguin, 1979. See pp. 98 to 111 on **Migration**

the country from which they come".

Migration removes pressure from an area under stress, it provides a supply of labour to areas in need of labour, and secures an income transfer to the poorer areas. However, such movement and temporary billeting of migrants are not without negative impacts.

Taking negative impacts such as strained civic amenities, conflict between migrants and established community members and disturbed family life of the migrants into account, there is a good case for facilitating migration rather than stopping it with high cost programmes. Facilitation could involve such measures as providing hostel accommodation for coolies in the urban agglomerations, and advance intelligence for locating employment.

- **RESULTS OF THE DLDP m RESULTS OF THE DLDPm RESULTS OF THE DLDP**

A study of 17 villages in Bagepalli {Nagarlu, Byrepalli, Mandyampalli, Ramojipalli, Gundlapalli (CEP), Kamatampalli, Shivapuram, Nallasanapalli, Jillajarlu (MV), Anjinapura, Kothuru (CEP), Chencharayanapalli (HC), Mittevanlapalli, D.Kothapalli and Pichilavarapalli} suggests the following results of the DLDP:

- The total area under cultivation increased from 1450.05 acres to 1722.27 acres an increase of 18.77%. This has led to groundnut production increase from 2,02,280 kgs. before DLDP to 6,79,120 kgs after DLDP. This was an increase of 335.73%.
- Other crops which have shown an increase in production are pulses, ragi, dal, millet, maize, paddy, sunflower and beans. Crops which have shown a decline are horsegram, bajra, jowar and castor.

An important explanation for increased yield is the introduction of better farming methods such as water and soil conservation.

- **SUSTAINABLE LAND DEVELOPMENT**

Sustainable land use development can be defined as "the development of land use systems that meets the needs of the present populations without causing environmental degradation and consequent loss of ecosystem production potential in such a way that these land use systems can be maintained" within the means available to these populations".¹²

Carrying capacity is "the level of equilibrium between the availability of a certain element (basically water ad nutrients) limiting a given type of land use, and the level of exploitation of that element".¹³

As long as the carrying capacity of a given ecosystem is respected, sustainable land use, and thus production potential at the optimal level as applicable to that ecosystem is not in

¹² De Bie and Gierling 1986 quoted in *Matching Poverty Alleviation with Sustainable Land Use*. ICCO/DGIS, The Hague 1993

¹³ ibid

danger. A process that is not ecologically sound is not economically sound, certainly in the long run.

The main points of interest from the study area :

- » DLDP is only a part of a wider scheme, an activity which is restricted 5-6 months in a year.
- » Whether DLDP is only an artificial intervention in the labour market ?. The situation which needs to be examined in the future is the sustainability of the wage after the withdrawal of ADATS¹⁴.
- » After a certain point production will show a diminishing marginal return. The lands of the coolies are situated on rocky slopes with thin rocky soils. Soil fertility is low due to the shallowness of the soils. The natural resources are under pressure, aggravated by ecologic uncertainties such as erratic rainfall. The actual level of exploitation in the long run is probably still higher than the carrying capacity of the ecosystem.

• **IMPACT OF DLDP**

- » What DLDP has brought about more than production changes is the changes in the relationships between the coolies and the landlords. The coolies today for example cultivate their lands first before attending to the work on the land of the landlords.
- » There are statements from the coolies who prefer not to join the DLDP programme because the wages paid under the programme is Rs.15. While those working independently on other lands get paid between Rs.20 to Rs. 25. Thus monetary interests of the coolies in a short term perspective is limited. Besides of the Rs. 15 which is paid to the coolies (equally for men and women) Rs. 3 goes to the Sangha Fund. Thus the total amount received is Rs.12.
- » The economy of the coolies is excessively dependent on agriculture. The question that arises is what is the carrying capacity of the land to sustain this economic activity on a long term basis ?
- » Lastly what are the short term land improvements vis-a-vis long term economical benefits and environmentally sound agricultural practices. What is seen in Bagepalli is the existence of "subsistence agriculture". There is a need to change this to "sustainable agriculture". This thinking can be brought about through ecologically sound practices. The process is seen in the vermi-composting demonstration units which are being set up in each of the taluks. The compost from these units can be sold to the coolies, which can substitute chemical fertilizers with compost. Currently the fertilizer mostly used is DAP. On asking the coolies about their willingness to use compost, they were open to the option provided it did not effect their income.

• **ECOLOGICALLY SOUND PRACTICES**

Although the traditional agricultural practices in Bagepalli were designed over scores of years to cope with the harsh environment, more recently there has been a tendency to shift towards capital intensive farming, relying on improved seed, fertiliser and pesticides. Any development effort in the area has of necessity to include programmes to ensure that ecologically sound practices, the results of which are evident only over a longer planning

¹⁴ Subsequent discussions with representatives of the coolies suggest that higher wages got consolidated at that level and equal wages are being paid to men and women even to this day.

horizon, are adopted.

- **POTENTIAL FOR SUSTAINABLE LAND USE**

The environmental conditions in the area is poor with thin soil and erratic rainfall. There is a need to improve the level of knowledge about ecologically sound agricultural practices. The technical aspects to be looked into are nursery techniques, land preparation, soil and water conservation and planting and caring of trees. This last point is of interest because Seema jali was introduced along the contour bunds. Due to lack of sustained interest the growth of this plant was not successful. Concerted effort would not only help to prevent soil erosion but also provide a source of fuelwood.

- **NICHE MARKETING**

We discussed the concept of "niche marketing" for products grown without any chemical inputs by coolies on their marginal lands. The coolies reacted to the concept of niche marketing by saying that they would expect good returns within a period of not more than 2 to 3 years. They would also need to decide what alternate source of income would be available during this time interval.

- **CONCLUSION**

To move from subsistence agriculture to sustainable agriculture involves a mindset change. It can be argued that any investment in soil and water conservation and afforestation benefit not only the individual coolie but also the entire community. Sustainable agriculture will help to arrest environmental degradation and help make land more productive. This is of utmost importance in a district like Kolar which has begun to show symptoms of chronic drought and land degradation.

4.3.3. Other Sources of Project Finance

- **FUNDRAISING**

In September 1996, ADATS has taken the first step towards raising funds on their own initiative, using a Village Sponsorship concept. This programme has been called ACTION FOR Coolie Sangha.

To begin with, this will be confined to one or two European countries, where some communities have shown interest in supporting the work of the Coolie Sangha.

We have discussed various other fundraising possibilities - notably Payroll Giving, with Ram, and look forward to exploring some of these ideas as part of a sustainability programme.

- **BUSINESS ENTERPRISES**

Ram feels that for the time being ADATS/BCS is not ready to go into business enterprises as an alternate source of project funding. In our discussions on the subject, we agreed that business projects require a flexibility of decision-making and entrepreneurial skills

which are not generally associated with poverty.

We have already observed in the Enterprise Study that encouraging a few individuals with entrepreneurial skills could result in development asymmetries and present obstacles to coolie unification, which is ADATS' central objective.

In the upcoming phase of project planning, ADATS intends to examine a few business enterprise project ideas which could provide the source of financial support to the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha.

4.4. Social

This section deals with ADATS' thrust in the area of Human Capital Development, as a long term strategy of the BCS.

4.4.1. Primary Education

If coolie children are viewed as the future of the Bagepalli Coolie Sangha, the importance of children's education as an important programme module cannot be underrated.

In the early stages of the ADATS/BCS project, coolie children in Bagepalli hardly ever attended government school. This situation was considerably more pronounced in Harijan colonies and Lambadi Thandas.

ADATS recognised the need to work with coolie children from the very beginning. Separate classes were conducted in each village for children so that they did not disturb the adult literacy classes. Although the men in these classes were irked by the presence of children, women were able to clarify doubts and even take assistance from children.

• ADATS/ACTIONAID PROGRAMME (1979 TO 1991)

These separate classes for children evolved into a full fledged child sponsorship programme for about 3000 children, supported by ActionAid, from 1979 to 1991.

Children were enrolled in government schools and provided scholarship support for their uniforms, books and busfare (if they had to travel a long distance to attend school). Balkendras were set up in all the villages and supplementary education, or extra coaching was provided. In addition to basic education, the creativity of children were encouraged through sports, and activities such as drawing, painting, and drama.

As a result of this programme for children, coolies believe that tangible changes have taken place in the lives of their children. Coolie families now send their children to Primary School as a matter of course. Some of the families have even managed to send their children to high school and in some ActionAid Programme villages a minuscule percentage have even pursued university education.

However, the stark truth is that even to this day, fewer girls go to high school and beyond. The positive impact is that young coolies who participated in the ActionAid Children's Programme play a major role in the Coolie Sangha. Many of these young men and women have

a greater say in family matters and are also better equipped to deal with life than their parents.

• INDEPENDENT COOLIE SANGHA CHILDREN'S PROGRAMME

The ActionAid Children's Programme has convinced the coolies of the importance of children's education and all-round development. Coolies are now conscious that there is more to childhood than learning how to conform to caste-class and village based stereotypes. It is possible to conclude that a genuine demand has been created for Primary Education in many of the villages in the Bagepalli taluk.

The CSUs have subsidised middle and high school education for their children to the extent of about 50%. Scholarships are available for meeting a part of the cost of books, fees, uniforms and bus fares. The rest of the expenses are borne by the parents themselves. Coolie parents make big sacrifices and regularly incur a lot of expenditure on the schooling of their children.

Since the Sangha funds play a very important role in the Children's Programmes, non-repayment of CCF loans in a village results in cancelling the Children's Programmes in that village.

However the allocation of money for the Children's Education Programme from the total programme budget is far from adequate. Further, having taken the first step towards Primary Education, the coolies now feel that their children need skill training which would equip them for new jobs and occupations.

• FUNDING OF MERIT GOODS

While it is most encouraging that the Coolie Sangha has come forward to support at least part of the cost of their children's primary education, it is clear that this is a programme which requires some kind of centralised funding support.

ADATS has approached a couple of agencies working with children and is currently awaiting the response of a New Zealand based agency in this regard. This is clearly one of the most successful programmes in terms of long-term impact and should receive all the encouragement it can get.

4.4.2. Primary Health

In the area of Primary Health, ADATS has restricted its programme support to referral services and some assistance with medicines for common ailments through the VHW.

The Government health infrastructure in the taluk is deplorable. There are just four Primary Health Centres (PHCs) of which one has just been upgraded to a hospital and 6 Primary Health Units (PHUs) for the entire population. There are no lady doctors and no specialists except for one child specialist who works as a medical officer in one of the PHCs. Ambulance facilities do not exist and there are no lab technicians. The operation theater and X-ray unit have never been used.

Most of the PHCs and PHUs are understaffed and the most vacant posts remain

unfilled. With the kind of constraints in the Government health infrastructure, a co-operation between NGDOs working in Bagepalli and the Government Health machinery would be an ideal answer according to the Chief Medical Officer of the Bagepalli Government hospital.

The major health problems in the Bagepalli area are malaria, typhoid, Gastro-enteritis and Dysentery. Minor diseases include scabies, upper respiratory infections, enteric fever and anaemia. All the Tuberculosis cases are referred to the district sanatorium but there is no supervised follow up of drug intake. Preventive health care is confined to the area of family planning. Complications during childbirth abound and there are no facilities for using forceps or performing a caesarean cross section.

Other diseases like Leprosy, sexually transmitted diseases and mental health problems are not being taken up although the incidence of these problems is quite high. Dental problems like caries and oral cancers are also common.

Doctors from the Kidwai Memorial Institute of Oncology, Bangalore, discovered through a survey that cervical cancer is a common problem among the village women. Awareness of the disease has helped to refer such cases in time for specialist treatment.

The supply of basic drugs is erratic and doctors have no choice but to write prescriptions which have to be taken to one of the many drug shops in the town. Private practitioners and their clinics have sprung up to cater to the demand, placing the coolies at a tremendous disadvantage.

- **The VHW (Village Health Worker)**

In each of the CSUs, ADATS has helped in the selection of VHWS (Village Health Workers) and trained them in first aid, basic curative skills and pre-natal care. A referral health care system was also the outcome of ADATS intervention. This system which was originally managed from Bagepalli was handed over to the Mahila meetings about 8 years back. Initially the VHWS were traditional Dais who took care of pregnant women and deliveries. But over the years younger and more articulate coolie women with a political bent took over. The quality of health work has since gone down, compounded by budget constraints and the programme has been largely sidelined.

The VHWS have undergone some amount of training in health and their functions are as follows:

- *Preventive:* Encouraging parents to get their children immunised, stressing the importance of pre-natal care and educating parents about simple but effective preventive methods like ORT.
- *Curative:* besides dispensing some of the basic drugs for common illnesses, the VHW is also trained to administer first-aid.
- *Referrals:* In case of any chronic or major illness she refers the patient to Government hospitals.

Registering births and deaths also form part of her duties. besides all this she is also a friend to the patient, a psychological support during crises. She is also partially responsible for bringing up health issues for discussion at the Mahila meetings.

Any responsible woman who shows some kind of leadership qualities and who has won the confidence of the village women is suggested for the post of the VHW. *"If we find a widowed woman or any woman in desperate need of financial help, we suggest her name as the VHW candidate."*

Due to the "political" nature of the VHW selection process, it is no surprise that some of the VHWs are illiterate, who dispense medicines to the villagers on the basis of the colour of the pills they carry in their kit-boxes.

"Green coloured tablets for Diarrhoea, white coloured tablets for fever..."

A training programme for VHWs would considerably improve the impact of their work, and supplement the function of the ANMs in the Government Primary Health Centres.

4.4.3. Status of Coolie Women of Bagepalli

The status of Coolie Women in Bagepalli reflect all the features of women's status in any rural agrarian society in India. The problem of low status of women is firmly rooted in economic roles and social structures.

The family is the primary social structure within which the role of women is determined. It is also in the family context that the values of patriarchal domination are strengthened and perpetuated. It is in this arena that women encounter domestic violence and abuse as a matter of course, and where they tend to have no control over their sexuality, or their labour and reproductive rights.

• ADATS and Coolie Women

ADATS' stated aim in all development programmes is to "oppose gender discrimination, sexual exploitation, and to strengthen the position of coolie women so that they can contribute as equals to all further developments in the Coolie Sangha."

ADATS gender policy is based on the following assumptions:

- i. While many feminist values have to be learnt and internalised by men over a period of time, these values can become a force in society at large only through a proactive and assertive application by the women themselves.
- ii. A gender perspective, as different from, but not excluding special activities for women, becomes the pivot around which sustainable development revolves if it is to gain relevance.

These 2 core assumptions translate into simple policies:

- i. Women in the Coolie Sangha are encouraged, cajoled, emboldened, and supported to come forward and articulate their interests and dreams through a positive discrimination policy.
- ii. Men in the Coolie Sangha and in ADATS variously learn to identify issues as gender issues and to embody feminist values and/or take responsibility in a consciously feminist way.

• Empowerment of Women by ADATS

The Planning Commission acknowledges that women's empowerment is inexorably linked to social attitudes and the primary task is to root out biases and implant positive attitudes so that family and society would endorse and participate in the planning process of women's advancement.

Practical gender needs as identified by the men and women concerned are directed at improving their daily living conditions., ex., access to potable water, sanitation, health care and the promotion of labour saving technology.

Strategic gender interests concern the improvement of the power position of the weaker group in the long run, i.e, increasing access to and control over arable land or other assets for women, supporting activities that give women more say in the marketing of products from their own ventures, changes in the traditional division of labour in favour of more income earning ventures, changes in the division between productive and reproductive tasks,etc.

ADATS staff are sensitised to women's issues, and the project policies in the following areas are consciously monitored with women's empowerment in view:

- a. Education
- b. Employment (Economic Activity) and
- c. Awareness generation
- d. Better health practices

a. Education

Education is the most powerful instrument in the empowerment of women.

The ActionAid Children's Programme at ADATS (1979-91) has had an impact on the women by touching on all the above areas. In field discussions, we found that the women who had participated in the ActionAid Sponsorship Programme had higher levels of awareness when compared with others who were not in the programme.

Similarly, the women who were trained at ADATS and had moved into jobs in the garment industry in Bangalore, showed high levels of awareness and economic and social self-confidence and independence.

b. Employment (Economic Activity)

The theme of "Sustainable Income Security for Rural Women" has been a special theme for policy development of ICCO's South Asia Desk since mid 1994¹⁵

Apart from being a home manager and economic producer, the coolie woman must also perform the role of caretaker of her children and the elderly.

Economic programmes for women, initiated by ADATS are aimed at making women economically independent and self-confident in the long run. The DLDP was introduced in 1989 and during the three phases of this programme women and men were paid equal wages,

¹⁵ Sustainable Income Security for Rural Women - A Discussion Note on Policy Spearhead of ICCO's South Asia Team - May 1996

even for seasonal agricultural labour.

- **CCF CREDIT AS A LEVER FOR EMPOWERMENT**

The CCF is an important tool adopted by ADATS "to enable the coolies to implement grassroots level poverty alleviation plans". Although ADATS has ensured that women have a say in the application of CCF loans, most off-farm activities - "enterprising" as opposed to *enterprises*¹⁶, appear to be male-dominated, probably due to their traditional origins.

In the Enterprise study conducted by INTERVENTION in 1995, the involvement of men and women in Tiny and Small Enterprises was as shown in the table below:

Gender	Tiny	Small	Total
Male	81	112	193
Female	72	98	170
T O T A L	153	210	363

The female to male ratio is 89 females to 100 males in the Tiny category, while it is slightly more adverse in the Small category with 88 females to 100 males.

Coolie women, through their Mahila Meetings have the power to block a loan even after the CSU sanctions it. They frequently exercise their veto power to ensure that men do not borrow without taking their women folk into confidence, or when they feel that the purpose for which the loan is taken is not in the best interests of the family.

- **VOKKAKU SANCHI DUDDU**

"Vokkaku Sanchi" is the *betel-nut* pouch which coolie women carry on their person. "Duddu" refers to the petty cash which is carried around in this pouch for emergencies.

The Vokkau Sanchi Duddu is a petty credit fund of about Rs.5,000 which ADATS has given out to each Mahila Meeting. Coolie women borrow small amounts for applications like buying rations from the fair price shop, to go to the doctor, and for various other emergencies. The money is rotated and the Mahila Meetings keep track of the transactions.

Since no complicated accounting procedure is followed, petty amounts are readily available to solve urgent, and sometimes confidential needs. This scheme is rather handy when compared with CCF loans, which are processed through a relatively time-consuming procedure.

There have been problems of repayment and misuse of Vokkaku Sanchi Duddu money. The VHWS are in the process of tallying up the accounts with view to re-introduce the scheme once again.

- **SKILL TRAINING**

ADATS has started up two activities to benefit women - the Agarbathi unit at Shivapura and the Garment unit at Bagepalli. However, although these units have proved to be a good starting point, in order to be sustainable over the long run, more emphasis will have to

¹⁶ In the entrepreneurial, risk-taking sense

be given to marketing and sales.

At present these activities are more in the nature of skill-training activities, to orient coolie women to the discipline of industrial production.

• GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES

There are considerable opportunities for ADATS/BCS to tap Government schemes for women such as DWCRA, IRDP, PMRY, GRUHAKALYANA, loans from SC/ST department for various programmes, SCP, and RMK for women.

However, several structural problems, including bureaucratic hurdles and extra-legal costs need to be surmounted before coolie women can take advantage of these Government Programmes.

c. Awareness generation

ADATS/BCS has been actively pursuing the creation of awareness of women's issues through Mahila Meetings. They are also encouraged to discuss problems which are specific to coolie women and arrive at solutions with the help of ADATS staff.

In Nagarlu cluster, the Mahila Meeting, endorses this view in their own words, "We have come to stand against the men". The women in this meeting are also conscious of obtaining power through better education for girl children and economic independence and see this happening in the next generation of their children. They also say they can see the generational change taking place before their own eyes.

Mahila Meetings have become a platform for coolie women to express their feelings, injustices meted to them (wife beating, drinking, oppression by the landlords), health issues, children's education programme, crop loans, non-farm economic activities.

d. Better Health Practices

Please see section 4.4.2. which discusses the major health problems in the area, and the current state of the project intervention.

It is seen that women incur both an access cost and a transactional cost in seeking health remedies for their problems. This aspect needs special consideration in project interventions for women.

• VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

It would appear from the discussions we had with women in various villages that Marital Disputes, Bigamy, Wife-beating and Alcoholism seemed to be the major problems faced by women.

In particular, Bigamy was found to occur frequently, and was a focus for conflict and aggression.

Rape has been traditionally used as a punishment by higher castes to show the lower castes their place. Men have begun to understand a woman's right to convert an intimate and humiliating experience such as rape into a public issue, demanding public attention and support.

At the local police station, we found that First Information Reports (FIRs) were dominated by dowry torture/deaths, Rape and Outraging Modesty.

The BCS has been instrumental in bringing crimes of this nature which would normally go unreported, to the attention of the local police.

5. STRATEGIC PLANNING

Formal Strategic Planning has become de rigueur in many Indian business corporations only in the last 25 years or so, while formal Economic Planning has been an integral part of our country's Command Economy methodology since Independence. The NGO sector has traditionally relied on simple budget plans for the implementation of their programmes, which were largely insulated from changes taking place in the external economic environment.

In the last decade, there have been demands on NGOs to "professionalise", prepare programme plans and budget plans against which performance could be evaluated. There are arguments that such "professionalisation", which is intended to secure the funding base of voluntary organisations, has taken place at the cost of the spirit of voluntarism¹⁷.

Strategic Planning recognizes that the organisation has customers and clients, whose needs are constantly changing. For continued success in the organization's business environment, it is necessary to adapt to these changes. Strategic Planning also examines the changes required for their fit within the organisation's core value and capability boundaries.

5.1. The Crossover Phenomenon among Sectors

We find that today, the lines dividing Government, Commercial and Voluntary Organisations in our country are becoming increasingly blurred.

Typically, the Government is associated with the use of formal hierarchies to implement its decisions, with the back-up of force or coercion in cases of non-compliance. Commercial organisations have relied on market forces, and the "Marketing Mix" (Product, Price, Promotion and Place) or the variables available to the marketer for modification, for their continued success in the market place. NGOs have relied largely on shared values and the spirit of voluntarism, based on altruistic ideals.

Today, it is not uncommon to see Government departments and corporations - City Traffic, Municipal Corporations, and others which interface largely with the public, using the principles of Social Marketing to persuade the public to follow rules or to co-operate with the authorities. For such activities, the Government is willing to seek commercial sponsorships, in an age when the public exchequer is under severe strain.

¹⁷ See THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN DEVELOPMENT - An Exploratory Concept Paper prepared for the World Bank by L.David Brown and David C.Korten: Institute for Development Research, 1988

Commercial organisations which have to compete with organisations marketing products with almost identical features have begun to use "social edge" and "environmental edge" strategies, clearly appealing to the values of consumers. Private organisations are resorting to personnel strategies which are not dissimilar to the empowerment strategies and gender-sensitive strategies which were thought to be the sole prerogative of the NGO sector.

5.2. ADATS and Professionalisation

Accountability to donors has always been a very high priority for ADATS, and from this notion, the organisation's reporting systems and documentation have been honed to a very high degree of professionalism.

In one of his early papers, "COOLIE SANGHA - A RELEVANT STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POOR", Ram articulates his view of professionals and professionalisation.

The term "Professional" has a certain functional and value connotation in NGO circles, which is captured very well in this paper.

Professionals were viewed as disinterested and uninvolved players who possess technical skills, but had no role in "transformation" or social change.

However, ADATS devoted considerable energy and attention as part of their "stabilisation process" in the late Eighties to "developing of sound management systems within ADATS and the gearing up of ourselves [sic] to achieve tangible results in definite time spans." The "Implementation Technology" of ADATS can be seen as a professionalisation process, if we may treat the term as value free.

5.3. Customer Satisfaction

Before going into the study of ADATS' mission, we were keen to understand the major elements of ADATS's work so far, and how the impact of this work was perceived by the coolies.

If we could see the coolies as the "customers" of the "development goods and services" arranged by international donors and provided by ADATS, we could estimate the satisfaction of the coolies with the delivery of these goods and services.

On 2 Aug 1996, at a well attended meeting of coolies from 11 village clusters, we had a full day session during which we tried to understand how the coolies valued the various development benefits they had received as a result of the work ("struggles") of ADATS/BCS. Coolies were asked to give scores to various development goods, and justify their scoring by citing evidence and defending their decisions.

On the basis of our interviews with individuals and groups at ADATS/BCS, we divided the development goods into 4 broad categories:

1. POLITICAL
2. SOCIAL
3. ECONOMIC

4. INFRASTRUCTURE

Please note that these categories do not exactly match the categories selected as Project Outputs to achieve the Immediate Objective.

The coolies told us that they found this a convenient method of reviewing their work of the past, and a good method to look at work yet to be done.

5.3.1. Overall Scores

The quantification by the coolies resulted in the following scores indicating the satisfaction levels with the four broad categories of development goods and services.

During the exercise it became apparent that what was being measured, in fact, was perceived satisfaction or dissatisfaction with organisational performance. Discussions with Ram suggested that the visioning capacity of coolies was severely impaired by poverty and deprivation. The scores for performance are therefore taken as a proxy for satisfaction.

5.3.2. Analysis of Scores

This section analyses the issues (goods and services) under which the overall scores were arrived at.

- *POLITICAL*

We see from the table below that the coolies gave the highest score under the POLITICAL category to **Realisation of Freedoms**, which is a somewhat abstract concept. Our interpretation is that this item was seen as the outcome of the "Coolie Struggles", a central theme in the description of ADATS/BCS work. Tolpalli Cluster gave the highest marks (100%) under this item, followed by Somanathpura with 90%. The average score was 78.18% (s.d. 16.82), with Gortapalli (D.Kothapalli Cluster) scoring the lowest at 40%.

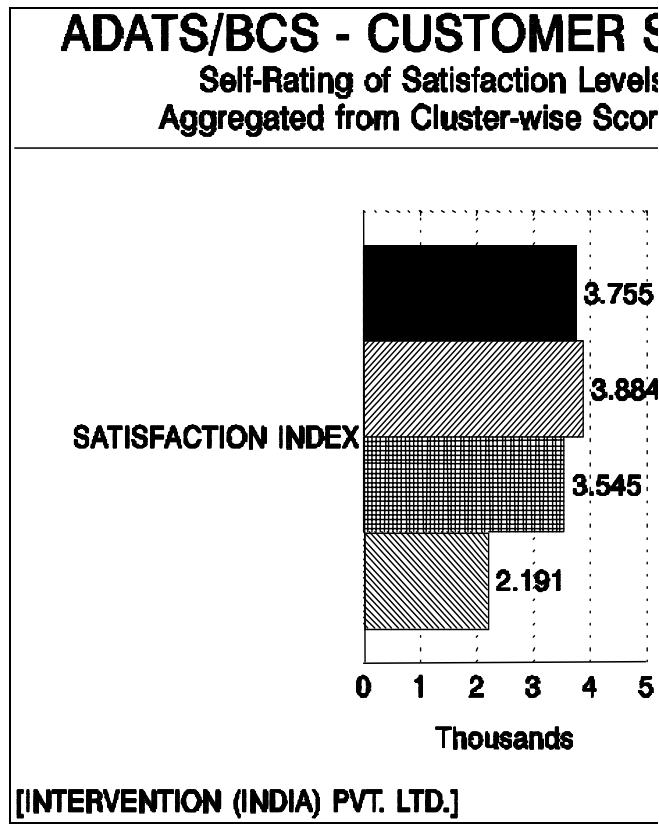


Figure 7

ISSUE (Development Goods/Services)	SCORE	%
1. Participation in the electoral process	620	16.51
2. Accessing Government Benefits	595	15.85
3. Resisting Official Aggression	815	21.70
4. Resisting Official Corruption	210	5.59
5. Resisting Political Corruption	655	17.45
6. Realisation of Freedoms*	860	22.90
TOTAL	3755	100.00

* This item refers to realisation of freedoms and rights guaranteed under the Constitution of India.

The item carrying the lowest score was **Resisting Official Corruption**, with a score of 210. Two clusters, Gortapalli (D.Kothapalli) and Chakwell scored 0 for this item.

▪ *SOCIAL*

In the table below, it is seen that the impact of ADATS/BCS work on **Bonded Labour** has been relatively the most valued by the coolies. Gortapalli and Tolpalli gave full marks (100%) for this item, which carries an average score of 87.18%. The lowest score is from Chakwel, with 50%.

Unity among Coolie Families has gained the second highest score with an average score of 73.64%. There is greater concurrence on this item (s.d. 12.08) when compared with the subject of Bonded Labour (s.d. 13.96).

ISSUE (Development Goods/Services)	SCORE	%
1. Future of Coolie Children	575	14.80
2. Status of Coolie Women	475	12.23
3. Bonded Labour	959	24.69
4. Caste Disadvantages	520	13.39
5. Unity Among Coolie Families	810	20.86
6. Coming to terms with Sexuality*	545	14.03
TOTAL	3884	100.00

* This item refers to "modern" attitudes to sexuality, especially among younger people among the coolie community.

Status of [Coolie] Women scored a low 475, with an average Cluster score of 43.18. The relatively low s.d. of 6.83 suggests that there is not much difference of opinion among the clusters on this issue.

The impact on **Caste Disadvantages** has the second lowest score of 520 with an average Cluster score of 47.27. Chakwel Cluster, which was the scene of a caste-based outrage during the Eighties has scored a very low 10%.

The effect of ADATS/BCS work on the **Future of Coolie Children** has scored a passable 575 (Cluster Average=52.27), with the lowest s.d. of 5.79 showing unanimity of opinion. However, it is that unanimity which is of interest, because of the middle of the road

score given by most Clusters. Please see the Frequency Distribution below:

Score	Frequency	%
60	3	27.27
55	1	9.09
50	6	54.55
40	1	9.09

This scoring could be interpreted as a measure of uncertainty, and suggests an area of considerable concern to the coolies.

▪ *ECONOMIC*

From the table below, we see that the **Availability of CCF**, a source of income security has scored the highest marks of 730. The average Cluster score of 66.36% hides a low score of 10% by Chakwel. **Productive Capacity - DLDP** is the second highest item, which carries an average score of 87.18%. The lowest score is from Chakwel, with 50%.

ISSUE (Development Goods/Services)	SCORE	%
1. Availability of CCF*	730	20.59
2. Access to Bank Services	545	15.37
3. Productive Capacity - DLDP**	725	20.45
4. Coolie Income Levels	625	17.63
5. Assets owned by Coolies	605	17.06
6. Income from Off-farm Activities	315	8.90
TOTAL	3545	100.00

* Coolie Credit Fund (CCF)

** Dryland Development Programme (DLDP)

Income from Off-farm Activities has scored a very low 315, with an average Cluster score of 28.64%. The s.d. of 15.39 is the lowest in the entire ECONOMIC category, suggesting least difference of opinion on this issue. Gortapalli has scored the highest marks - 60% while both Chakwel and Tolpalli have scored the lowest, with 10% each.

We have to conclude that although the CCF has been highly rated, it is probably more useful for agriculture operations than for off-farm activities.

▪ *INFRASTRUCTURE*

This item, which emerged as a problem during interviews, concerns rural infrastructure expected to be set up as part of normal government programmes.

The highest score of 695 went to **Drinking Water** with an average Cluster score of 63.18%, although Gortapalli scored the lowest marks at 20%. **Housing** is the next highest score with 430, showing an average Cluster score of 39.09%, showing some level of dissatisfaction. The lowest scores went to **Health Needs of Coolies** at 235 (average Cluster score of 21.36% and a very low s.d. 7.10 suggesting high consensus among the clusters) and **Village Sanitation/Hygiene** with a score of 214 and an average Cluster score of 19.45%.

ISSUE (Development Goods/Services)	SCORE	%
1. Health Needs of Coolies	235	10.72
2. Coolie Children's Education	330	15.06
3. Local Public Transport	287	13.10
4. Village Sanitation/Hygiene	214	9.77
5. Drinking Water	695	31.72
6. Housing	430	19.63
TOTAL	2191	100.00

Gortapalli has scored a very low 75 (out of 2191), showing particularly low scoring in Village Sanitation/Hygiene at 0% and Local Public Transport at 5%.

▪ *VILLAGE CLUSTER-WISE SCORING*

The table below shows the scores for each Cluster.

CLUSTER	POLITICAL	SOCIAL	ECONOMIC	INFRASTRUCTURE	TOTAL	AVERAGE	S.D.
SOMANATHPURA	440	400	415	260	1515	378.75	70.03
MANDAYAMPALLI	415	390	470	170	1445	361.25	114.15
TOLPALLI	400	425	330	280	1435	358.75	57.27
NAREMANDAPALLI	415	374	390	175	1354	338.50	95.52
RASCHURAVU	355	350	330	260	1295	323.75	37.98
GUNTURPALLI	350	345	290	255	1240	310.00	39.53
KOTKOTA	355	365	295	150	1165	291.25	85.83
RAMANAPADI	290	355	380	110	1135	283.75	105.56
JULPALIA	375	325	195	151	1046	261.50	91.58
CHAKWEL	250	225	140	305	920	230.00	59.48
GORTAPALLI	110	330	310	75	825	206.25	114.64
TOTAL	3755	3884	3545	2191	13375		
AVERAGE	341.36	353.09	322.27	199.18	1215.91		
S.D.	90.51	49.65	90.36	72.48	211.97		

We find that Somanathapura is the "most satisfied" cluster, followed by Mandyampalli and Tolpalli. Mandyampalli has a relatively high s.d. because of the low score for Infrastructure, as against the other items.

Chakwel and Gortapalli have the lowest scores, showing dissatisfaction with their performance (and by proxy the performance of the ADATS/BCS interventions).

Note: Gortapalli is a CSU belonging to D.Kothapalli Cluster, while Mandyampalli is a CSU belonging to Palyakere Cluster.

6. LEADERSHIP

The top management of ADATS consists of 7 core staff as follows:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| i. | Ram Esteves | - Project Director |
| ii. | Pradeep Esteves | - Accounts Admin Assistant |
| iii. | Mario Esteves | - Executive Assistant |
| iv. | Vivy Thomas | - Accounts Assistant |
| v. | Maggie | - Projects Assistant I |
| vi. | Javid | - Projects Assistant II |

vii. Venkatashivappa - BCS President

The Management style is informal, and a blend of idioms easily understood by poor peasants - patriarchal, benevolent with a touch of authoritarianism which could be explained in terms of *democratic centralism*¹⁸.

If we were to consider ADATS as an open system, we could review some important leadership functions.

- *The primary task of management is to manage the boundary conditions of the enterprise. The boundaries of the enterprise are those levels of exchange with the environment which allow it to survive and grow.*¹⁹

Probably the most important of all boundary conditions - dealing with donors, and visitors interested in the work of ADATS is Ram's task. Ram also provides the leadership focus for the Coolies, who form the sole clientele of ADATS.

- *The goals or purposes of an enterprise can be understood only as special forms of interdependence between an enterprise and its environment.*

Providing transparency is an important pre-occupation and probably the greatest guarantee of credibility of ADATS' work. The organisation has an open-house system, where even coolie constituents can operate a computer terminal to look at their loan accounts or village records.

Although all senior personnel of ADATS lead by example in the matter of openness and transparency, Pradeep probably has the main responsibility of establishing and maintaining systems, assisted by Vivy Thomas. Impeccable office systems help to sustain the organisation with government agencies like FCRA, and any local inspection authority.

- *In an human organisation, the two requirements for a steady state, unidirectionality and progress can be achieved only by leadership and commitment.*

Both Ram and Mario frequently talk about their total commitment to the coolies and the interests of the coolies. Mario has the task of projecting this commitment to the organisation at large. Further down the line, Maggie and Javid communicate the philosophy of the organisation and its leadership to the constituents of ADATS

- *An enterprise can only achieve the conditions for a steady state if it allows to its human members a measure of autonomy and selective interdependence.*

All the management functionaries know the levels of autonomy within which they can function, and through regular feedback systems - weekly meetings, report-writing, and regular briefing, keep the organisation on track.

¹⁸ See Ram Esteves - COOLIE SANGHA: A RELEVANT STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POOR - Page x

¹⁹ Keohler's principles are quoted in SYSTEMS THINKING, Vol.I, edited by F.E.Emery, Penguin 1981

There have been difficulties in the recent past with staff members who have taken advantage of the trust reposed in them. Some field staff have had to leave the organisation for misappropriation of funds entrusted to them.

Balancing trust and accountability is like walking a tightrope and a perennial challenge for the top management.

6.1. The Twenty Statements Test

We administered the Twenty Statements test to Ram, Pradeep and Mario from ADATS; and to Nasir (BCS Secretary), and Ramappa (BCS Field Worker) of the BCS. Nanjundappa (BCS Field Worker) was able to write only 9 statements of the 20 required.

The purpose of administering the Test was to understand the leadership of ADATS in terms of internalised social definitions and self-reflections of the leaders.

This Test was developed and first used in its present form at the University of Iowa in 1950 as part of a study of the effects on the self-concept of unfavourable evaluations by others.

The theoretical perspective within which the Test was developed locates the self as a crucial element in the analysis of social behaviour, with identity dependent upon symbolic mediation for its interior meanings and control of action.²⁰

6.2. Analysis of Twenty Statements Test

At the first level, statements are sorted into four basic categories: A - Physical, B - Social-Structural, C - Social-Reflective and D - Oceanic.

The results of the test are tabulated below:

Name	A	B	C	D
Ram Esteves	0	3	17	0
Pradeep Esteves	0	6	14	0
Mario Esteves	0	0	20	0
Nasir (Only 16 statements)	1	1	13	1
Ramappa	1	3	15	1

Typically, C is the modal category, demonstrating definitions of self not relating primarily to social structure, occupation or organisation. The statements are those of a social actor abstracted from social structure.

The above table shows that Pradeep has the highest score in the B category, which defines the self in terms of social roles and structures. This is probably because Pradeep's role is the most structured of all the actors in the table.

Due to the large number of responses in the C category, further analysis is required, sorting the statements according to SKILLS, INTERESTS, CHARACTER and VALUES.

²⁰ See THE TWENTY STATEMENTS TEST by Ann Rees and Nigel Nicholson in QUALITATIVE METHODS IN ORGANIZATIONAL RESEARCH ed. Catherine Cassel and Gillian Symon : Sage 1995

Of the 17 C category scores attributed to Ram, further analysis shows that the majority (15) are descriptions of character and behavioural style. "I am not a team-leader or co-ordinator". "I am a Project Director with a well-defined role". "I am not particularly sociable". "I am often lonely in a deep sense".

In the case of Pradeep, 11 out of the 14 C category statements belong to the Values and Beliefs group. It is interesting that most of Pradeep's statements begin with, "I believe...". Some of the statements are, "I am a product of the Coolies' generosity". "I believe in total transparency". "I believe that the system alone cannot achieve efficiency".

Mario's C category statements (20) are mostly (10) describing character and behavioural style, ("I am someone who likes to get into the background". "I am someone who does not want too many comforts. I prefer to live simply") while 4 are to do with skills and abilities ("I am an implementer of activities and programmes in any situation". "I am someone who likes to build teams and to do things efficiently"), 5 to do with Values and Beliefs ("I live my work day in and day out, in my mind"), and 1 to do with interests and needs ("I am always looking for ways to make more money for the Coolie Sangha").

It is interesting to note that both the BCS officials - Nasir and Ramappa made statement predominantly in the values and beliefs group, within the C category statements.

All Nasir's 13 C category statements describe values and beliefs. "Without the Coolie Sangha I am an orphan". "After joining the Sangha I have become a human being". "Now people respect me in society". "I don't believe in religion". "I don't believe in government".

Ramappa has 15 C category statements, of which 11 describe values and beliefs. "I struggle for the people". "I am the breath of the BCS". Many of his statements would certainly be classified as politically correct. "I am working for the betterment of our children's future". "I give due importance to women". "I give directions to orphans". "I help in police matters". "I will speak of justice to others".

6.3. Leadership Development

There can be no doubt that the BCS is an ideal platform for developing leadership. With the power of a mass organisation behind a coolie with any initiative, it is possible to develop latent leadership skills which would never have been realised as a member of an atomised coolie society.

The BCS has a rigid discipline in terms of weekly meetings, reporting of events, minuting discussions and self-reflection.

All the leaders we spoke to were quietly self-confident, and sure of their position in the Coolie Sangha. Ramachandrappa, who has been elected to the presidency of the Taluk Panchayat has an air of unruffled self-confidence, and is conscious that he owes his position to the experience and position he gained in the BCS.

The other expansion programmes are strictly outside the scope of this study. But we would be failing in our duty if we did not raise the question of leadership development in these programmes, which are physically separated from Bagepalli.

The "Coolie Sangha Model" as conceived by Ram is one which is ostensibly capable of being replicated anywhere. However, replicability in the social sciences, is not quite the same ball game as replicability in the physical and chemical sciences. It is impossible to guarantee the same variables, particularly the dedication and personal skills of the original leadership.

This should be a matter of some concern for ADATS, and a focus for future strategic planning.