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SHAPING THE PAST

PEOPLE'S MAPS, MODELS AND DIAGRAMS
IN LOCAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AND PLANNING

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"One picture is equivalent to one thousand words", Chinese proverb
cited by Sujeevandas (n.d.)

Summary Overview

Recent developments with participatory rural appraisal (PRA), especially in India and Nepal, have shown that when rapport, conditions, methods and materials are right, rural people have a greater ability than outsiders have supposed to map, model, rank, score, quantify, diagram, analyse and plan. Many of these methods are visual - showing things, rather than oral-speaking things. With participatory modelling, mapping and diagramming, historical and trend information can be presented and shared visually. Early indications are that at their best these methods quickly build up visible bodies of information. These are readily understood by rural people, whether literate or illiterate. Models, maps, and diagrams can be cumulative and crosschecked, and easily added to or amended by different people. Manual manipulation takes the place of social interaction, and information becomes less sensitive and is more easily shared. Applications to date include village histories, biographies of crops, maps and diagrams of ecological and land use history, and other changes and trends. Aerial photographs provide a new and growing historical record amenable to participatory analysis. Shared diagramming aids people's own analysis and can be empowering for them rather than extractive for us. Oral and visual methods are complementary, and combinations appear strong. A final question is whether the methods of participatory diagramming and visual sharing recently developed in the South can contribute to oral history in the North.

Recent Developments in Participatory Learning

Recent developments in the rural South of approaches and methods for participatory learning have adopted, developed and used various forms of diagramming. This has been a significant part of what has come to be known as participatory rural appraisal (PRA) as it has evolved in the past three years. PRA has been described as a semi-structured and participatory approach and methods for learning about rural life and conditions from, with and by rural people. The purpose of this paper is to present some of the experience gained, and to open up discussion of the complementarities between visual and oral modes of expressing history.

PRA can be seen as a confluence of several methodological streams, and has itself generated new approaches and methods. The streams which have contributed include applied anthropology (using conversations, group discussions, and focus groups, and respecting and valuing the emic), participatory activist research (enabling and encouraging people to do their own analysis), farming systems research (recognising the expert knowledge of farmers, and the complexity and diversity of their farming systems), agroecosystem analysis (drawing on ecology, and valuing observation and diagramming), and rapid rural appraisal (RRA) (Khon Kaen 1987) (emphasising tradeoffs between the quantity, quality, accuracy and timeliness of information gathered).

The PRA experience (see RRA Notes especially Number 13) has been that when rapport, conditions, methods and materials are right, rural people have a greater ability than outsiders have supposed to map, model, rank, score, quantify, diagram, conduct their own investigations, analyse and plan. Some

of this has been known by some social anthropologists for some time. However, Robert Rhoades, who points this out, has nevertheless written about the coming revolution in rural development research (Rhoades 1991). That it has taken until the 1990s for these abilities to be widely recognised is less astonishing when one reflects on the near-universal superior attitudes and behaviour of outsiders. Almost everywhere, these have inhibited the capabilities and creativity of rural people rather than provided conditions for their expression.

The objectives of PRA have been utilitarian rather than research for its own sake. Increasingly the aim has been to enable villagers to undertake their own analysis, planning and action, with some support from outside organisations. But the creativity, fun and learning which are part of the process are also ends in themselves, enhancing quality of life and experience directly.

Shaping the Past

One strong cluster of PRA methods is visual rather than oral, and can be described as participatory or shared diagramming. The sharing reflects the relative emphasis placed in PRA on group interviews and activities. This contrasts with the predominantly individual interviewing of most oral history as reflected in Paul Thompson's advice that "Nearly always, it is best to be alone with the informant" (1988:205). Much of the diagramming derives from agroecosystem analysis (Conway 1985) which uses mapping in the form of sketches, and diagrams for transects, seasonality, flow analysis, causal analysis and other purposes. With mapping and diagramming in the original agroecosystem analysis mode, it is the outsiders who draw and diagram. With mapping and diagramming in the PRA mode, it is rural people who are encouraged and enabled to do this themselves, often, though not always, in groups.

Shared diagramming has often presented a contemporary reality. Quite often, though, there has been an historical dimension, with a visual expression of aspects of the past. In PRA this has so far taken five main forms: time lines and biographies; maps and models; historical transects; trend diagrams and estimates; and seeing and showing.

i. time lines and biographies

Of the five forms, time lines and biographies are the most verbal and least visual.

A "time line" is a listing of key events and changes. It is often undertaken at the beginning of a PRA exercise, both to establish rapport and to provide a time frame with landmark events which can be referred to in discussing the past. Often the time line is constructed as part of a group discussion or village meeting in which the older people provide most of the information, but with crosschecking and contributions from others (for examples see figures 0, 1 and 2). Participants are initially usually men and special efforts and arrangements are often needed to enable women to contribute freely. Usually, the events are written up on a large sheet where all can see them.

"Biographies" can be of individual persons, households, animals, crops and even diets. A biography can be purely verbal, as with interviewing a cow (figure 3) or one sort of crop biography (Box 1989). Or it can be set out

as a sequential list, as was done in Abela Sipa Peasant Association in Ethiopia in 1991 for maize varieties (figure 4) and for the main foods eaten from before 1956 through a period of settlement to 1980 (figure 5).

A biography can be combined with other methods. In a PRA training programme near Hyderabad in October 1990, one group interviewed a wife and husband who were migrants, and used matrix ranking to enable them to express their criteria and preferences for the different places where they had stayed (figure 6).

ii. maps and models

Participatory mapping and modelling (Mascarenhas and Kumar 1991) have probably developed and spread faster than any other PRA methods. Villagers in India and in other countries often have detailed mental maps and take pleasure in expressing them as maps or models. My impression is that their mental maps are richer in detail than those of urban northerners, as presented for example in a standard work on mental maps (Gould and White 1965). Most commonly the maps and models made by villagers have shown present conditions. But they have also been used to show the past and future.

The medium can be the ground, a floor, or paper. The other materials can be whatever is locally available - sticks, stones, coloured powders, chalks, pencils, pens etc. Paper has the advantages of being permanent and portable. The floor and the ground have the advantages of being easy to alter and add to, visible to more people, more accessible to the poor and illiterate, and often easier to extend laterally as needed. Quite often, a map or diagram is made on a floor or the ground, and then copied onto paper. Outsiders help to initiate the process but keep a low profile. It can be vital not to interview people while they are mapping, modelling or diagramming. Interruptions disturb their concentration, and unnecessarily remind them that outsiders are present. It is sometimes best to walk away. Some of the most detailed maps have been made when no outsider was present.

Maps of the past have tended as might be expected to show more trees, more common land, and fewer farms and houses than those of the present. An example is the maps of Abela Sipa Peasant Association area in Ethiopia which was settled 25 years ago. In the course of an RRA training exercise, diagram maps were drawn of the area as it had been 25 years ago, and as it is now (figure 7).

In India, three-dimensional models on the ground have also been made, using local materials, and often coloured with the rangoli powders which are widely available for use at times of festival. A typical example of historical modelling occurred during a PRA exercise in Seganahalli village, Karnataka, in 1990. The exercise centered on the problem of a silted tank and an eroded watershed. The villagers made two models on the ground - one of the watershed as they perceived it to have been 50 years earlier, with trees growing on the rocky hills; and one of it as they perceived it currently, with no remaining trees, and serious erosion. The striking comparison of these two models, side by side, contributed to debate about action, and to planning, using marks to locate on the current model what should be done.

The shape of the future has also been shown. In one village, when past and present had been modelled, participants made a third model to show conditions as they would be twenty years later if nothing were done. One

farmer was dissatisfied that the future without action did not look bad enough, went to his hut, collected ash, and scattered it all over the model (pers.comm. James Mascarenhas). Elsewhere in India, in Orissa, youth club members of Kolhua village spent six hours sketching and discussing a present map, and then a dream map (Sujeevandas n.d.16-17) (figure 8).

In the UK, models have also been used for some time for participatory urban planning by the Neighbourhood Initiatives Foundation (Horsehay House, Horsehay, Telford TF4 3PY). This has developed Neighbourhood for Change packs, described as "Non-verbal, visual, 3D - the language of the practical thinker" (Times Educational Supplement). Of more directly historical relevance is the Parish Maps Project of Common Ground (45 Shelton Street, London WC2H 9HJ). This encourages people to make their own maps of their neighbourhoods. In the five years since the project began, around 1,000 maps have been made, taking many different forms. The maps can be historical, as for example the map of "Church Knowle: The life of the Parish from the earliest times until 1989" (reproduced in King 1991).

iii. historical transects

In their classical form, historical transects show changes over time in the diagrammatic form used originally in agroecosystem analysis. These are compiled usually by walking through an area with some of the older inhabitants and recording their recollections of conditions at times in the past identified through the time line.

The historical transect for a village in East Java (figure 9) was drawn by outsiders. It shows dramatic changes in trees, crops and land use between the times presented - 1900, 1945, 1965, 1977-79 and 1987.

The historical transect for Sannepalli village in India (figure 10) shows similarly sharp changes in tree cover and species composition comparing 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990.

The historical transect drawn by the villagers of Ardanarypura village in Karnataka (figure 11) shows forest, agricultural lands, water, livestock and crop yield for 1949, 1950, 1970, 1985 and 1989.

iv. diagrams and estimates of changes and trends

Participatory change and trend diagrams and estimates have so far been presented in three main forms, using variously counters, pie diagrams, and trend lines.

a. numbers and estimates with counters

The counters may be any locally available similar-sized objects such as small stones, small fruits, seeds, bindis (the small spots Indian women place on their foreheads), or even goat droppings (which have the advantage of inedible durability compared with fruits and seeds which tend to disappear quickly). Such counters are used for giving absolute values such as prices, or relative scores comparing years or different times in the past.

Examples of historical and trend information that has been presented in Indian villages using counters such as these are:

- changes in the fuels used (with small stones)
- changes in the population of a village (with small fruits)
- prices of sal seeds and kendu leaves 1980-1989 (with tamarind seeds)
- changes in draught animal population (with tamarind seeds)
- numbers and quality of meals by month without and with irrigation (with small fruits and stones)

Sticks can also be broken into lengths to give relative values, as with estimates of monthly rainfall in Nepal, where farmers used seeds to show numbers of days of rain, and sticks to show relative amounts of rain (Gill 1991).

b. pie diagrams

Pie diagrams drawn by villagers as circles on the ground can provide quick estimates of relative values, and how these have changed. An example of such a presentation of estimates is the report of a A. Venu Prasad, an Indian Forest Service probationer, on the estimates provided by three farmers in a village near Dehra Dun of changes in land use and cropping patterns comparing 1950 with 1990 (figure 12). Another is livelihood source analysis, comparing a generalised view of 1970 with a more differentiated view of 1990 (figure 13).

c. trend lines

Trend lines can be drawn on the ground or on paper. One example is an old man's diagram of changes in agriculture comparing 1947, 1970 and 1989 (figure 14). He indicated rises in fertiliser use, yields and pests, and declines in the use of farmyard manure and of soil fertility. In another case, small stones were placed between two axes - one for historical time, and one for the 24 hours of the day, to show the number of hours worked in agriculture by landless labourers at different dates in the past.

v. seeing and showing.

Finally, history can be seen and shown. Most obviously, this can be by walking around, and noticing and being shown things. In a village in Gujarat, a pump submerged in water led to a discussion of the rising water table. Near Kistagiri village in Andhra Pradesh, a solitary tree led to discussion of the earlier extensive cover of such trees. Less obviously, history can be shown by physically indicating change that has occurred. In Seganahalli village, Karnataka in 1990, the villager in charge of distributing irrigation water was asked how much the village tank had silted up in the past twenty years. We expected him to reply in terms of depth of silt. Instead, he walked over to the outlet sluice and placed his hands on it, one higher, one lower. The lower hand, he said, showed the water level needed to supply three months irrigation twenty years ago, while the upper hand showed the level needed in 1990.

The Promise of Aerial Photographs

Aerial photographs have been used in a participatory mode for land use planning and allocation in Ethiopia (Sandford 1989), for investigating cropping patterns in Kenya (Deweese 1989), and for identifying and clarifying clan linkages and and disputes in Papua New Guinea (Mearns

1989), and are reported to have been used in a participatory mode in other countries including Burkina Faso, New Zealand, the USA and Zimbabwe. They can provide near-irrefutable historical evidence of past conditions. In almost all cases it has been found that rural people not only have no difficulty in interpreting aerial photographs, but that they positively enjoy it.

Time series aerial photographs can also provide a superb means of appreciating trends and correcting error. In Nepal, densities and patterns of tree cover have been changing fast. In 1985, Carson (1987:178) noted that where more than one date of photography existed, changes in land utilization and condition could be mapped, and that where done this showed a reduction of mature forests and expansion of degraded grazing lands. But more recently, Gerald Gill has examined aerial photographs in series which show an increase in tree cover, reflecting a recent reversal (for which there is also other evidence). Also in Nepal, a farmer near Lumle in 1990 said that a house was missing (the photograph was five years old, and the house had been built only three years earlier). In Kenya, aerial photographs taken before 1954 of the area occupied by the Mwea Irrigation Settlement contradicted the statements and belief of the management that the area had been uncultivated before project began.

Old aerial photographs are a growing historical source, as more photographs taken at different times are available for the same area. Like other visual records, aerial photographs can be "interviewed", asking questions about what is seen. They can act as an aide-memoire to stimulate the sharing of information, much of which the interviewer might not have known to ask about and the informant(s) might not have known to volunteer. They can be written on, marked or overlaid to give additional information. And they seem to be more intelligible to rural people, whether literate or illiterate, than topographical maps.

Oral and Visual History Compared

There is no doubt much other, older, experience with the visual counterpart to oral history. What is perhaps new is the potential scale of use. RRA and PRA, as a family of approaches and methods, are spreading, in the case of PRA not least because people express and share their knowledge in a manner with which they feel confident and at home.

Although it polarises the contrasts, the table below suggests some of the main differences between oral and visual modes of expressing and recording history.

	<u>Oral</u> (as in oral history)	<u>Visual</u> (as in PRA)
Communication	vocal, words, heard	manual, things, seen
Interaction	personal, direct	impersonal, indirect
Role of outsider	interviewer	convenor catalyst facilitator
Insiders' role	respondent informant	presenter analyst
Insider usually	individual	group
Presentation of information	sequential (story) transient	cumulative (diagram) lasting
Likelihood of correcting information	less	more
processing, analysis	lengthy	immediate
Agenda determined	more by outsider (e.g. checklist)	more by insiders (they decide what to show)
Mode	extractive (onto outsider's paper or tape recorder)	sharing (all can see, insiders can often retain)

If these comparisons are substantially correct, then visual presentations have some advantages; but no one would wish to suggest that they could ever be a substitute for oral history.

The Scope for Combinations

Is there scope for combining the best of oral history and of visual diagramming so that both are strengthened?

Combinations of oral history and participatory diagramming look strong. For example, participatory mapping could be an icebreaker, a way in, to an oral interview, and then provide points of reference and aids to recall. Much on such lines as these may have been done of which I am unaware. Specific potentials will be evident from the examples presented above. More generally, visual sharing could complement oral history in three ways:

i. in establishing rapport. Experience with time lines has been similar to that of oral historians generally, namely that asking people about the past and being interested in their replies, usually engenders good rapport. But in addition, methods which involve physical action and creativity in a familiar medium, like drawing with a stick on the ground, also have their part to play, as they do in participatory mapping and modelling. When manual manipulation of familiar material takes the place of social interaction with unfamiliar outsiders, information becomes less sensitive.

Avoiding the normal eye-to-eye contact of interviewing allows a freer sharing of information, and a more reflective and less pressured interaction than when face-to-face.

ii. in generating an insiders' agenda. By metaphorically "handing over the stick" (or pen, or chalk) to "them", participatory diagramming encourages the expression of an insiders' agenda. Because it has been created by them, a participatory map or diagram is by definition understood by them and presents what they consider important. A diagram or map can then be interviewed; and because it is physically there, it is the diagram that is addressed rather than individuals.

iii. in adding and correcting information. Visual sharing often leads to the presentation of information which would otherwise not be expressed, or not expressed as clearly. By "showing what is being said", it also allows and encourages crosschecking ("triangulation" in RRA/PRA jargon). The lasting visibility of a diagram can also embolden those who are weaker and less assertive to take part and to add to and correct what is being shown.

Visual history in a participatory mode is a complement to, not a substitute for, oral history. Perhaps it can add to the menu, repertoire, tools or armoury (depending on one's preferred imagery) on which ~~researchers and~~ ^{outsiders} ~~activists~~ can draw, whether researchers, NGO fieldworkers, or Government staff. More important, perhaps even more than oral history on its own, it can enhance the knowledge, analysis and power of those who participate. It is, then, not just a means for outsiders to learn. It can itself be an empowering intervention.

Concluding Question

The normal direction of transfer of methodology is from North to South. But every field experience generates new learning. The oral history project in the Sahel will now have reversed the direction of transfer, providing the North with new lessons to learn. Have the approach and methods of participatory diagramming and visual sharing recently developed in the South and described in this paper also a contribution to make? Have they something to add to oral history in the North? That is a question now for readers.

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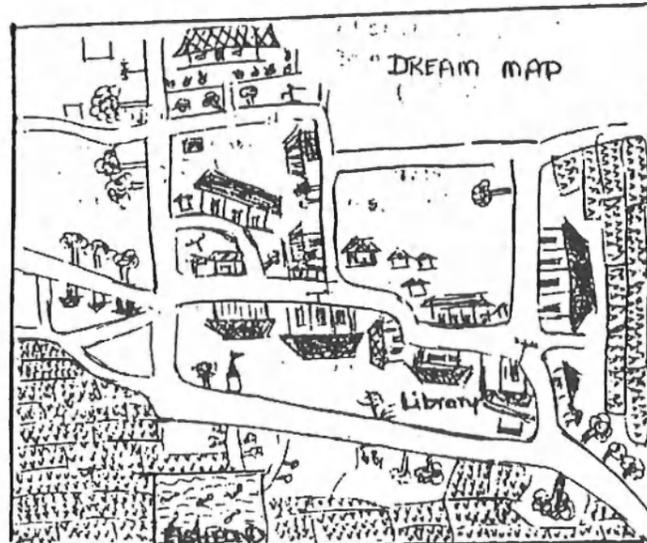
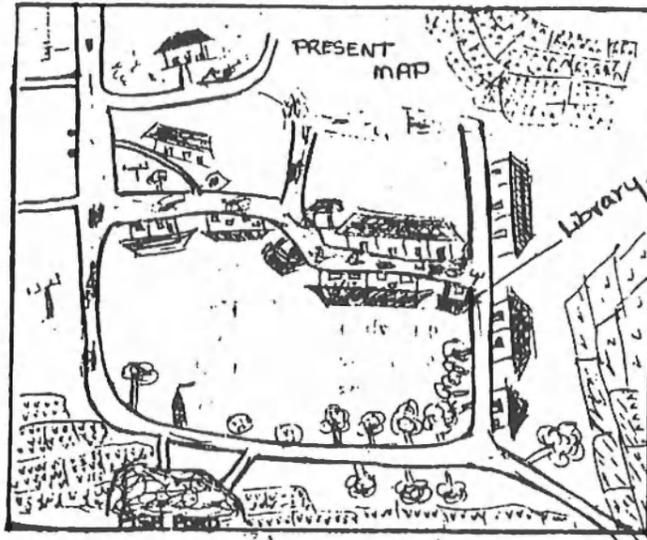
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FIGURE 8

THE DREAM MAP AND THE PRESENT MAP OF THE
KOLHUA VILLAGE OF ORISSA



People identified 8 areas of concern by comparing the two maps
please see page 16 for details.

J. S. J. Sujeevandas, no date or source
but ? World Vision of India, 344 Panther Pond, Madras 600 008

FIGURE 9. HISTORICAL TRANSECT, EAST JAVA, 1988

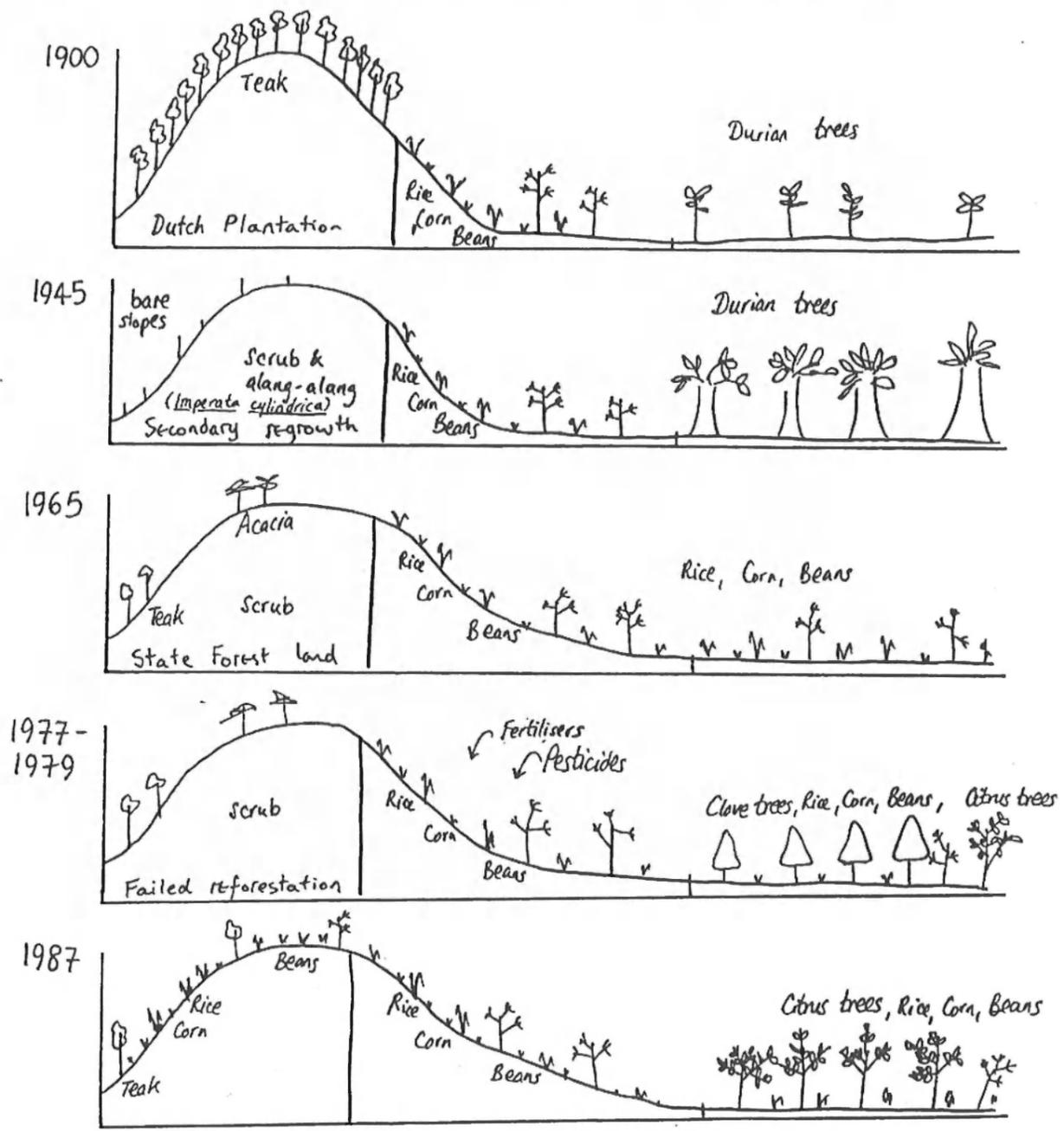
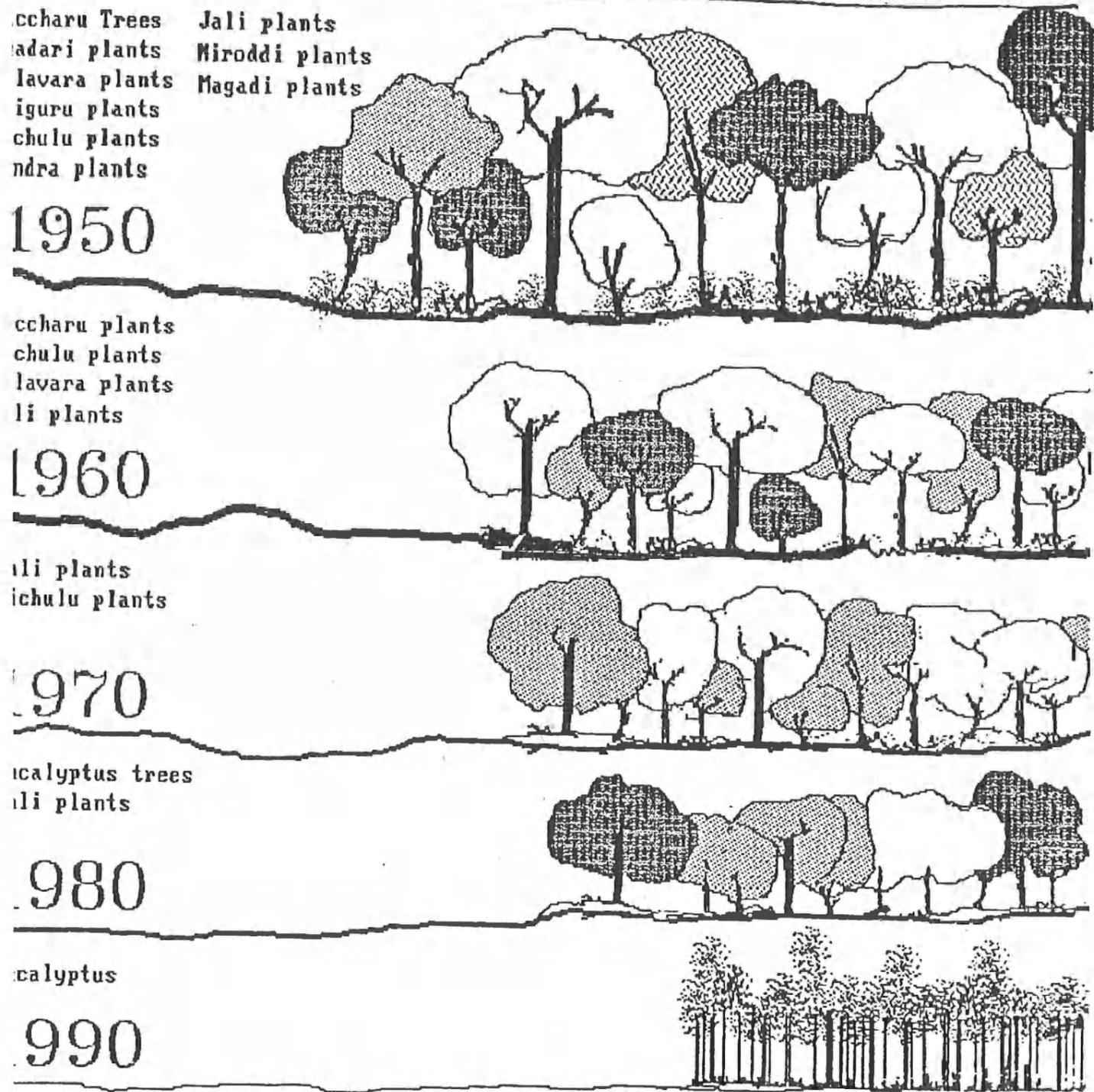


Figure 7 Transect through time illustrating land use trends in a village in East Java (Pretty et al., 1988)

(McCracken et al 1989:40)

FIGURE 10. HISTORICAL TRANSECT, SANNEPALLI VILLAGE
SHOWING CHANGES IN TREE COVER AND SPECIES COMPOSITION



Group No.1 Participants	
1. Gangappa	5. Valmiki
2. Krishnappa	6. Patawari
3. Jayaram	7. Jayachandran
4. Prasad	8. Bhadarish

This is a graphical representation of a map that was created in this similar manner by the villagers themselves.

**FIGURE II. HISTORICAL TRANSECT DRAWN BY
VILLAGERS OF ARDANAPUR VILLAGE
KARNATAKA**

HISTORICAL TRANSECT

MYRADA STAFF:
1) CHACCA PANKI
2) KIRAN
3) VINCENT
4) SHREEM

MYRADA HISTORICAL PROJECT B.R.A.

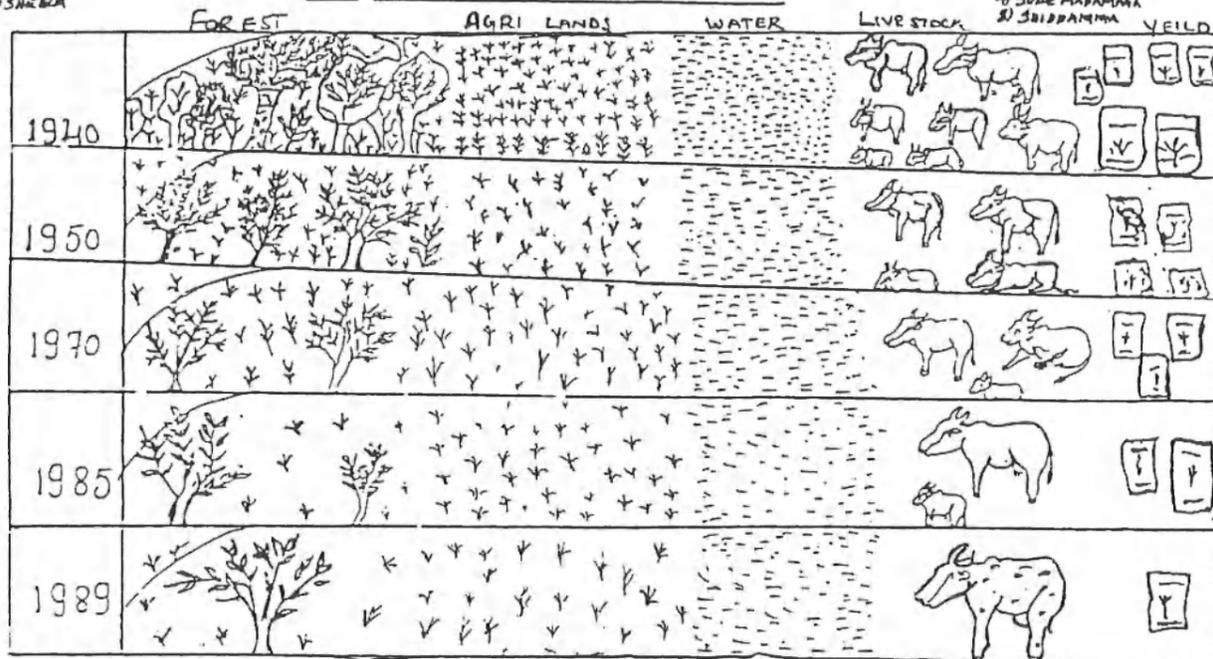
HISTORICAL TRANSECT ARDANAPUR VILLAGE

GROUP No. 1.

DATE: 13-2-90

PARTICIPANTS

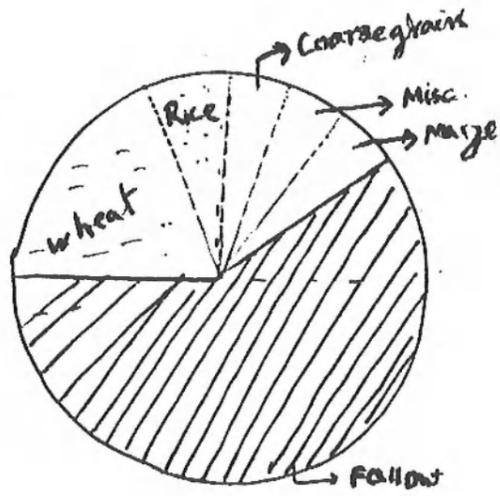
- 1) SHIBRAMMA
- 2) MADAMMA
- 3) MALE
- 4) SOBE MADAMMA
- 5) SHIBRAMMA



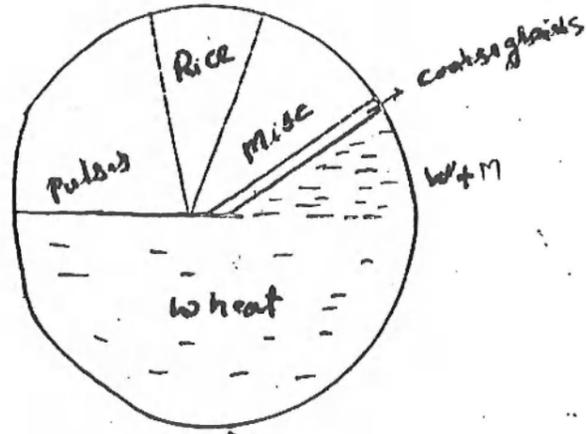
SOURCE: MASCARENOTTAS 1991: 543

FIGURE 12: TREND DIAGRAMS (AGRICULTURE)

T.A: 3000 Bighas



1950



1990

Trends	Area	% to Total
1. Cultivated Area	↑	↑
2. Wheat	↑	↑
3. Rice	↑	Balance
4. Coarse grain	↓	↓
5. Pulses	↑	↑

Collected by:

A. Yenu Prasad, IFS (P)
& friend.

farmers:

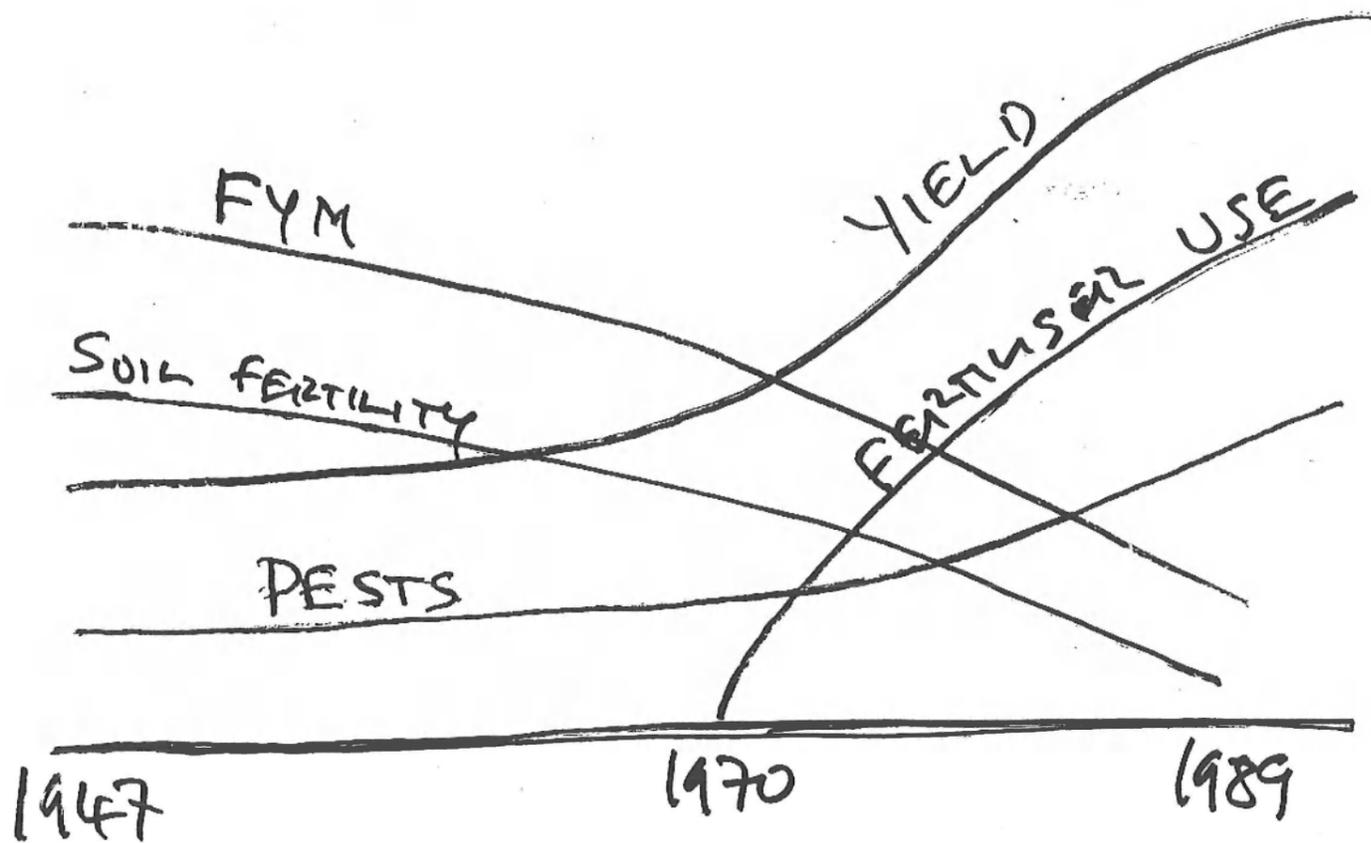
Darshan Singh
Avtar Singh
Rakesh Kumar

In a village near Dehra Dun, U.P., India.

FIGURE 14

TRENDS DRAWN IN THE DUST BY
AN OLD MAN, MATIBOON NAGAR District,
AP, INDIA

OCTOBER 1989



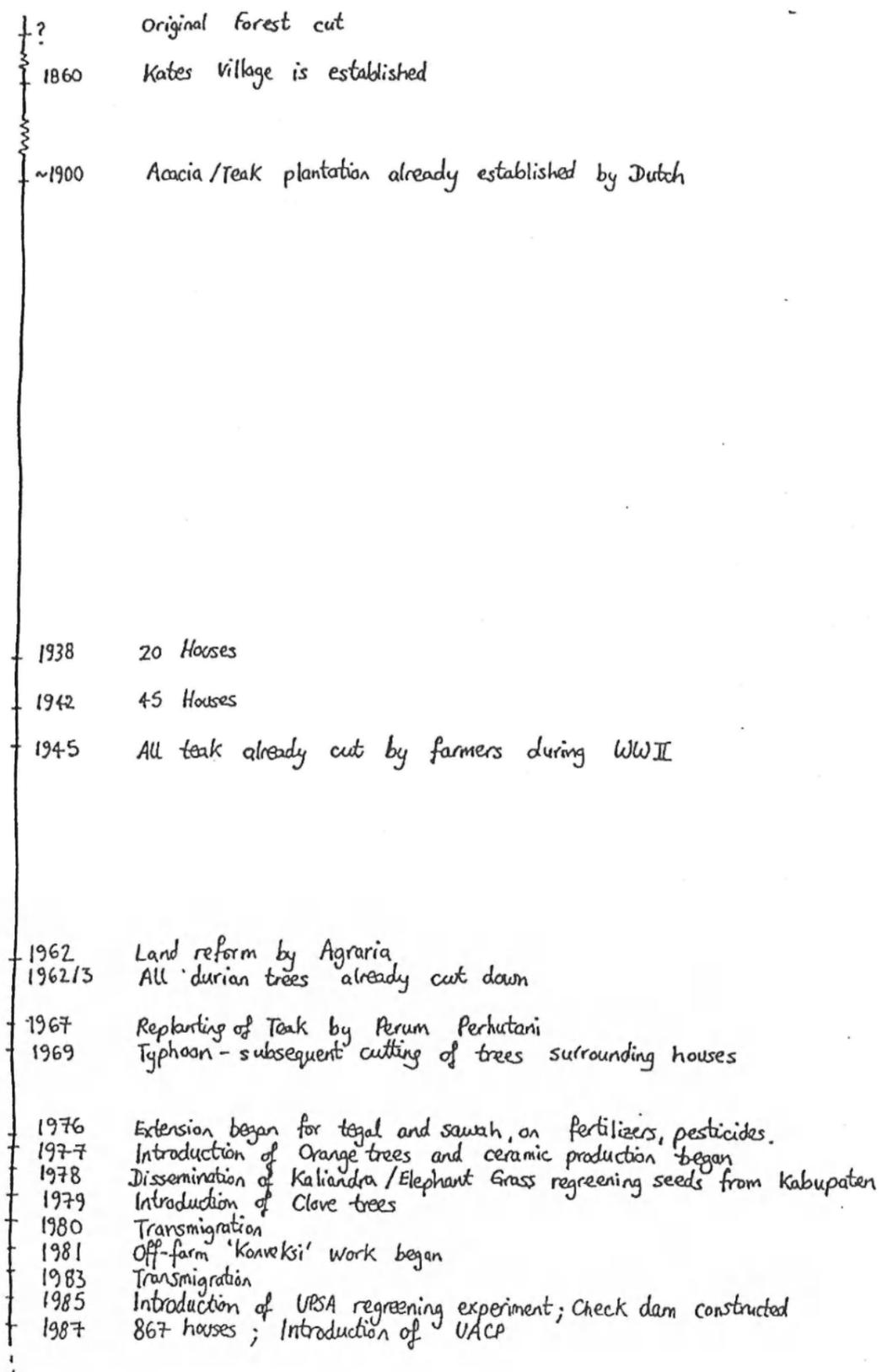
FYM = FARMYARD MANURE

FIGURE 0. TIME LINE FOR UDAYANAMPATTI, TAMIL NADU

<u>TIME LINE</u>															
<u>NAME :</u>	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">MR. KRISHNAN</td> <td style="width: 50%;">MR. NARAYANA GOVINDAN</td> </tr> <tr> <td> " " " " "</td> <td> " " " " "</td> </tr> <tr> <td> " " " " "</td> <td> " " " " "</td> </tr> <tr> <td> " " " " "</td> <td> " " " " "</td> </tr> <tr> <td> " " " " "</td> <td> " " " " "</td> </tr> <tr> <td> " " " " "</td> <td> " " " " "</td> </tr> <tr> <td> " " " " "</td> <td> " " " " "</td> </tr> </table>	MR. KRISHNAN	MR. NARAYANA GOVINDAN	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "	" " " " "
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<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EVENTS</u>														
1932	- TANK UNDER TAKEN BY GOVT														
1935 TO 1946	- ESTABLISHMENT OF VERANDA SCHOOL BY GOVT														
1947	- INDEPENDENCE														
1948	- 16 WERE DIED DUE TO CHOLERA, FAMINE														
1954	- ROAD, THATCHED SCHOOL														
1956 TO 1964	- CYCLONE, FLOOD'S														
1966	- NEW SCHOOL BUILDING														
1968	- AGAIN CHOLERA, 4 WERE DIED.														
1970	- ELECTRICITY & FACILITY, BRIDGE, 100 FAMILIES MIGRATED BECAUSE OF SEVERE DROUGHT														
1977	- ESTABLISHMENT OF NOON-MEAL CENTER														
1978	- COMMUNITY WELL, 2 BORE WELL FOR DRINKING PURPOSE														
1983	- TINP														
1984	- ELECTION BOYCOTT. ONE MORE BORE WELL. DRINKING WATER OVER HEAD TANK. STREET TAPES BY GOVT														
1984 & 1985	- NON FORMAL EDUCATION BY GOVT.														
1987	- SPEECH														
1989	- GROUP HOUSES FOR 20 HARIJANS														
1990	- HEAVY CROP DAMAGE BECAUSE OF FLOOD														

SOURCE : DEVAVAZAM et al 1991 : 1049

FIGURE 1. TIME LINE OF A VILLAGE IN EAST JAVA



Source: McCracken et al 1989: 38

FIGURE 2 : TIME LINE FOR KHARAMDANGA VILLAGE

- 1930 - 1940
- 10-12 families
 - 1 mon (40 kg) rice available
 - Rainfall up to expectation
 - Single crop
 - Law and order better
 - Famine - government and Zamindar distributed money and rice respectively
 - Epidemic after famine - many people died
 - 1/2 mon rice to be given back in place of 1 mon to the Mahajan (hoarder)
 - There was gunje (big market). They used to carry fish by boat, coconuts etc from Dacca, & rice from here
 - No bank. Money and all valuables kept in house
 - Dacoity took place once
 - No hat nearby. No caste bar
 - Marshy land full of wild tiger, jackals etc.
 - Bullock carts used for transport
 - Torch used at night
 - Water from ponds used for drinking
 - Treatment from Fakir available
 - Dowry to be paid for marrying a girl
 - Women folk used to wear Hatma, men to wear lungi. No use of tailored dress
- 1941 - 1950
- Price of rice rose from Rs 1.25 to Rs 20. It created mass unrest which ultimately turned to freedom movement
 - Cycle came to village after independence
 - Dug well introduced
- 1951 - 1960
- Tailor made dress introduced
 - Barpan came into existence
- 1961 - 1975
- Change in cultivation, changes in festivals and food habits
 - Exchange of assets after Bangladesh war
 - Fishermen, potters in community withered away
 - Rise in population
- 1976 - 1990
- Abolition of purdah (veil) in Muslim community
 - Havoc + loss due to flood
 - Change in consumable items
 - Polygamy started
 - Deterioration of law & order
 - Absence of mental peace

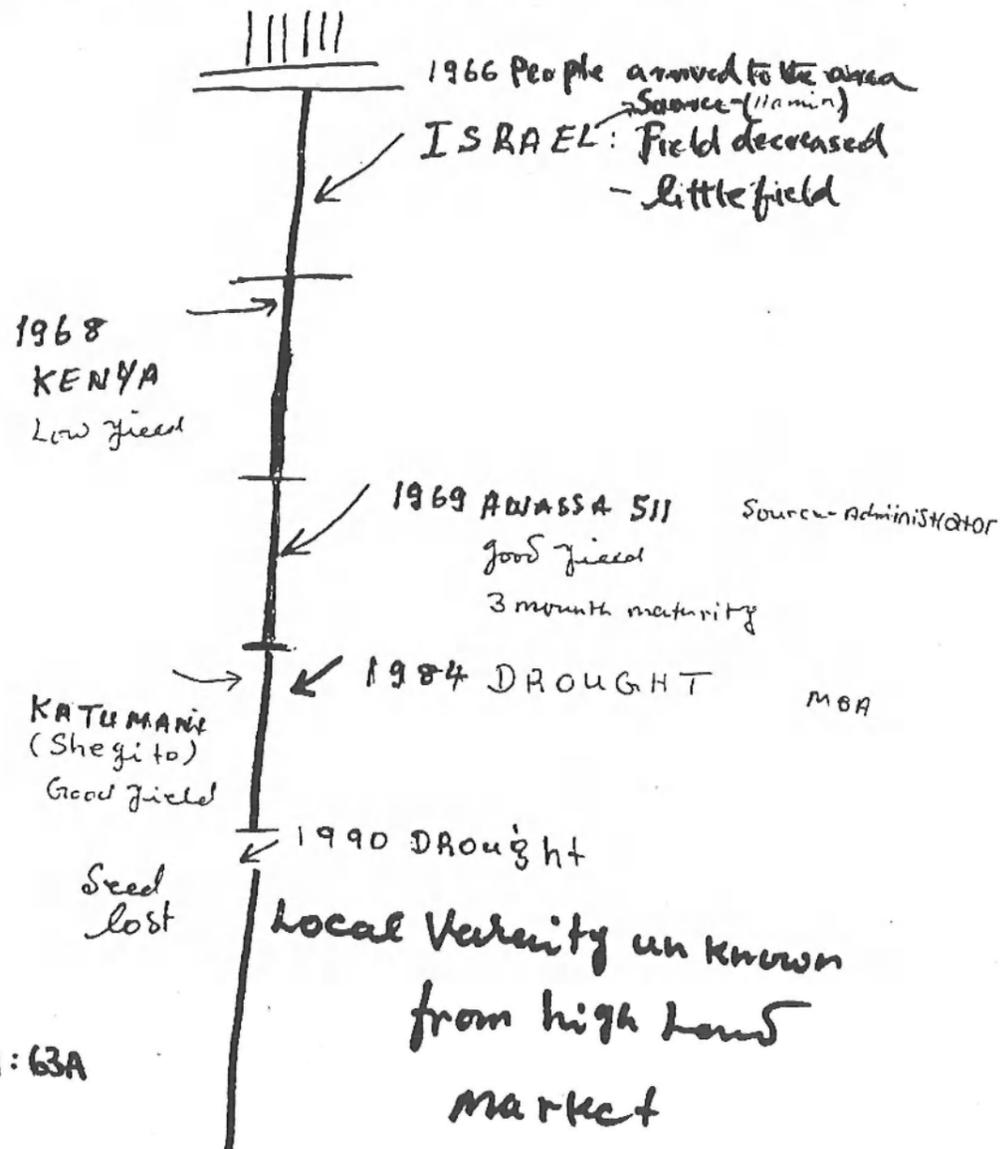
Source : Joseph and Joseph 1991 : 986

FIGURE 3 INTERVIEWING A COW



Source: IIED and FARM Africa 1991:80a

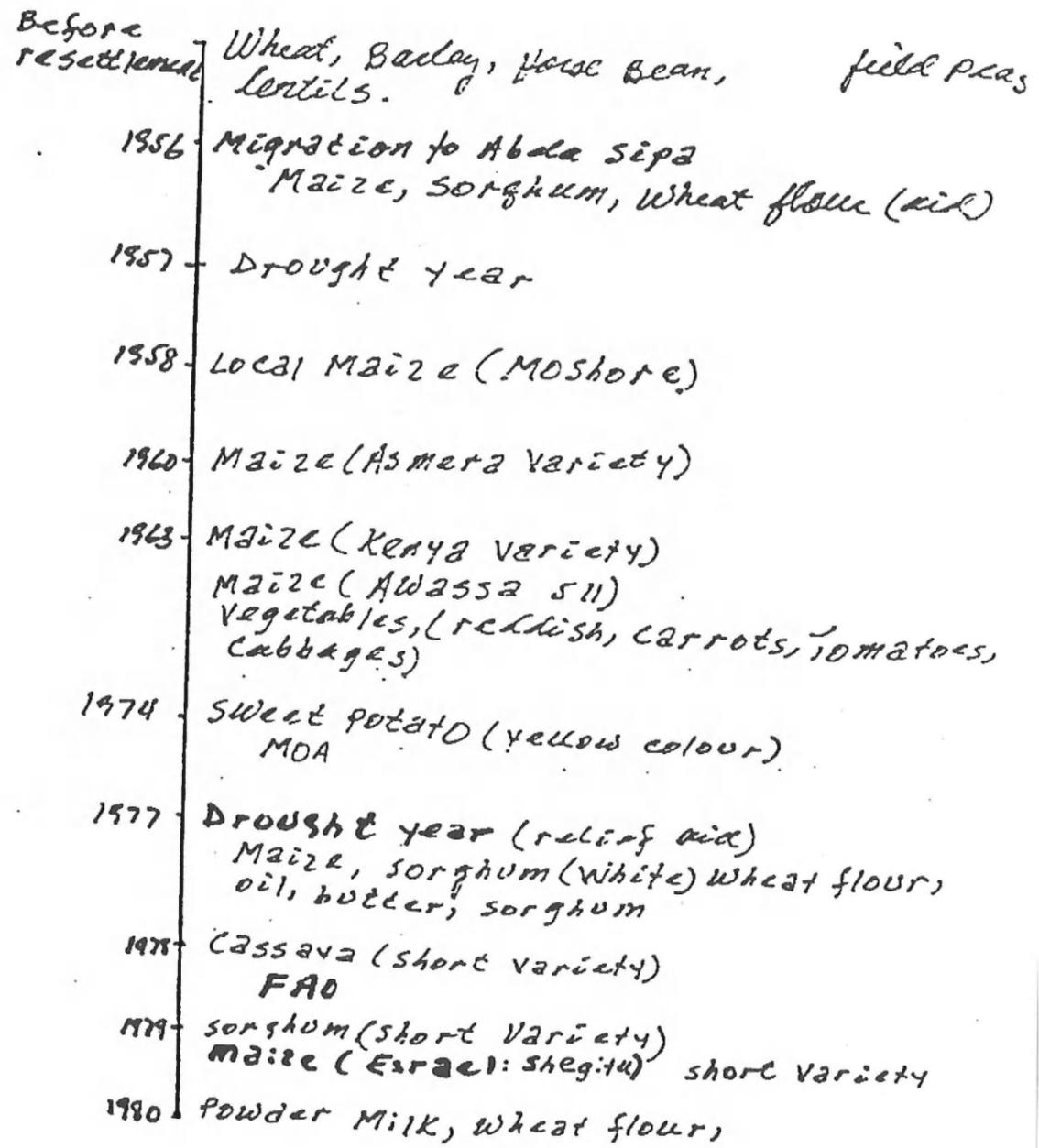
FIGURE 4: BIOGRAPHY OF MAIZE VARIETIES,
ABELLA SIPA PEASANT ASSOCIATION, ETHIOPIA



source: IED and
 FARM Africa 1991: 63A

FIGURE 5

Biography of food habits in Abela Sipa PA.



Source: IIED and FARM Africa 1991: Farmer Participatory Research in North Omo, Ethiopia, IIED, London p 52A.

FIGURE 6. MIGRATION HISTORY AND PREFERENCE
MATRIX

PRA WITH A COUPLE
MARRIED FOR THE LAST
35 YEARS [MATRIX RANKING {1=BEST
8=WORST}]

VILLAGE: GUTTA BEGUNPET
DISTRICT: RANGA REDDY
31/10/90

(RANGA REDDY DIST)

PLACES :-> ADONI HOSPET BELLARY KUR-NOOL ANANT-PUR RAE-CHUR H'GAB H.O.PET

CRITERIA	NO. OF YEARS SPENT	ADONI	HOSPET	BELLARY	KUR-NOOL	ANANT-PUR	RAE-CHUR	H'GAB	H.O.PET
	14	2	2	6 MONTHS	2	3	10	8 MONTHS	
1. EMPLOYMENT		1	1	1 (8?)	5	4	3	2	2
2. INCOME		2	3	4	8	6	5	7	1
3. FOOD		1	1	1	3	3	2	4	5
4. HOUSING		1	1	1	3	3	2	8	4
5. SCHOOLING		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. HEALTH CARE		2	2	1	2	2	2	2	8
7. RECREATION		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

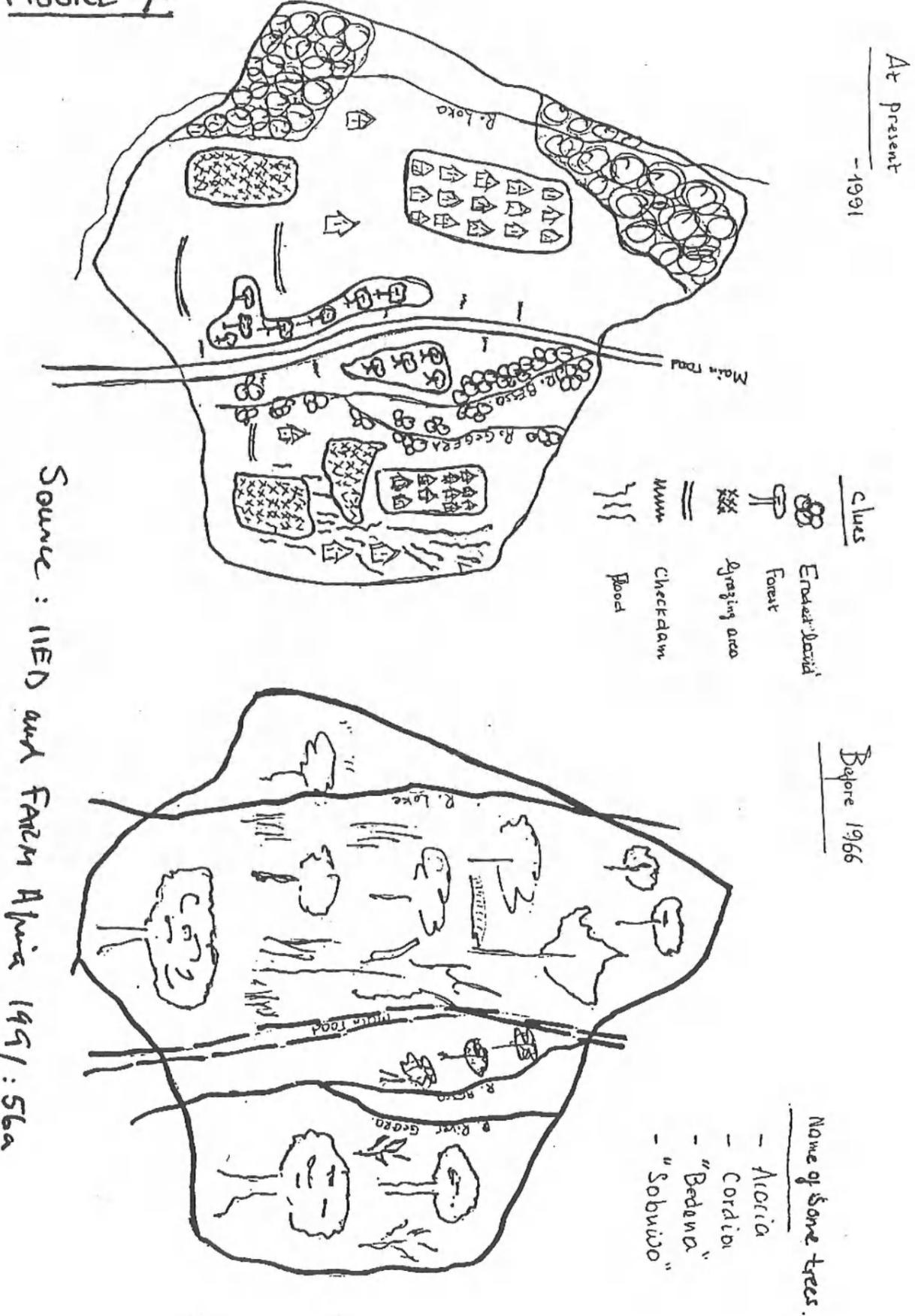
ULTIMATE PREFERENCE OF PLACE } HUSBAND REASONS WIFE REASON
ADONI EMPLOYMENT INCOME HEALTH GUTTA BEGUNPET BRING ABLE TO BE WITH CHILDREN (GRANDCHILDREN)

HUSBAND: SUBRAMANIAM S/O VENKATACHALLAM
WIFE: PARVATHI W/O SUBRAMANIAM

TEAM: H. MULDER, PRABHAKAR, S. BHIDE, MONNAPPA. A.K.

FIGURE 7. Landscape changes in Abela Sipa PA over the last 25 years.

FIGURE 7



Source : IED and FAO/FAO/Alma 1991 : 56a