

Figure 4: Farmer 1 (Bhimarao Kharatade with wife and son)



Table 10 is presented below with a summary of the answers they gave to the main questions asked during the interview. Where only a question mark is present in the block, it means that this question was not put to the farmer during the interview.

although his yields are almost the same, the costs are a lot lower on the organic half, so his net profit would be higher.

Figure 5: Farmer 5 (Maruti Zhade, bottom left, seated)



Both Farmer 5 and 6 seemed confused about the concept of net profit. Both expressed pride in having high yields, but Mr Kombe spent a lot of time telling them that yields mean nothing if your expenditure is high. I was struck by the irrationality displayed by these two farmers: they wanted higher yields above all else. Both of them had high levels of debt, but didn't seem to understand that even if their yields fell, if their expenditure fell accordingly, they could still make a higher profit. Dr Kate told me that many farmers like this do not calculate profit and instead are convinced that they are doing well through having high yields (Kate, 2008). Dharamitra's motivators do keep records of the farmers' costs and income levels though, so I asked Dr Kate why they do not show such workings to the farmers in order to prove the point about lower net profit under chemical farming. Dr Kate expressed regret about this (Kate, 2008). He said he had hoped to have some computer software developed which would make it easy to input and maintain financial data for the farmers; but since Dharamitra's methods changed several times over the course of the project, this did not happen. He explained that the Dharamitra office at Ghantanjee is maintained by Mr Kombe, who is in his sixties, and has no desire to start learning about computers. The motivators bring in the data, which gets written up by hand onto paper files. Often, this recording

- Shamika Yes, he is happy that he is a successful farmer. [At this point the farmer seemed to get very emotional, almost crying].
- Candice Does he feel like he is still facing any challenges with his farm?
- Shamika He says there are no more challenges. We tried asking him in different ways, but he just said how organic has helped him.

Figure 6: Farmer 4 (Chandra Shekernibude, centre, with Katlego Moloto, on left, and Dharamitra Motivator on right)



Farmer 4 has apparently won state awards for his farm. He was a very self-assured individual who is clearly used to being interviewed and well-respected in the village. Here is an excerpt from the transcript of his interview:

- Candice How would he identify a successful farmer? What makes a farmer successful? [When asking Shamika to ask him – I asked her to prompt him by asking – is it the highest yield, high profits, is it better soils, lower costs? There was quite a long discussion which Sucheta was involved in]
- Shamika He says a successful farmer will have good yields, and it also depends on what quality soils he has, and what kinds of seeds he has sown. If

farmers we accessed. However, the farmers we did interview were very interesting and quite varied, and still provide a useful insight into the challenges facing small-scale farmers and possible solutions. Since the purpose of this study was never to generate comprehensive primary data, but rather to use experience to add depth and insights to the literature, this lack of control over the number and specific details of the farmers was not seen as a major challenge to the validity of the data.

2.3.5 Ghantanjee Area Profile

The farmers chosen to interview were from Dharamitra's main operational area of Ghantanjee, which is an area within the Yeotmal district of Maharashtra. This area is about 150 kilometres away from Wardha, where Dharamitra's head office is located.

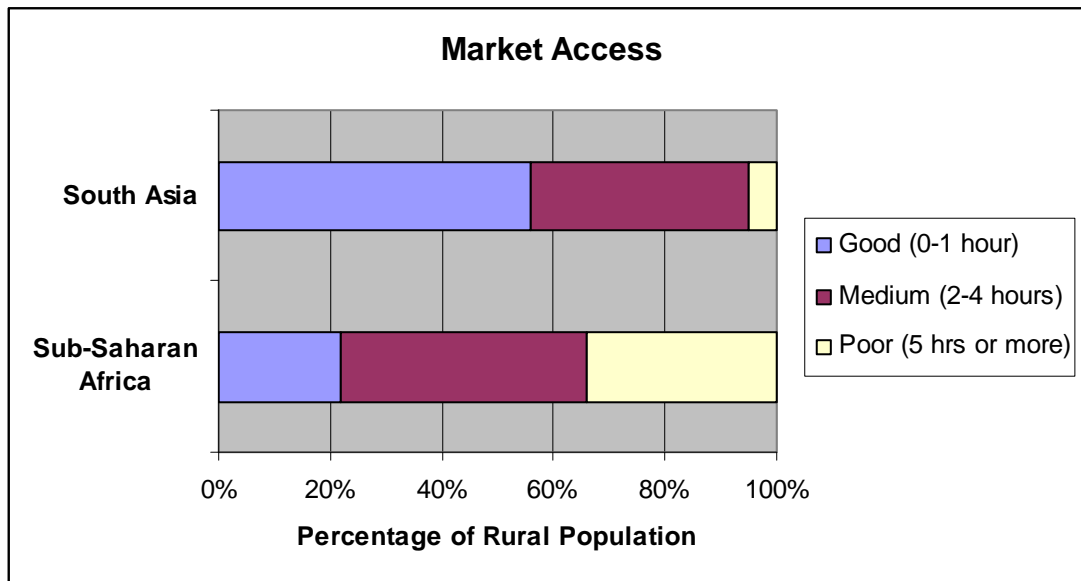
Figure 2: Map of Ghantanjee, India (marked with star)



Maharashtra is the second largest state in India, about the size of Italy (Government of India, 2008). Its capital is Mumbai on the west coast, but the area we visited is in the far east of the state, almost directly in the centre of the subcontinent. Yeotmal (sometimes written as Yavatmal) is generally hot and dry with short cool winters. The hot season is from March until May with average daily temperatures of 46°C, the monsoon begins in June and lasts until September, then the dry winter begins in

Figure 3: Market Access in SSA and South

Asia



When one puts both agroecological conditions and market access together, one can clearly see the difference between SSA and South Asia: two-thirds of SSA has either poor market access or limited rainfall, compared with only one quarter in South Asia. But “investments can convert less-favoured areas with low rainfall or poor roads into high-potential areas” (e.g. irrigation, roads) (IBRD, 2007:54).

One of the most contentious issues related to agriculture is protection taxation of agriculture. The World Bank seems, in this report, to propose further liberalisation of agriculture – in other words, removing price distortions through reducing taxes on imports and exports and reducing producer support and subsidies (IBRD, 2007:10 and 11). The report says that, if there were full trade liberalisation, the welfare impacts for developing countries would be massive – “estimated to be five times the current annual flow of aid to agriculture” (IBRD, 2007:11). But the effects would not be evenly spread; for example, international commodity prices are expected rise by 5.5 percent on average, with cotton prices rising 21 percent and oilseeds by 15 percent. Developing countries which are net buyers of such products would lose out. In this case, the World Bank recommends mitigating the negative impacts through complementary policies such as transfers which compensate poor country losers