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Availability Cascade, Information Cascade and Reputation Cascade: The Relevance of Cascades to Cotton

With a Ph.D. in Agricultural and Resource Economics from Oregon State University in the USA, Dr. Terry Townsend is a consultant on commodity issues. He is currently working with the African Cotton and Textile Industries Federation (ACTIF). He served as executive director of the International Cotton Advisory Committee (ICAC) and has also worked at the United States Department of Agriculture for five years, analyzing the U.S. cotton industry and editing a magazine devoted to a cross-section of agricultural issues.

EXPERT's Column

Dr. Terry Townsend

"Availability Cascades and Risk Regulation" was a paper published in 1999 by Timur Kuran at Duke University and Cass R. Sunstein at Harvard Law School (http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=138144). Kuran and Sunstein defined an "availability cascade" as a self-reinforcing process of belief formation, in which repetition of a simple proposition that seems to explain a complex situation triggers a chain reaction of additional repetition. Merely because the belief is repeated, it becomes widely accepted. In other words, a belief becomes irresistible simply as a result of its repetition.

According to Kuran and Sunstein, when an availability cascade is underway, individuals endorse a belief, not because of objective or impartial evidence that the belief is accurate, but because they have heard others say it (an information cascade) and because they wish to maintain social acceptance with friends, colleagues or peers who endorse the belief (a reputation cascade).

The two authors, one an economist and one a lawyer, were concerned about public policy and the development of government regulations, and they wrote the paper to advocate for governmental structures that would shield civil servants against "mass demands" for regulatory changes based on "popular (mis)perceptions." Their work is highly influential in finance theory (explaining herd instincts by traders and market analysts) and regulation of risk-taking behavior by firms and investors.

Cotton is suffering from an availability cascade of demonising allegations that have become so thoroughly interwoven into the consciousness of retailers, organic cotton advocates and environmental and social activists that objective information, no matter how powerful, contrary data, no matter how well researched, and historical perspective, no matter how valid, are automatically rejected as invalid, unacceptable and illegitimate.

As a result of the availability cascade, it is possible to make almost any allegation to demonise cotton without so much as a blush. Environmental and social activists participate in a reputation cascade through a process of signaling their activist credentials to each other by demonising cotton. Retailers reinforce an information cascade when they demonise cotton in order to enhance brand identity, and thus expand sales.

Availability Cascades That Have not Developed

Most historians estimate that between 7 and 10 million people perished in famines in the Soviet

Union in the early 1930s (Adam Hochschild, The Unquiet Ghost, 2003). Those deaths are blamed on Joseph Stalin and the Soviet government; no one suggests that people should buy less wheat today because of the Soviet famines of the 1930s. There is no availability cascade demonising the wheat industry.

An estimated 45 million people starved to death in China between 1958 and 1962 (Frank Dikötter, quoted in the Independent, 17 September 2010). Mao Zedong and the Government of China are blamed for those deaths; no one says that consumers should buy less rice today because of famines 60 years ago. There is no availability cascade demonising the rice industry.

The "Dust Bowl," was a period of severe dust storms across the prairies of the U.S. and Canada in the 1930s. The Dust Bowl was both an ecological and social disaster that displaced hundreds of thousands of families and caused thousands of premature deaths. The agricultural practices of the 1920s to plow up the prairie to plant wheat are blamed for the Dust Bowl; no one urges consumers to buy less wheat today because of the agricultural practices that caused the dust bowl. There is no availability cascade against the wheat industry.

The transatlantic slave trade began in the 1440s and lasted until the 1860s. Between 12 and 15 million Africans were taken in slavery to the Western Hemisphere. Over 90% of the total were taken to the Caribbean and Brazil to work on sugar plantations and silver and gold mines. About 6% of all Africans taken in slavery were brought to North America, and many of those were forced to work on sugar plantations.(Dr. Marshall Eakon, Conquest of the Americas, The Great Courses, 2002.)Yet today, popular opinion associates African slavery with North American cotton (Example: Empire of Cotton: A Global History, by Sven Beckert). No one today suggests that consumers should buy less silver, gold or sugar because of slavery; there are no availability cascades against sugar, silver or gold.

Availability Cascades Against Cotton

Aral Sea

In contrast, cotton is still being demonised today for practices decades past and for policies unrelated to the agronomic needs of the crop. The premier example is the Aral Sea. The Soviet government deliberately diverted the rivers feeding the Aral Sea beginning in the 1960s to irrigate Central Asia. Between 25% and 75% of the water diverted just soaked into the desert or evaporated. Cotton accounted for 41% of cultivated land; grains, including rice and wheat, accounted for 32% of cultivated land, fruit crops 11%, vegetables 4%, and other crops 12%. (Thompson, Colombia University, 2008, http://www.columbia.edu/~tmt2120/introduction.htm).

Yet, environmentalists blame the Aral Sea disaster on cotton, not on Soviet mismanagement, not on an inefficient irrigation system and not on other crops.Even today, a museum display in Hamburg, partially supported by the Government of Germany, pictures the shrinkage of the Aral Sea and urges consumers to buy less cotton (http://www.fastfashion-dieausstellung.de/en/).Images of the Aral Sea contribute to the information cascade against cotton, and the reputation of the museum curator as a concerned environmentalist is enhanced by participation in the cascade.

CottonConnect, a company that must demonise conventional cotton in order to survive, along with retailers such as John Lewis, IKEA, Primark, and Marks and Spencer, refer to the Aral Sea at every opportunity in order to enhance their brand images and boost sales (Example: http://innovation-forum.co.uk/sustainable-and-ethical-cotton-sourcing.php).

Additional examples of demonisation of cotton with images of the Aral Sea are almost innumerable. The Guardian newspaper: http://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/sustainable-fashion-blog/2014/oct/01/cotton-production-linked-to-images-of-the-dried-up-aral-sea-basin. People & Planet: https://peopleandplanet.org/redressfashion/briefing/dirty. Environmental Justice Foundation: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JLsQ0Ruby40. Electric Tree House: http://electrictreehouse.com/cotton-and-the-disappearance-of-the-aral-sea/.

Each environmentalist is participating in the reputational cascade by demonising the cotton industry with images of the Aral Sea. If retailers and environmentalists believe consumers should buy less cotton because of the Aral Sea, why shouldn't consumers buy less wheat and rice because of the Soviet and Chinese famines or the American Dust Bowl; the situations are parallel. Cotton has experienced an availability cascade, while other crops have not.

Pesticides

DDT (dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane) is an insecticide used during WWII to prevent malaria. After WWII, DDT was released for commercial application in agriculture and was used widely on all crops in many countries, and the Swiss scientist who discovered its insecticidal properties was awarded a Nobel prize. However, DDT was banned in the United States in 1972 and has since been banned in all countries except for limited applicationin malaria suppression. Today, all pesticides used in modern agriculture are fully biodegradable, and none of the pesticides used in cotton production has a mode of action that persists for more than a few weeks. Cotton is regulated as a food crop in the United

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States, the EU and most other countries, and tests show that samples of cotton lint are clean enough to pass European food standards.

Yet, four decades after the banning of DDT and other persistent pesticides, environmentalists still refer to cotton as a "dirty" crop or a "dangerous" crop (World Wildlife Fund, many organic cotton advocates, Pesticide Action Network) and many of cotton's detractors still claim that cotton accounts for 25% of all pesticides used worldwide (Example: http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/neil-young-urges-boycott-of-non-organic-cotton-20140804).

Cotton now accounts for less than 6% of world pesticide sales, down from 11% in 1988. Typical insecticide applications per hectare of cotton are approximately one kilogram of active ingredient in most production areas, although applications in some countries are higher. More pesticides are applied on other crops, including fruits and vegetables, grains, and soybeans than on cotton, although use per hectare is lower for grains and oilseeds than cotton.

Cotton may have accounted for 25% of all insecticide sales in the 1950s and 1960s in the United States, prior to the elimination of the boll weevil, but cotton never accounted for 25% of all pesticide sales worldwide. Yet, environmentalists and retailers continue to demonise the cotton industry over pesticide use because the association of cotton with pesticide use has become so much engrained in the consciousness of many activists that they believe it, and because the 25% figure is so compelling, and thus useful to their marketing activities, that the desire to repeat the 25% statistic or to label cotton as dangerous is overwhelming. The association of cotton with pesticide use is a classic example of an availability cascade in which the 25% statistic is universally accepted because it has been repeated. Any environmentalist that tried to counter the accepted statistic would lose statue with other environmentalists.

Water Consumption

A final example will suffice for this article: cotton and water consumption. The cotton genome has evolved over more than 60 million years to survive in harsh conditions. Cotton is a drought-tolerant crop with a taproot that can reach 1.5 to 2 meters for water. Cotton is grown in arid regions because it can be grown in such conditions; regions are not arid because cotton is grown there. Cotton uses less water per dollar value of production than grains and oilseeds, and cotton provides an economic yield even in years of drought and alternative-crop failure. These reasons are why cotton is grown in arid and semi-arid regions in the first place. Indeed, cotton is grown in arid and semi-arid regions because water is precious in those locations.

Yet, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) persists in labeling cotton a "thirsty" crop, and a "water wasting crop." (http://wwf.panda.org/about_our_earth/about_freshwater/freshwater_problems/thirsty_crops/cotton/). The web site of the WWF is almost a how-to handbook in demonisation. The web site uses pseudo science to discuss biotechnology, evocative language to demonise rather than inform, evasive language such as, "it can take more than," or "could be as much as," to avoid accountability, and just plain fabrication, such as the claim that water consumption associated with cotton production has damaged the Rio Grande River basin between the United States and Mexico.

The WWF makes these allegations because it benefits their interests to do. By participating in the reputational cascade against the cotton industry, individuals at the WWF burnish their credentials with other environmentalists, and by contributing to the information cascade, the WWF as an organization furthers its fundraising efforts. Nowhere on the WWF website is there objective information about cotton and water use, nor is there any attempt to explain, to offer perspective, or to provide insight into why farmers choose to grow cotton. To provide such information would harm the interests of the WWF.

The Role of CAI

As mentioned in this column a month ago, I am one of the most enthusiastic supporters of efforts by the Cotton Association of India to provide positive information about cotton to students and consumers. However, because of the cascade of demonisation efforts undermining demand for cotton around the world, positive efforts are not sufficient.

CAI and all other cotton industry organizations must start systematically and specifically challenging those who demonise by demanding accountability, by rebutting spurious allegations, and by publicly challenging those who undermine the livelihoods of farmers in order to enhance brand identity for themselves, their companies and organizations.

Environmentalists and retailers demonise cotton because it is without cost to do so. Too often, allegations can be made without challenge, thus the incentives to make such allegations are dominant. Only by repeatedly and volubly challenging those who demonise, with public, specific, fact-based rebuttals, will the cotton industry be able to make demonisation expensive and thus shift the structure of incentives that currently makes demonisation profitable.

(The views expressed in this column are of the author and not that of Cotton Association of India)

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COTAAP Corner

Events for August 2015

As the cotton crop in Chopda region is in its vegetative and flowering stage, this is a critical stage as far as its productivity is concerned. As compared to Vidarbha and the rest of Maharashtra, Khandesh and Marathwada have received less rainfall till date. Jalgaon district receiving only 40 % of the average annual rainfall and all the crops in region are in need of precipitation. In spite of the adverse climatic conditions, fields under demonstration conducted by COTAAP are in good condition as compared with check plots. Awareness as well as provision of balanced nutrition, growth promoters and plant protection inputs have proved effective in sustaining the crop. Providing timely weather information by SMS has proved to be beneficial to more than 4000 farmers.

Some of the important activities conducted at Chopda unit during last month are as follows:

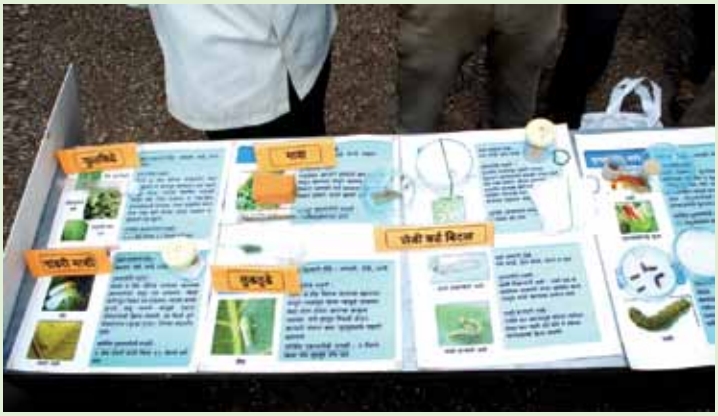
FARMERS' TRAINING:

Under the project-PPP-IAD, sanctioned by Department of Agriculture, Government of Maharashtra and with technical and financial support from Mahyco Seeds, Arvind Ltd. and beneficiary farmers, COTAAP conducted demonstrations of long staple variety- Dr. Brent on 1000 acres and extra long staple variety Bahubali on 500 acres, on Sunday, August 16, 2015 at two locations.

For the convenience of farmers, the first training was conducted at Virwada village in the morning and the second was at Chahardi village afternoon. While 650 farmers registered at Virwada, 600 farmers registered at Chahardi village. The planning and execution of the training was an ideal example of an effective and need based extension activity.

The event was chaired by Shri. Arunbhai Gujarathi, Former Speaker, Vidhan Sabha, Maharashtra State in the presence of Dr. Sushilaben Shah, Former President, Municipal Council, Chopda; Shri. Vasantbhai Gujarathi, Advisor, COTAAP Chopda Unit; Shri. Pradipbhai Gujarathi, Trustee, COTAAP Research Foundation, Mumbai; Shri. Sushantbhai Rawat, Cotton Dept, Arvind Ltd. Ahmedabad and, Shri. Prashant Tikade, Head, Agriculture Extension, Arvind Ltd. Ahmedabad.

Glimpses of the farmers' training on August 16, 2015



The eminent scientists who attended the event included Dr. H.N. Ravankar, Soil Scientist, PDKV, Akola; Dr. S.S. Patil, Scientist – Cotton Research Station, Jalgaon (MPAU, Rahuri); Dr. Shailendra Pratpsingh, Entomologist, Mahyco Seeds, Jalna, Shri. Dashrath Kardale, Pathologist, Mahyco Seeds, Jalna and Shri. Shrirang Wanjarwadekar, Agronomist, Mahyco Seeds, Jalna.

Shri. Pradipbhai Gujarathi gave an overview of COTAAP's activity and touched on the success of HDPs technology and PPP project in Chopda. He also gave an insight into the development of farming practices adopted by farmers thanks to COTAAP initiatives since the past 10 years. Shri. Pradipbhai appealed to farmers to get soil tested through the COTAAP project and built awareness regarding contaminations in cotton. He also urged farmers to harvest and store cotton in cotton bags provided by Arvind Ltd. Lastly Shri. Pradipbhai thanked COTAAP Trustees, Mahyco Seeds, Arvind Ltd. and the Department of Agriculture, Maharashtra State for their continued support.

The inaugural speech was given by Shri. Arunbhai Gujarathi, wherein he emphasised the importance of water conservation and appealed to farmers to conserve every drop of water and build shet tala (water ponds). He also advised farmers to follow good storing practices of harvested cotton produce to get good value for their produce. Shri. Arunbhai urged the scientists to focus their research towards varieties and technologies which could survive drought and avoid re-sowing. Shri. Arunbhai also congratulated COTAAP for conducting various need based extension activities which have truly changed the lives of thousands of farmers.

Dr. Ravankar guided farmers on soil testing and various applications of manures and fertilizers on the basis of reports, which will in turn help in reducing the indiscriminate use of chemical fertilizers and to exploit maximum yield with minimum inputs. He also explained the functions and deficiency symptoms of nutrients in cotton describing sources of macro as well as micro nutrients and described the use of integrated practices of organic as well as inorganic chemicals to fulfill the nutritional needs of the crop.

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The Mahyco team comprising Entomologist Dr. Shailendra Pratapsingh, Cotton scientists, Shri. Dashrath Kardale and Shri. Shrirang Wanjarwadekar, All India Product Manager, Shri. Shivraj Deokar, and District Marketing Manager, Shri. Mahesh Kharade visited the various plots. They expressed their satisfaction over the condition of the crops and provided important inputs on pest and disease management based on their field visit.

The Mahyco team displayed photographs and live samples of diseases and pests reared in laboratory and gave a detailed note on disease management. The technique of proper timing and method for de-topping was also explained to the farmers.

Dr. S. S. Patil, cotton breeder, gave a detailed explanation on different varieties in cotton, the potential of high density plantation system in cotton, types of contamination in cotton and good harvesting practices in cotton.

Distribution of third, fourth and fifth lot of inputs to farmers

During the entire month of July i.e from 3rd of July to 28th of July 2015, the COTAAP staff distributed the third, fourth and fifth lot of inputs to all the beneficiary farmers in the 36 villages of tehsil. The inputs distributed were as follows:

Visit of CICR Scientist to straight variety Suraj plots

COTAAP initiated a unique project with the help of CICR Nagpur and developed straight variety Suraj on 100 acres. All the plots of Suraj are doing well and CICR Nagpur is being regularly updated on the progress. As this is a first of its kind of cultivation in the area, all the farmers were very curious about its growth and progress. At the behest of Shri. Pradipbhai Gujarathi, Dr. Kranthi sent a team of two scientists from CICR, Nagpur, Dr. V.S. Nagarale, Senior Scientist, Entomology, and Dr. Shailesh P. Gawande, Scientist, Pathology, to assess and provide guidance for the plots. Both the scientists visited most of the plots in the area, interacted with the farmers, and cleared their doubts. Both scientists expressed their satisfaction on the condition of the plots and also appreciated the way FLD is being implemented in the area. They also collected samples of plants for testing at their lab and recommended what practice the farmers should follow in the future.

Shri. Deokar, State Development Manager, Mahyco at the COTAAP office

Shri. Deokar, Shri. Bharambe and Shri. Kharade in discussion with the COTAAP staff

CICR scientist visit a farm at Virwade village.

CICR scientist visit a farm at Chahardi village.

Cottonology School Contact Program
at Arya Vidya Mandir, Bandra-Kurla Complex on 21st April 2015

Students attend in large numbers.

Explaining the importance of cotton

Facts about cotton explained to the students.

Enthusiastic response to the cotton quiz

Students receive their goody bags

CAI RELEASES ITS FIRST ESTIMATE OF 2015-16 COTTON SEASON LOWER ACREAGE AND HIGHER YIELD EXPECTED

The Cotton Association of India (CAI) has released its first estimate of the cotton crop for the ensuing season 2015-16 beginning on 1st October 2015. The CAI has placed its estimate for the season 2015-16 at 380 lakh bales of 170 kgs. each. The projected Balance Sheet drawn by the CAI estimated total cotton supply for the season 2015-16 at 470.65 lakh bales while the domestic consumption is estimated at 325 lakh bales thus leaving an available surplus of 145.65 lakh bales. A statement containing the state-wise estimates of the cotton crop and the Balance Sheet for the season 2015-16 with the corresponding data for the ongoing crop year 2014-15 is given below.

Acreage under cotton during the ensuing 2015-16 cotton season is going to be less than that of the current crop year. Yield is, however, likely to be higher during the 2015-16 crop season due to good and timely rainfall in the cotton growing areas. Therefore, the crop for the 2015-16 cotton season is expected to be similar to the cotton crop for the 2014-15 crop year.

CAI has also released its July estimate for the ongoing cotton season 2014-15 and placed the same at 382.75 bales of 170 kgs. each.

CAI's Estimates of Cotton Crop as on 31st July 2015 for the Seasons 2014-15 and 2015-16

State	Production *	
	2015-16	2014-15
Punjab	14.50	13.00
Haryana	23.00	23.50
Upper Rajasthan	6.50	6.50
Lower Rajasthan	11.50	10.50
Total North Zone	**55.50**	**53.50**
Gujarat	101.00	108.00
Maharashtra	83.00	78.50
Madhya Pradesh	19.00	18.00
Total Central Zone	**203.00**	**204.50**
Telangana	56.00	55.25
Andhra Pradesh	27.00	25.75
Karnataka	25.00	30.50
Tamil Nadu	7.50	7.25
Total South Zone	**115.50**	**118.75**
Orissa	4.00	4.00
Others	**2.00**	**2.00**
Total	**380.00**	**382.75**

*Note: (1) * Including loose*

(2) Loose figures are taken for Telangana and Andhra Pradesh separately as proportionate to the crop for the purpose of accuracy

The Balance Sheet drawn by the Association for 2015-16 and 2014-15 is reproduced below:-

(in lakh bales)

Details	2015-16	2014-15
Opening Stock	78.65	58.90
Production	380.00	382.75
Imports	12.00	12.00
Total Supply	**470.65**	**453.65**
Mill Consumption	285.00	278.00
Consumption by SSI Units	29.00	27.00
Non-Mill Use	11.00	10.00
Exports		60.00
Total Demand	**325.00**	**375.00**
Available Surplus	145.65	
Closing Stock		78.65

CAI's Estimates of Cotton Crop as on 31st July 2015 for the Seasons 2013-14 and 2014-15

State	Production *		Arrivals As on 31st July 2015 (2014-15)
	2014-15	2013-14	
Punjab	13.00	15.00	12.50
Haryana	23.50	23.50	23.00
Upper Rajasthan	6.50	5.50	6.50
Lower Rajasthan	10.50	8.25	10.50
Total North Zone	**53.50**	**52.25**	**52.50**
Gujarat	108.00	129.25	107.50
Maharashtra	78.50	87.00	78.00
Madhya Pradesh	18.00	19.50	18.00
Total Central Zone	**204.50**	**235.75**	**203.50**
Telangana	55.25	78.00	55.25
Andhra Pradesh	25.75		25.75
Karnataka	30.50	29.00	29.75
Tamil Nadu	7.25	7.25	6.50
Total South Zone	**118.75**	**114.25**	**117.25**
Orissa	4.00	3.00	4.00
Others	**2.00**	**2.00**	**2.00**
Total	**382.75**	**407.25**	**379.25**

*Note: (1) * Including loose*
(2) Loose figures are taken for Telangana and Andhra Pradesh separately as proportionate to the crop for the purpose of accuracy

The Balance Sheet drawn by the Association for 2013-14 and 2014-15 is reproduced below:-

(in lakh bales)

Details	2014-15	2013-14
Opening Stock	58.90	52.58
Production	382.75	407.25
Imports	12.00	11.75
Total Supply	**453.65**	**471.58**
Mill Consumption	278.00	266.68
Consumption by SSI Units	27.00	24.00
Non-Mill Use	10.00	10.00
Exports	60.00	112.00
Total Demand	**375.00**	**412.68**
Closing Stock	78.65	58.90

Update on Cotton Acreage (As on 20th August 2015)

(Area in lakh ha)

Sl. No	States	Normal of Year	Normal Area as on Date (2010-2014)	Area sown (during the corresponding week in)					
				2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	Andhra Pradesh		18.912	20.820	20.228	19.610	20.610	17.470	16.640
	Andhra Pradesh (23.95%)	4.800	4.731	4.490	5.850	4.697	4.936	4.184	3.985
	Telangana (76.05%)	15.240	14.181	16.330	14.378	14.913	15.674	13.286	12.655
2.	Gujarat	26.140	26.968	26.790	29.810	26.630	22.780	29.520	26.100
3.	Haryana	5.580	5.684	5.810	6.390	5.570	6.030	5.981	4.450
4.	Karnataka	5.400	4.792	4.400	7.150	5.080	3.620	4.450	3.660
5.	Madhya Pradesh	6.200	6.296	5.460	5.730	6.210	6.080	7.060	6.400
6.	Maharashtra	39.800	39.908	37.557	39.220	38.620	41.230	40.950	39.520
7.	Orissa	0.900	1.074	1.250	1.240	1.240	1.130	1.020	0.740
8.	Punjab	5.100	5.152	4.400	4.500	5.050	5.160	5.750	5.300
9.	Rajasthan	4.200	3.874	3.490	4.158	2.930	4.490	5.250	2.540
10.	Tamil Nadu	1.300	0.096	0.040	0.070	0.070	0.100	0.150	0.090
11.	Uttar Pradesh	0.000	0.264	0.210	0.260	0.230	0.300	0.300	0.230
12.	Others	0.360	0.060	0.000	0.050	0.100	0.000	0.150	0.000
	Total	**115.020**	**113.079**	**110.227**	**118.806**	**111.340**	**111.530**	**118.051**	**105.670**

Source: Directorate of Cotton Development, Nagpur

UPCOUNTRY SPOT RATES

(Rs./Qtl)

Sr. No.	Growth	Grade Standard	Grade	Staple	Micronaire	Strength /GPT	Spot Rate (Upcountry) 2014-15 Crop AUGUST 2015 17th	18th	19th	20th	21st	22nd
	Standard Descriptions with Basic Grade & Staple in Millimetres based on Upper Half Mean Length [By law 66 (A) (a) (4)]											
1	P/H/R	ICS-101	Fine	Below 22mm	5.0-7.0	15	9280 (33000)	9336 (33200)	9336 (33200)	9336 (33200)	9336 (33200)	9336 (33200)
2	P/H/R	ICS-201	Fine	Below 22mm	5.0-7.0	15	9420 (33500)	9476 (33700)	9476 (33700)	9476 (33700)	9476 (33700)	9476 (33700)
3	GUJ	ICS-102	Fine	22mm	4.0-6.0	20	6974 (24800)	6974 (24800)	6974 (24800)	7030 (25000)	7086 (25200)	7086 (25200)
4	KAR	ICS-103	Fine	23mm	4.0-5.5	21	7311 (26000)	7311 (26000)	7311 (26000)	7396 (26300)	7452 (26500)	7452 (26500)
5	M/M	ICS-104	Fine	24mm	4.0-5.0	23	8408 (29900)	8408 (29900)	8408 (29900)	8408 (29900)	8408 (29900)	8408 (29900)
6	P/H/R	ICS-202	Fine	26mm	3.5-4.9	26	9392 (33400)	9392 (33400)	9392 (33400)	9448 (33600)	9476 (33700)	9476 (33700)
7	M/M/A	ICS-105	Fine	26mm	3.0-3.4	25	8183 (29100)	8183 (29100)	8183 (29100)	8239 (29300)	8267 (29400)	8267 (29400)
8	M/M/A	ICS-105	Fine	26mm	3.5-4.9	25	8633 (30700)	8633 (30700)	8633 (30700)	8689 (30900)	8717 (31000)	8717 (31000)
9	P/H/R	ICS-105	Fine	27mm	3.5.4.9	26	9476 (33700)	9476 (33700)	9476 (33700)	9533 (33900)	9561 (34000)	9561 (34000)
10	M/M/A	ICS-105	Fine	27mm	3.0-3.4	26	8464 (30100)	8464 (30100)	8520 (30300)	8577 (30500)	8605 (30600)	8605 (30600)
11	M/M/A	ICS-105	Fine	27mm	3.5-4.9	26	8830 (31400)	8830 (31400)	8886 (31600)	8942 (31800)	8970 (31900)	8970 (31900)
12	P/H/R	ICS-105	Fine	28mm	3.5-4.9	27	9617 (34200)	9617 (34200)	9617 (34200)	9673 (34400)	9701 (34500)	9701 (34500)
13	M/M/A	ICS-105	Fine	28mm	3.5-4.9	27	8914 (31700)	8914 (31700)	8970 (31900)	9026 (32100)	9055 (32200)	9055 (32200)
14	GUJ	ICS-105	Fine	28mm	3.5-4.9	27	9308 (33100)	9223 (32800)	9251 (32900)	9308 (33100)	9336 (33200)	9336 (33200)
15	M/M/A/K	ICS-105	Fine	29mm	3.5-4.9	28	9223 (32800)	9223 (32800)	9280 (33000)	9336 (33200)	9308 (33100)	9280 (33000)
16	GUJ	ICS-105	Fine	29mm	3.5-4.9	28	9561 (34000)	9561 (34000)	9561 (34000)	9617 (34200)	9645 (34300)	9645 (34300)
17	M/M/A/K	ICS-105	Fine	30mm	3.5-4.9	29	9251 (32900)	9251 (32900)	9280 (33000)	9336 (33200)	9364 (33300)	9364 (33300)
18	M/M/A/K/T/O	ICS-105	Fine	31mm	3.5-4.9	30	9645 (34300)	9561 (34000)	9561 (34000)	9617 (34200)	9617 (34200)	9617 (34200)
19	A/K/T/O	ICS-106	Fine	32mm	3.5-4.9	31	9926 (35300)	9842 (35000)	9842 (35000)	9898 (35200)	9898 (35200)	9898 (35200)
20	M(P)/K/T	ICS-107	Fine	34mm	3.0-3.8	33	12092 (43000)	12092 (43000)	12092 (43000)	12092 (43000)	12092 (43000)	12092 (43000)

(Note: Figures in bracket indicate prices in Rs./Candy)