Chapter 5 – Possible strategies for the future

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Chapter 5 – Possible strategies for the future

5.1 The Setting

5.1.1 As far as reduction of poverty in the country is concerned, the initiative will still have to come from Government. It would be difficult to expect the profit-driven Private Sector to take up this task on the magnitude that is required.

5.1.2 The rural sector is home to around 77% of the population even today. A large number of factors –

- economic,
- social,
- institutional,
- financial and
- infrastructural

– are contriving to ensure that these people are not able to take advantage of the various welfare and development programmes that are expected to benefit the rural people. This has resulted in two-thirds of the poor being in the rural areas, in 1993-94.

5.1.3 Some of the major constraints facing the rural people are –

(i) A distinct slow-down in the growth of the agricultural sector,

(ii) Degradation of the natural resources – land, water and forest-cover,
(iii) Extensive controls on domestic trade,
(iv) Limited access to and poor delivery of basic services in the rural areas, such as -
  • health,
  • education,
  • roads,
  • markets,
  • facilities for upgradation and value-addition of agricultural produce,
  • transport,
  • power,
  • water
(v) Low rate of literacy, and
(vi) Poor health of the people.

5.2 Possible Strategies -

5.2.1 One of the solutions to all these problems is to re-define the role of Government critically. It may be advisable to adopt decentralized and participatory community-driven approaches to poverty-alleviation and rural development. The lack of broad-based commitment at the higher echelons of Government coupled with a weak capacity at the cutting-edge levels of Government have served to hamper progress. This has resulted in the people in the rural areas not being able to reap the benefits of the highly inclusive and poverty-oriented programmes.
5.2.2 While the anti-poverty programmes have been intended to enhance the asset base of the poor and also to assist them to cope with risks due to drastic income and other shocks, the programmes have only weakly served to meet the needs of the intended beneficiaries. Factors such as
- Poor targeting,
- widespread leakages,
- inefficient implementation and
- ineffective monitoring mechanisms – all these have only served to render the programmes poor shadows of the schemes as conceived in the Plan documents.

5.2.3 In very broad terms, some strategies that could be considered are outlined below –

i) Fostering rural growth and creating opportunities, especially for the landless and weaker sections in the rural areas,

ii) Empowering communities and the weaker sections, especially women so that they are enabled to meet their priority economic and social needs,

iii) Enhancing the capacity of the weaker sections to meet overcome and manage insecurity and risk.

5.3 Re-orientation of programmes -

5.3.1 However, Government will have to take a realistic view of the experiences of the last five decades and suitably re-orient the anti-poverty programmes. A few changes that could be contemplated are –
• Programmes aimed at poverty-alleviation should be formulated with reference to conditions that obtain in the field. Hence, any programme must have the flexibility to be adaptable to changes in each village, leave alone a taluka or a district,

• No programme must be formulated at a level higher than a village level. This is the level at which a decision can be taken in a proper and practical manner,

• The implementation machinery must be very highly motivated. In fact, they may even be given incentives, so that the emphasis is on quality and not on a mechanical achievement of targets, and

• Targets should also be realistic and achievable. This will ensure that the field-staff are not forced to give wrong figures to show that the targets have been met.

5.3.2 India’s economy does not suffer from a dearth of public spending. On the contrary, the Union and State Governments spend around 23% of the Agricultural GDP on agriculture and allied sectors and rural development and poverty-alleviation programmes. This is equivalent to around 6% of the overall GDP of the country. Even if the expenditure on safety-net programmes, and food and power subsidies are excluded, India spends more than any other Asian country, in absolute terms and also as a share of the Agricultural GDP.

5.3.3 However, in spite of this, reduction in rural poverty has been much slower than in other Asian countries. This indicates, very clearly, that public financial support for agriculture and rural development is not been effectively incurred.
5.3.4 The unsatisfactory impact of public spending has been studied and two main causes have been identified. These are –

a) Subsidies dominate public spending. Hence, they crowd out capital and non-wage operation and maintenance expenditures. These expenditures would have the effect of promoting private investment, productivity growth, development of the non-farm economy and reduction of poverty, and

b) The manner in which public services are delivered in the rural areas contributes to the poor quality and unreliability of inputs, infrastructure and support services. These drawbacks reduce the potential for rural growth and poverty reduction.

5.3.5 It is also observed that there are misplaced priorities in some States, relating to labour-intensive and other poverty-alleviating rural development schemes, whether they are land-based or non land-based ones. The financial crunch that has affected almost all States has forced them to continue only with the politically popular subsidy-oriented schemes. This has meant the neglect of the programmes which would lead to the creation of economic infrastructure, like roads, power, markets, etc, which would lead to a faster pace of economic growth and benefit both the poor and the other sections of the society.

5.4 Alternative programmes, such as watershed development -

5.4.1 The estimates of extent of wastelands range from 76 million hectares to 175 million hectares. Up to the end of Eighth plan period, 16.5 million
hectares of rainfed/degraded land have been treated/developed under different schemes.

5.4.2 Watershed Development Programmes are being implemented in several States in India. However, evaluation reports have shown that watershed projects cannot succeed without full participation of project beneficiaries and careful attention to issues of social organisation. This is because success depends on consensus among a large number of users. Moreover, collective capability and action is required for management of commons and for new structures created during the project. Then the costs and benefits of watershed interventions are location-specific and unevenly distributed among the people affected. Unfortunately most projects have failed to generate sustainability because of the failure of government agencies to involve the people. Field staff has no incentive to make the effort to pursue participatory approaches. Pressure to spend substantial resources by a fixed deadline does not enable peoples' capability to develop. Strict orientation to achieving physical and financial targets discourages project authorities to promote peoples' participation. It is imperative for successful implementation of the watershed projects that people participate in the planning and execution of the project from the beginning. This would also inculcate a sense of ownership among the people. Similarly, issues of equity need to be incorporated in the design of the project itself to ensure projects sustainability.
5.4.3 Further, there is no arrangement for handing over of structures and maintenance of plantation after a project is completed. Therefore, sustainability of projects gets impaired.

5.4.4 In the present form, schemes are left to be planned and executed by district level officers. The capability of district level officers to do planning and to prepare a good project is extremely limited. There is a need to train both the government officials and functionaries of agencies which take up watershed projects. Moreover, once it is realised that senior officers from the divisional and State capital take no interest in such schemes or their interest is limited to monitoring of financial expenditure alone, the quality of project preparation and of implementation suffers a great deal.

5.4.5 There is little impact assessment or evaluation of physical progress after the scheme has run for a couple of years. It is taken for granted that once money has been spent, physical progress automatically results. One can never be sure that soil conservation structures may not last for more than a few years, or plantation may not survive.

5.4.6 Programmes are run departmentally with vertical compartmentalization. Horizontal linkages between various line agencies at the district level are very weak. Thus, although watershed development may require integration of soil conservation techniques with plantation, there is
little likelihood of effective coordination between the District Soil Conservation Officer and the District Forest Officer.

5.4.7 High priority should be given to rejuvenation of village ponds and tanks, and recharge of groundwater. It is important to look at forest lands, non-forest pastures and wastelands and crop lands in an integrated manner. This is often not done as treatment upstream to reduce soil movement does not benefit large farmers who are downstream. They see no advantage and are indifferent or opposed to this strategy. They would prefer to conserve and harvest water in the drainage line so that it can be used directly for irrigation or to replenish groundwater. However, lands in the upper catchment should be rehabilitated first for at least three reasons. First, so that the landless and the poor who depend on upper slopes can benefit; groundwater recharge begins at the earliest; and third, by the time the lower catchment is treated any debris and erosion running down from the upper catchment has been minimised.

5.4.8 Despite problems there are many successful stories. Characteristics of successful and sustainable projects are: the emphasis on social issues, social mobilisation, clear direction to Government machinery to accept principles of participatory management, visible project monitoring and strong sense of ownership by the local community.

5.4.9 A study was conducted by the ICAR in 1998 regarding watershed development projects. The conclusions of this study are of interest and
relevance to other poverty-alleviation and rural development schemes of Government also.

5.4.10 The main points made in that study were as follows –

a) The best projects taken up under the NWDPRA, DPAP and other schemes in States such as Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Orissa were the ones which were truly participatory,
b) Such projects enabled the adoption of specific measures that were required in the location and also to tap the creativity of the local people to develop innovations,
c) The projects laid great emphasis on social organization and addressed the needs of each interest group and ensured that each of them had an integral stake in the success of the project,
d) Project funds started flowing only after the villagers established that they could would as a group,
e) The projects were designed and technologies and works selected for implementation with the full participation of the people,
f) The funds were managed by the representatives of the local people with some support from the local officials,
g) The village was taken as the unit for planning. Hence, the micro watershed that was identified, normally, did not extend beyond one or two villages,
h) Government machinery played a support, facilitation and co-ordination role and did not direct planning and implementation of the project, and
i) The project had systems for accounting, audit, monitoring, evaluation, vigilance and also for feeding all these inputs into the project regularly so
that corrective measures could be taken immediately where the project appeared to be going off-track.

5.4.11 In the light of these very incisive observations, it is amply clear that some re-thinking is necessary about the role of Government, so that the strategies for rural development and poverty-alleviation are made more realistic and become successful. Perhaps watershed development with its emphasis on the development of the entire community is an alternative strategy that may yield good results. This will be quite a contrast to the present strategies that focus on the development only of certain sections of the community and lead to a great deal of resentment among all the others.

5.4.12 Some of the other strategies that can be contemplated in this direction are described in the following paragraphs –

a) It may be essential to plan to phase out subsidies on various items, such as irrigation, power, fertilizers, various agricultural inputs, etc. These are only serving to hide inefficiencies in production and leading to severe environmental degradation,

b) It is true that most of the subsidies mentioned above are benefiting only the better-off sections of society. However, some benefit does accrue to the poorer sections also. In order to protect their interests, some measures are required to be taken,

c) There is a need to re-invest and upgrade the quality of a number of public services and activities aimed at enhancing rural infrastructure, such as water supply, sanitation, markets, roads, power, communication, transport, health, education, technology dissemination, watershed development and natural resource management. Funding for these
activities alone cannot ensure the quality of the public services. It is, therefore, essential that there is a re-orientation of the role of Government as a means to this end. The reforms in the Government sector would also include strengthening the private sector as the commercial provider of many services and inputs and also developing a good participatory, demand-driven controls system over the deliver of public goods.

5.4.13 India is a vast and heterogeneous country. It is necessary, therefore, that the rural development strategy that is adopted takes into account the great agricultural potential and also the fact that the intensity of poverty varies from one region to another.

5.4.14 In the high productivity irrigated regions, agriculture absorbs very little labour. Hence, poverty-reduction strategies should concentrate infrastructure so that the poor are empowered. This will result in developing the non-farm economy and improving access to employment opportunities by the poor and weaker sections.

5.5 Access of the poor to infrastructure -

5.5.1 It is of great importance to improve the access of the disadvantaged sections to certain basic amenities, like basic health facilities, protected water, sanitation, education, employment-oriented public works programmes, food transfers, land and other natural resources.
5.5.2 Public expenditure should be focussed on effective single-objective safety-net programmes rather than on multiple and ineffective anti-poverty programmes.

5.5.3 One important manner in which the quality of delivery of public services can be improved is through a regime of incentives for decentralization through decentralization. A decentralized system leads to dispersal of fiscal, political and administrative responsibilities across different tiers of government and between the public and private sector. In such a case, responsibility for delivering services may lie with government, peoples’ groups as also with the private sector. The system should be such that it creates incentives that hold each entity accountable for performing its responsibilities and also defines in an explicit manner the institutional relations between each entity.

5.6 Change in mind-set -

5.6.1 The most important change that Government will have to bring about in the poverty alleviation programmes is a complete change in the mindset that exists in Government.

5.6.2 The age-old “top-down approach”, which is a relic of the “mai-baap” days, must be given a quick burial. In its place, a “bottom-up approach” must be accepted by Government and all its functionaries should be told that only this approach should be adopted in all Government programmes.
5.6.3 The new approach must also be implemented in a systematic manner. Some of the important steps in this approach could be as follows –

(i) At the very outset, Government must accept reality that try as they might, functionaries of Government cannot really get close to the people, especially the poor and the needy.

(ii) Having accepted this fact, Government must turn to Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) for support. NGOs must be requested to organize people and mobilize them. They must have repeated interactions with the people using the relevant Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and other similar techniques and enlist the support of the people.

(iii) The NGOs must be asked to carry out social mobilization exercises and form organizations of the people, such as Self Help Groups (SHGs), Affinity Groups, Micro Credit Groups and the like.

(iv) Government must facilitate the formation of these groups and not insist that the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) alone should be the forum for people to articulate their views and needs.

(v) The mobilization of the people and educating them and creating a minimum level of awareness in them is a process which will take time. The NGOs must be given the required time – which may be twelve to even twenty-four months – to complete this task in a satisfactory manner.

(vi) Government will also facilitate the work of the NGOs by permitting certain entry-point activities to be undertaken so that
the credibility of Government and the NGOs is established with the target population.

(vii) After the mobilization is complete, a needs assessment has to be carried out. This will be followed by the preparation of a detailed plan for the development of the village and bringing the affected people above the poverty line.

(viii) The kind of activity that a person will undertake as part of the effort to generate income and cross the poverty line, will be decided by the intending beneficiary and NOT by Government or even by the NGO. They will only guide and advise the beneficiary, who alone will make the decision.

(ix) The beneficiary’s decision will be guided by the facilities and linkages and infrastructure that are available and what can reasonably be expected in the foreseeable future. He will be assisted in making his decision with technical and feasibility reports from the Government agencies and the NGOs.

(x) Once the decision is made, all support will be extended to the beneficiary, starting with training, if necessary and followed by assistance in selecting the asset and commissioning it to generate income.

(xi) The agencies of Government, along with the NGO, will carry out a hand-holding operation for a pre-determined period and then withdraw. By then, the beneficiary must acquire the capability of standing on his own feet and facing any problems that may arise.

(xii) In all these steps, the NGOs will play the lead role and Governmental agencies will play the supporting roles. The
NGOs will be facilitated in their highly important task by financial support from Government. On the advise of the NGOs, Government will also extend financial assistance to the NGOs for the SHGs and other organizations formed by the NGOs.

(xiii) After the Government agencies and the NGOs withdraw, it will be left to the organizations that have been formed at the village level to manage and further the development process. In this manner, the village community will become self reliant and self sufficient.

5.6.4 As regards the activities that must be available to a beneficiary, here again, there must be a complete change in the mind-set that prevails in Government agencies. They must not be allowed to thrust cows, sheep, buffaloes, goats, etc. down the throats of the beneficiaries. Further, they must not be the ones to decide whether a beneficiary should go in for other activities, such as a petty shop or become a blacksmith or a cobbler and so on.

5.6.5 There are a whole lot of activities that can be contemplated under a programme aimed at poverty alleviation, apart from the ones that are constantly being advocated by the agencies of Government.

5.6.6 Some of the schemes could be - improved agricultural practices; afforestation; horticulture; fodder species cultivation; fuelwood species cultivation; bivoltine sericulture; composting; vermi-composting; specific activities for women; watershed development packages; and repair-shops for
a range of equipment, like water pumps, radios, tractors, television sets, farm machinery, biogas plants, and sound systems.

**5.7 Peoples’ Movement -**

5.7.1 The overall focus of all poverty alleviation activities must be to form and later convert the programmes of poverty alleviation into peoples’ movements. Once peoples’ organizations are formed, they must be enabled to get into a project mode of operation, with a special emphasis, first on their formation and, later on their complete empowerment.

5.7.2 These organizations must be made aware, right at the start that they are expected to gradually take over the implementation of the programmes in their respective areas. Further, they must also be formed in such a manner that there is a greater focus on the really poor and weaker sections of the community.

5.7.3 In fact, the role of the NGOs in the formation of the peoples’ organizations is of paramount importance, as it is in the mechanics of the operation of these groups that the fate of the poverty alleviation programmes rest. If the groups do not provide adequate representation to the disadvantaged sections, then, this approach will also yield skewed results.

5.7.4 The routing of the funds should be such that once the groups of people are formed, all the funds should be transferred to them from the District level. There must be a good system of checks and balances built in, so that there is not wrong application of funds at that level. There must be regular
meetings of the groups so that all matters are discussed in detail. Further, there must also be inspections, submission of reports to a designated authority and auditing of accounts on a regular basis by an independent agency. These will ensure that this approach succeeds.

5.7.5 One of the cardinal principles that must govern all future efforts at alleviating poverty must be an approach that is based on the community rather than an individual or family. The effort must be to carry out detailed exercises and plan for the development of the entire village community rather than a small section of the population. Once this is done, the entire village has a stake in their development.

5.7.6 A further sine qua non must be that the community is never given the entire funds that are required for any particular activity. They must be given a certain portion and that too, only after they mobilize the remaining portion. Sharing a portion of the cost of the asset created and shouldering the entire expenditure on the operation and maintenance of the asset must be the contribution of the beneficiary/community to each programme.

5.7.7 Subsequently, the entire maintenance of the assets that are purchased or created out of the funds will lie solely with the community.

5.8 Large-scale Farming to enhance productivity -

5.8.1 India's agricultural productivity is amongst the lowest in the world. Though there is considerable regional variation, India's best productivity levels are some 30-40% lower than world best levels, and country wide
averages for most crops are some 50-80% lower than world best levels. Many of the marginal and small farmers are also counted among the poor. This is especially true of the farmers, who do not have irrigation facilities and are dependent upon the monsoon for the conduct of their agricultural operations.

5.8.2 Experiments have demonstrated that it is possible to increase agricultural productivity for most known crops by large margins, with modern technology and management.

5.8.3 From a technical point of view the reasons for low agricultural productivity in India are well known. Some of the more important reasons are – lack of irrigation facilities, insufficient use of fertilisers, non-use of improved seeds, hardly any use of efficient farm-machinery, non-adoption of scientific practices, and poor knowledge of the advancements in the agricultural sector in the world.

5.8.4 Improving agricultural productivity is constrained by a number of factors one of which is the small size of holdings is a key one. The average farm size in India is a mere 2.3 hectares, a size so small that productivity enhancing technologies and management methods become unaffordable and uneconomical.

5.8.5 A solution to this problem is to merge hundreds of small farms into larger conglomerates of say 1000 hectares or more. The easiest way to do this is to create farming co-operatives consisting of hundreds of members who pool land and other physical resources into a co-operative entity in
exchange for equity shares proportional to the value of the asset contributed. The co-operative then buys in labour and some managerial services from the members against a wage payment, and also buys in salaried professional management and technical expertise from outside the farming community.

5.8.6 A large co-operative will have easy access to bank credit, and can thus make the investments in the farm co-operative venture needed to boost productivity massively. Professional management can also build the market linkages needed to maximise price earnings. The individual shareholder member of the co-operative receives a dividend plus wage incomes, which because of enhanced productivity and better market linkages, would be much higher than their current incomes.

5.8.7 With a minimum 100% increase in farm productivity envisaged under this dispensation (in the least productive areas, a 200% or ever 300% increase is not unlikely), the farmer can expect a 60-70 per cent increase in income, with the balance going towards infrastructure and salaries for professional managers.

5.8.8 This model has multiple benefits, the more important ones being – land can be rotated without over-farming it, which a tiny landholder cannot do on his own, infrastructure such as roads and water and produce storage systems can be built, which again small landholders cannot afford, and environmental rotation measures can be adopted which would otherwise be unaffordable.
5.8.9 An issue that has to be considered here is “How can farming co-operatives or farming companies be created in India?” Sugar, milk and now oilseed farming are co-operativised in India to a considerable extent, though the model in use currently is an individual farming, but co-operative post farming and marketing model. This model can quite easily be extended to the farming operation itself among members of existing sugar and milk co-operatives, and by demonstration be spread to other areas.

5.8.10 A private management firm, backed by financial muscle, political connections, and high respectability, which sets up farming co-operatives and gets them running before handing them over to their own management is needed to catalyze the rapid growth of farming co-operatives. Once individual farmers witness the huge benefits that come from co-operativised farming, they will be willing to submerge their caste animosities for economic gain.

5.9 Need for alternative strategies -

5.9.1 We live in a global village in which capital, labour, knowledge, and material resources are mobile and potentially available to all of the world's people. Some 500 trillion U.S. Dollars of capital cross national boundaries every year, over 50 million people work as expatriates in other countries, satellite TV and the internet have made accessibility to knowledge cheap and universal, and the global transportation industry makes it often possible to move physical goods more cheaply between nations than within them.
5.9.2 According to World Bank estimates, there are 330 million people in India who live on the equivalent of less than $1 per day per capita, compared to $46 per day per capita in the US. It is theoretically possible to pull and push all these 330 million people out of poverty in a very short time, if imaginative and innovative methods were used to deal with the problem. Poverty is a terrible anachronism is the 21st century, that traditional ways of alleviating poverty have not worked, and that poverty could be completely eliminated from India and other less developed countries if the possibilities of the global village were tapped and used.

5.9.3 The World Bank defines the absolutely poor as those having incomes of less than $1 per day per head, but by Indian standards this works out to almost Rs. 1500 per head per month, which is actually quite generous: a family income of Rs. 5000 per month would be considered a middle class income here. This is why UNDP data for the number of poor people in India—those with incomes of less than $1 per day, is a staggering 525 million people.

5.9.4 The absolutely poor in India are by no means the Indian middle class of Rs. 5000 per month family incomes. They are the landless agricultural labourers, the peasant with tiny land holdings, the rural and urban artisan engaged in the manufacture of no-longer-in-demand handicrafts, the rural and urban unskilled unemployed and semi-employed, the disabled and chronically sick of poor-family origins.

5.9.5 These people have a family income of about Rs. 11 per capita per day. This is about enough money only for food, and quite insufficient for other
basic needs. We do not have an accurate estimate of how many people in India live on Rs. 11 per day per capita, but Government of India estimates, using a somewhat different yardstick based largely on calories intake, pegs the number at 330 million people. This is surely the world's largest concentration of the poorest of the poor.

5.9.6 Seventy percent of India still lives in its villages, and they are mainly engaged in agriculture. Potentially, this could mean that India is an agricultural superpower, but in fact, Indian agricultural productivity is amongst the lowest in the world, accounting in large part for the grinding poverty of much of rural India. The reason for this is missing technology, capital, knowledge, and market access. The concept of “Possibility thinking” if applied to India would imply that it is possible to infuse the technology, capital, management, and market linkages needed to make India a world class agricultural power.

5.9.7 Likewise, India's industrial productivity is also amongst the lowest in the world. This is due to lack of skills and knowledge, poor nutrition and health, and poor management and marketing. Once again, the concept of “Possibility Thinking” would imply that it is possible to build the knowledge and skills needed to raise industrial productivity to world levels and thereby dramatically increase industrial wage levels.

5.9.8 In both rural and urban areas, inadequate knowledge is a key to low productivity and low incomes. This is not surprising as India hosts the world's largest population of illiterates, numbering some 400 million people. Even among the literates, educational levels are on average very low- more
than half of all children who go to school in India drop out before they complete Class 8, leaving them with little more than the basic ability to read and write, but without the wherewithal to process information on technology, modern work practices, and requirements for quality and hygiene.

5.9.9 China's rapid ascent to economic power-house status is clearly linked to its dramatic success on the educational front as most Chinese children get 10 years of school education, accounting for the fact that Chinese workers in both agriculture and industry surpass their Indian counterparts in productivity.

5.9.10 Any worthwhile solutions for alleviation of poverty in India must inevitably concentrate on the worst end of the problem: rural poverty. This is not only because three-fourths of India's desperately poor live in rural areas, but also because it is more cost effective to remove rural poverty. Rural poverty has complex causes, but one common thread runs through the matrix of such causes, such as illiteracy, ignorance, and a lack of knowledge which could create income generating possibilities. The centre-piece of the solution to rural poverty must necessarily be education and skill development.

5.10 Summary of the chapter –

5.10.1 This chapter has a number of suggestions regarding poverty alleviation. These are both of the author and other theorists and implementers of poverty alleviation programmes in the field.
5.10.2 Ideas in respect of possible alternate strategies and approaches and re-orientation of the existing programmes are considered. There are certain other programmes, such as integrated development of micro watersheds of some 500 hectares, which are also examined.

5.10.3 The manner in which the access of the poor to certain basic minimum infrastructure, like education, health, drinking water, sanitation and employment are matters of concern and are examined. A suggestion is also made that Government and its agencies must move away from the present approach of implementing the programmes. They should become peoples' programmes and must have Non-Governmental Organizations playing important roles. This would, however, require a change in the mindset of all the functionaries of Government.

5.10.4 As a strategy, in order to improve the productivity of the agriculture and the rural sector, perhaps, recourse can be taken to Large-scale Farming on co-operative or corporate lines. This may also find favour among the marginal and small farmers, who are unable to compete in the global market, due to problems of size.

5.11 References -


