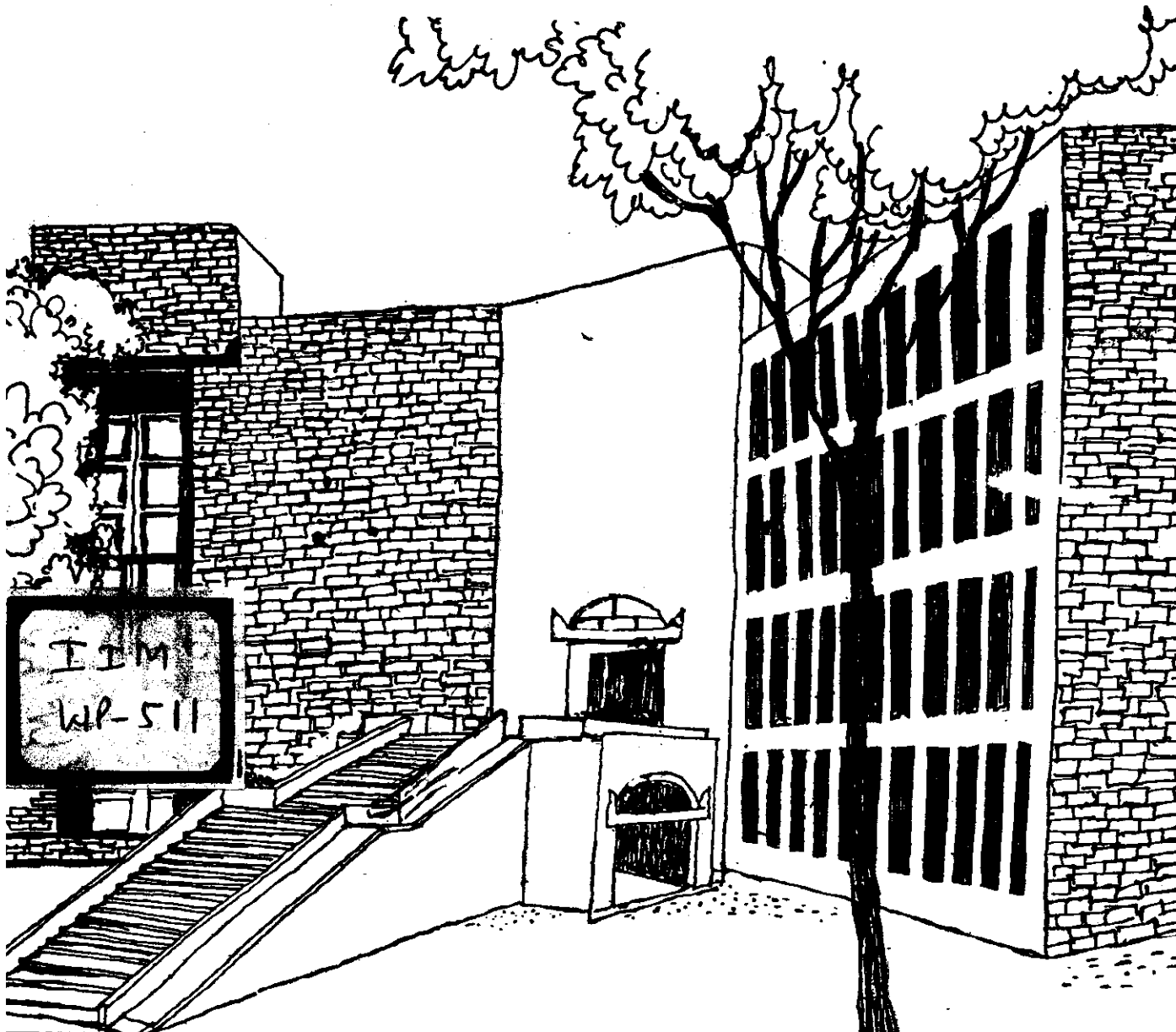


VIKRAM SARABHAI LEHMAN
MEMORIAL INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT
VASTRAPUR, AHMEDABAD



W. P. 511


Working Paper



ROLE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISES IN BACKWARD
REGIONS GENERATING PEASANTS'
PERSPECTIVES?

By

Anil K. Gupta

WP511

WP
1984
(511)

W P No. 511

June 1984

The main objective of the working paper series of the IIMA is to help faculty members to test out their research findings at the pre-publication stage.

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT
AHMEDABAD-380015
INDIA

ROLE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISES IN BACKWARD REGIONS
GENERATING PEASANTS' PERSPECTIVES?

Anil K. Gupta

ABSTRACT

To prevent accentuation of regional imbalances, the role of public enterprises in backward region is well recognized in most developing countries. However the exact processes through which such a development could match the expectation of rural poor in these regions remains ambiguous.

The growth centre bias in such policies is strongly disputed in this paper. In part one, the dynamics of backwardness with specific reference to semi-arid drought prone regions is discussed. The key ecological characteristics of such regions along with various risk-adjustment efforts of peasants are mentioned.

In next part the contradictions between public policies implemented through state enterprise and the household characteristics are discussed. Major problems listed are: Inappropriateness of demand based organization in regions where very feeble demand base exists; sedentary organizations ill equipped to deal with mobile populations, absence of popular protest mis-interpreted as a sign of popular tolerance or satisfaction etc.

Specific illustrations of commercial Bank Branch Expansions policy, viability norms for milk routes in dairy development policy, inequitous cost sharing norms of cooperative services, uniform agricultural extension personnel for regions with different population

densities etc are added to highlight the contradictions.

Finally, the risk, resources and skill aspects of poor dry farmers and labourers households are related with some of the modern management instruments.

ROLE OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISES IN BACKWARD REGIONS

GENERATING PEASANTS' PERSPECTIVES?

Anil K. Gupta

Regional imbalances in most developing countries through public policies and actions of private market forces have assumed such forms which no more lend themselves to analysis through simple spatial or regional planning frameworks. Political stability of a federal democratic state often hinges on its ability to intertwine growth in better endowed regions with somewhat slower but steady growth in backward regions. However, failure of growth centre/pole oriented policies in most developed (Holland 1976) and developing countries (Gupta 1979-a, Higgins 1980) has not made policy planners conscious of the role state ought to play in the matter.

The consciousness of planners, however, does not in any way diminish the glamour of growth poles which are axiomatically believed to trigger growth impulses in the economy.¹ Very interestingly the political apparatus in many developing countries including India also contributes in maintaining this paradox. Location of a public enterprise in a backward region often is cited as a political gain by the representatives of the region irrespective of the fact whether there existed better alternatives of bridging imbalances.

How does one view the role of public policy as manifested through state enterprises in developing backward regions is a question

¹ Kitching (1978:30-31) decries the reification tendencies suggesting action potential of spaces, i.e., Growth poles do not trigger impulse, action of people residing in growth centres could.

that begs a few other questions.

1. Whether the existence of imbalances is considered a problem at all? And if yes, whether political expediency demands that the imbalances be bridged fast?
2. Assuming that increase in imbalances beyond a limit may create problems of political instability, whether the design and mode of management of public enterprise would be alike in developed, better endowed regions, and poorer, underdeveloped regions?
3. If the people in backward regions do not protest², if political leadership from such regions fuelled by feudal or semi-feudal property relations does not demand any large scale restructuring of public policies, if state interventions are tension-diffusion types (e.g. public works programme involving road building or repair, stone crushing) rather than resource augmenting, if public enterprises are modelled on the pattern of competitive developed economies and if social scientists also ignored the problems of those regions³, what are the viable alternatives for which concerted lobbying by all those interested will be called for?

²It is sad but true to a great extent that popular discontent gets much more manifest in regions where rate of surplus accumulation is high and people get accustomed to a very high degree of state support.

³This is evident from the fact that very few M.Sc. & Ph.D. theses are guided on the problem of backward regions, particularly droughtprone regions, and still fewer researchers find it worth their while to work in these inhospitable regions. International aid agencies also do not support any massive research resource allocation towards problems of people residing in such regions.

The basic purpose of this paper is not to provide definitive solutions but to generate perspectives in which search for viable alternatives becomes feasible. While backward regions include many type of poorly endowed locations, I will refer specifically to droughtprone semi-arid and arid regions. The paper is divided into three parts. In the first part, the key characteristics of backward regions are outlined. The decision making framework in which poor peasants manage to survive is also briefly stated. The second part deals with the contradiction of current policies and practices with specific reference to rural developmental public enterprises. In the third section, some alternative ways of conceptualizing the role of public enterprises in backward regions are presented.

The Dynamics of Backwardness

I have discussed elsewhere in how rural society cannot be conceptualized as homogenous mass amenable to influence with similar organizational strategies (Gupta, 1981-b). The ecological conditions in which various classes of farmers try to adjust with risks inherent in semi-arid regions define the range of economic activities which various households would be engaged in; the scale at which different members of the household operate in different activities however, is a function of historical debts/losses, current consumption, deficits/surpluses, future expectations, access to various institutions including public enterprises providing essential goods, etc. Before we look into the specific features of the household economy of the poor, it would be worthwhile to list down

the key ecological and institutional characteristics of droughtprone regions.

1. Low Population density
2. High risks inherent in various crop, livestock, craft enterprises
3. Current level of farmers' technology generally geared towards risk minimization rather than profit maximization.
4. Uncertainty of rainfall and lack of local employment opportunities invariably lead to seasonal or to some extent permanent migration with the implication that often the households are managed by the women or the old or the infirm.
5. The capital absorption capacity is very low with the result that the institutional infrastructure is very poor.
6. Social and cultural networks are characteristically different from the irrigated regions, particularly with regard to the extent of traditional forms of cooperation and pooling of resources that continues in the regions, extended family systems etc.

In the above context, it will now be worthwhile to summarize important features of household economy to which the public enterprise would have to respond to:

1. Most of the marginal farmers have deficits in their household budget (Gupta 1981-c) with the result that the time-frame in which they discount their investment options and the discount rate at which they choose to appraise the viability of an opportunity vary in different resource markets.

2. Since farmers operate simultaneously in several resource markets such as credit, product, labour, craft, livestock, etc. options in one market are constrained or guided by opportunities in another markets (Gupta 1981-d, Bharadwaj, 1979).
3. In resource markets in which the marginal households have greater control, the discount rate chosen is lower and the time period in which investment is appraised is longer. On the contrary, in such resource markets where households had considerable disadvantage, for example agriculture, where because of draft power constraints, one may not be sure about the possibility of performance of sowing operations, the discount rate is higher and the time-frame is shorter. The paradox of public works intended to provide employment many times being unable to attract local people is a case for instance. Since employment provided by these projects is short term, households, in order to ensure their long term employment prospects that traditional employers either in local regions or in distant labour markets provide, prefer lesser wages outside compared to higher wages on local public works.
4. The anchor of the household economy in droughtprone regions is not crop or agriculture even though the Report on Organization of Administrative and Financial Structure for Backward Areas Development notes: "The strategy of development in the backward areas will have to start with maximising productivity in the crop production sector. Because of the fundamental backwardness of these areas,

the inherent potential for agricultural growth and the application of the latest technology which further increases productivity has not yet permeated to these areas. The initial thrust will, therefore, have to be on substantial increases of agricultural productivity by suitable land use, multiple cropping practices and larger application of inputs. This will necessitate the marshalling of the input supplies, particularly fertilisers, pesticides, power, irrigation, equipment, credit, etc. As a result of this productivity increases, greater employment will be generated and a greater consumption of power in the area will develop demand for consumer goods. This will give a boost to animal husbandry, pisciculture, horticulture and village and small industries catering to local consumption" (page 19).

The farmer, being cultivator-cum-craftsman-cum-pastoralist-cum-labourer, ceases to be the cultivator if rains are delayed or the second rains do not follow and shift of emphasis towards other activities takes place. In fact as the above quotation reveals the basic contradiction in public policies for droughtprone regions has been inappropriate ranking of priorities. Knowing fully well that rains are less and uncertain, the pastoral economy has been evolved by the farmers as a hedge against the risk. Apart from that input intensive technology would obviously be geared towards the irrigated

pockets in drought regions which would exacerbate intra-regional imbalances. Ground water being a scarce resource, public policies have reinforced inequities by enabling already better endowed farmers to gain easy access to water and cheap credit. In many regions, excessive draft of ground water has converted some of the farmers irrigating through traditional means of irrigation into dry farmers because the water table has gone down. The point being made is that agriculture has not deserved the foremost attention with agriculture input intensive technology. The logic that generating employment leading to better consumption of power would give boost to animal husbandry was faulty because all over the world the semi-arid regions have been inhabited by some of the best breeds of livestock. Not only households diversify their economic sources of income into various farm and non-farm sectors but, within the farm sector, they have highly diversified mix of crops or livestock activities. The single sectoral/enterprises interventions by public have often weakened the inter-sectoral linkages that the farmer had traditionally evolved in the process weakening the farmers' capacity to adjust with the risks (Gupta 1981-d). Further, in drought prone regions it is livestock and craft that deserves highest priority since agriculture is a subsidiary activity. Within agriculture, labour intensive technology suitable for dry farming conditions would be needed as against input intensive technologies currently propagated.

5. The need-want syndrome is such that the size of services provided by public enterprises is often not in consonance with the scale at which the farmer would like to have them. One of the

glaring contradictions noted recently in a study on the small farmer household economy in semi-arid regions was that the average size of loan taken by the farmer through informal agencies was hardly Rs. 200 to 300 whereas the average size of institutional loan was more than Rs. 1000.

The feature of the household economy in drought prone regions would call for a very different type of organizational design and strategies compared to the ones suitable for irrigated better endowed regions. In the next part, we would demonstrate some of the contradictions in addition to the ones illustrated above which has necessitated a reappraisal of public policy for backward regions with specific reference to the role of public enterprises.

Part II

Mismatch between Public Policy and Peasant Economy

I have argued recently that the role of public enterprises could be conceptualized with specific reference to those regions/spaces, sectors, and sections of society which cannot attract market forces on their own (Gupta 1982-e). The implication is that the classes of farmers who do not have surplus of the order that can attract markets (interested in recovering its cost with minimum effort & energy) would continue to remain disadvantaged as long as the state with biased policies does not increase their purchasing power as well as access to resources. Most of the growth oriented policies have considered answer to these problems as mere location

of industries or other such infrastructure in backward regions without looking necessarily into the links (backward and forward) of these industries with the resource, skills, and risk base of local people (Gupta 1984-f).

I will enumerate below some of the key contradictions in the way role of public enterprises has been visualised in various developing countries, particularly in India. The major thrust of the argument will be at two levels: conceptual contradictions and empirical illustrations. While there is no dearth of findings which demonstrate the hiatus between the role of public enterprises and their performance in backward regions vis-a-vis the expectations of planners of government, my argument would be that reasons of failure have been attributed to wrong causes. It is not surprising therefore to find that the emphasis was generally on training of public enterprise officials, providing them more autonomy, encouraging greater decentralization, improving horizontal and vertical coordination, improving personnel practices, making performance criteria more precise, etc. (Chaema 1982, Hope 1982) and improving accountability of PEs (Ruffat 1983). While one does not disagree with the contribution of many of these factors towards the failure of public enterprises in bridging regional disparities, these were not fundamental causes of imbalances.

I will first present conceptual contradictions followed by some illustrations.

1. The demand based organizations in regions having very feeble demand base

Most of the organizations patterned on western theory of organizations or in response to market forces emanating indigenously in various developing countries are designed to respond to 'articulated' need which often is confused with 'felt need'*. To put it more simply, the organizational design in irrigated regions can contend with the system where producers with certainty (i.e. with low or nil risk) in their farming system and general absence of large scale deficits (on the contrary there will be a fair degree of assurance about surpluses) can articulate their demand, get it registered with the institutions, and get their needs met without making much effort in generating these demands. In drought prone regions, on the contrary not only because population density is low but also because the scale and nature of operations being extremely eco-specific, the implication is that within a small region we would find a highly heterogeneous set of survival strategies chosen by various classes of farmers depending upon ecological endowment and historical access to the institutions. Therefore, not only that public enterprises cannot be demand-based, but will essentially

*One implication is that need felt but not articulated is not noted by such organizations. The result thus is a paradox: in backward regions, public enterprise managers complain that there was no demand (articulated) for their services. Perhaps what they also imply is that there was no need. How inaccurate this could be is quite obvious. The role of PEs in converting need into a demand cannot be overemphasized.

have to be supply-oriented. The supplies would have to conform to a high degree of heterogeneity of needs which would not become demand at the current level of deficit. With such basic differences in the pattern of resource market and human response, it is not surprising that most of the developmental programmes/projects fail to elicit sufficient response from the farmers in the regions where the scope for implementation should be highest.

2. The mobility patterns of pastoral communities interspersed with cultivators are also quite specific to ecological context. Whereas one could have a stationary organization which would conform to the sedentary nature of population as in irrigated regions, mobile organizations/facilities in regions with mobile population become a natural concomitant of matching organizational objectives with the people's expectations.

3. Dispersed population, historical deprivation, recurrent droughts, and high dependence of poor farmers on larger farmers, have blunted on one hand, their sensibilities and, on the other, reduced the scope of emergence of common identity of problems or challenges amongst the poor. In other words, articulation of protest often would be highly subdued and in fact easily diffused whenever it takes place because of lack of political access as well as very weak resource base (or holding on power).

There are some exceptions which are becoming apparent in the recent past one of the important being the issue of violence around grazing lands. I have recently documented (Gupta, 1983-g) the likelihood of large scale violence which could erupt in semi-arid regions on account of imbalances in the supply of and demand for dry fodder and also with increased hesitance of landlords to allow even dry fallow lands being grazed upon by the landless. The absence of protest, therefore, further underlines the need for public enterprises to use alternative methods of monitoring projects through participation of poorer people only so that absence of articulated feedback does not reduce their ability to adapt and improve their deliveries((Gupta 1981,b)

4. The growth center, theories apart from other contradictions, have often argued for location of facilities along the hierarchy of settlements. One of the most glaring distortions of this population-based resource allocative pattern is that often functionally unrelated services have got concentrated at the same location. For example, even though there is no direct relationship between veterinary facility or a cooperative store or a school, yet they have been located at the same place merely because different sectoral departments have worked out hierarchy of settlements using similar criteria and decided upon the same locations. While access of some people residing in these regions was considerably improved, people in the hinterland were made dependent on these people with the obvious implications for power imbalances. I have discussed

elsewhere (Gupta 1979a) how the dispersal process of location would distribute access advantage to different classes of people and the ensuing conflicts would settle at a lesser cost who should get what and when rather than relying on merely administrative procedures of monitoring.

There are many other contradictions in the way one conceptualizes the role of public enterprises and the way problems of poor in a backward region particularly drought prone regions, have emerged in the historical context. My argument is that the natural resources endowment had defined to a great extent not only the formation of the social structure and inequities on account of market penetration as well as colonial legacy but also the relationship between the traditional resources and emerging skills vis-a-vis risk bearing capacities of various classes of farmers. It required reconceptualization of the role that public enterprises can play in regional development in developing countries. It does not have to be mentioned that the skills required in many of the modern organizations/factories are of a considerably different nature than the skills available in hinterlands. Thus employment generated benefits the in-migrants from better endowed regions whose access to education and bureaucracy is better.

In the next part, I would give some alternative scenarios. Let me summarize before that some of the empirical illustrations about the contradictions between public enterprises and problems of backward regions.

1. Bank Branch Expansion Policy

Subsequent to the nationalization of banks in India, one of the objectives was to reduce regional imbalances and improve access of the poor to the credit delivery system. Originally, the objective was to provide a branch to every block of 20,000 people and subsequently the average was lowered to 17,000 people. Savas (1974) has argued that quality in performance is not independent of the ability of various constituents to avail of a facility offered vis-a-vis the frequency and the type of the facility required. It is interesting to note that even though formally need for credit interventions was conceived, first time after the Deccan Riots in the 1840s when the ledgers/books of moneylenders were burnt on the streets, the banking policy has not shown any distinctive bias towards backward regions as yet (Gupta 1983),h). It is obvious that 17,000 people in a high population density region can occupy much lesser space compared to the population density of 25-50 persons per square kilometer in backward regions. Even though the policy provided for location of at least one branch in every block of the country, it ignored that the size of a block and the fact that nature of the human settlement in backward regions was in striking contrast to the developed regions. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that financial institutions have reinforced if not aggravated the regional imbalances. The low credit absorption capacity and the time-frame in which institutions try to recover their investment without necessarily taking care of the risk leads to an situation where credit/deposit ratio tended to be very low in drought prone regions, particularly with a very low deposit base. While it is

true that extent of priority sector credit extended to backward regions does not have to be a function of local resource mobilisation, it is also true that the credit-deposit ratio is generally higher in the already-better endowed regions.

Even though one recognizes the inadequacy of this ratio as an indicator of resource absorption capacity of region, it cannot be denied that the policy with regard to repayment schedules, interest rates, or other terms and conditions did not distinguish at least in the commercial banking sector between developed and backward regions. In cooperatives there is indeed a provision for re-scheduling and rehabilitation of loans in the events of a natural calamity but lack of discrimination amongst the needy and not so needy ones often has proved to be counterproductive.

2. Under a national programme of dairy development, it has been shown that, barring a few districts, the greatest attention in the Phase I of the Operation Flood was paid towards already better endowed regions in terms of irrigation, green fodder, etc. The regions which had better livestock breeds and also larger proportion of the people dependent upon cattle as primary source of income were conspicuously neglected. The strategy in fact was to ensure success with minimum risks and in that sense it was an extension of the IADP/Green revolution strategy of "betting on best".

While it is understandable that multinationals or profit-oriented commercial organizations should in their anxiety to reduce their overheads and maximize their profit concentrate their

attention in best endowed regions, it is difficult to appreciate that a public enterprise having access to public resources should also reinforce rather than counteract the preference of market forces.

Another feature is the anomaly of viability norms, although in recent past these norms have been relaxed in backward regions. In some places milk collection is discontinued when the per k.m. cost of collecting milk increased beyond a particular limit. It is obvious that these norms should vary between different regions. Enterprises in backward regions should be enabled to meet the higher cost of collection so as to give impetus to livestock economy in backward regions. The answer obviously is not closure of non-commercially viable routes.

In one of the states, funds under drought prone area programme were, used to subsidize the transportation cost in such regions. In fact, my contention is that, rather than routing direct subsidies under programmes like IRDP which tend to have a very high degree of leakage and provide no solution to remove poverty, public enterprises involved in providing services in these regions should be subsidized to enabled them to become viable. It is often said that these enterprises should not make losses even in backward regions (Finance Minister's statement in the Times of India March 4, 1984). What is missed out is that the cost at which the enterprises provide services in these regions cannot be recovered by an equitable pricing system, a point explained below.

3. Many public enterprises provide services at the same rate to poor members as well as rich member despite the fact that frequency of use is much more at the level of bigger farmers. It is important, therefore, to note that so called equality in pricing has shifted resources from the poor to the rich and which should be avoided scrupulously.* Those who can afford to pay market cost must be encouraged to pay so that those who cannot pay the market cost could also be enabled to get the services. The problem is much more acute in the case of cash crop regions where, despite abundant state subsidies, access to cheap credit, and other support from public enterprises, rich farmers are not charged at a discriminately higher level compared to the poor farmers for any of the services.

One of the key parameters by which developmental nature of public enterprises in backward regions can be appraised is by looking at the way the enterprises has allocated surpluses accruing from value addition to various diversification plans. For example, what share of value addition went towards dividends, what was invested in diversification towards those activities which helped the rich members and what proportion was used to insure the risk of the poor have to be closely evaluated. Many public enterprises, characteristically patterned on the agri-business model of linking viable

*This happened because all the poolers in the cooperative enterprise contributed towards the value addition but the benefits out of the services created flowed more towards the rich.

producers in viable regions with viable firms though vertical integration, have created similar distortions in society which were created by multinational corporations or private sector agribusiness firms.

The contradictions in the role of public enterprises in the backward regions cannot therefore be removed by merely adding greater accountability and transparency as far as its performance is concerned towards the various constituents in a non-discriminative manner (Ruffart 1983). There is a need to be explicitly biased in a manner that public enterprises do not subsidize those who can bear the cost of services. One of the most recent cases of such distortion is that of the 'training and visit system of agricultural extension'. Despite clear-cut evidence about the fact that surplus farmers in low risky regions always manage to seek technology wherever it is available, the T & V System has tried to reduce the cost to these farmers seeking this technology. It is quite ironical, therefore, that a model evolved in command area development projects where all factors of production are favourable is being replicated in drought prone regions without any modification.

It is also ignored that a village level worker in regions with high density of population is expected to cover 800 families and in backward regions where this number of families would be spread over a much larger area, coverages norms are same. Thus, the regions where need for technological improvement is higher, allocation of public resources is lesser because of uniform criteria. It is difficult to assume that above contradictions are not known to the

planners. In the last part, we would enumerate some of the alternatives which are emerging in this direction.

Part III

1. Linking Risk, Resources and Skills of marginal population with modern management instruments.

Recently in an experimental design in Karnataka (KCST/IIS/IIM-B), a very innovative attempt has been made. Sisal plantation on a large tract of government wasteland is proposed to be taken up by landless labourers who would buy the equity of a processing plant being set by a network of concerned social and pure scientists and administrators. Workers would forego part of their wages so that over a period of time they became owners of the enterprise. Certain aspects not included or highlighted in the experiment but quite relevant nevertheless could still be mentioned.

a) Traditionally sisal processing has been done by low caste people and thus chances of high caste rich farmers/workers infiltrating the programme are less.

b) The skill upgradation of workers will have to be simultaneously attempted to prevent the possibility of all the high salary jobs becoming available from the workers' efforts being pre-empted by outside trained elite. Historically, access to higher education has been quite inequitable. Thus skills of technical, managerial, accounting, monitoring types will have to simultaneously evolve so that leadership from amongst the workers would emerge without necessarily destro-

ying the solidarity of their class. It is a very delicate and complicated process because all the odds appear to be against this possibility. Surveillance mechanism and consultative processes together with salary structure which do not downgrade some so-called inferior skills would have to be thought of.

c) Modern management theory is based on deskilling which emphasizes and institutionalizes the control of managerial class over working class. The innovative potential of workers is enormous as demonstrated by Michael Cooley in Alternative Lucas Corporation and allied experiments. We have several examples in our own country. However, skill specialization threatens the position of managers whose skills are mental and not menial/manual. While it is possible to speculate a situation where managers sought guidance from a iterative (vertically and not merely horizontally) leadership comprising representatives from various tiers/sections of an enterprise, an exact model remains to be developed. Perhaps, governments might oppose such a design most because it would transfer power from so called representatives of the people to the people themselves. But such a fear is not a sufficient reason by itself to preclude experimentation.

2. It is necessary that in backward regions a different design of inter-organizational arrangements is sought which could reinforce the networking potential of backward communities. I have argued elsewhere that one reason for mismatch between public enterprises and their context in backward regions is the heavy reliance on intra-organizational variables. Such a bias is a direct legacy of western

organizational theory where corporate culture implies subjugation of society to market forces. In developing countries, an alternative scenario must emerge. Regions, sectors and, sections of society which do not attract market forces must be the focus of public enterprise. The State, rather than reinforcing the market forces must counteract it; how else can the imbalances be bridged?

Lastly, I must add that there is a need for an intensive dialogue amongst a very miniscule minority of professionals for whom this subject is a valid concern. Such causes never attract the public attention in any big way because they cut at the very root of the elitist basis of social structure. And yet, for how long could we assume that people in backward regions will not protest or palliatives like public works/food for work would diffuse the simmering tensions!

(It is a preliminary draft and critical and ruthless comments are invited. Any other source of literature, experiment or instance which could sharpen the arguments may also please be mentioned.)

Select Bibliography

Arndt, H.W.; Economic development: A Semantic history, Economic Development and Cultural Change, 1981, 457-466

Dharadwaj Krishna 1979, Macroeconomic Framework for Planning: Indian Case, Journal of Manchester School.

Bennett, R.J., Geography and Public administration, Paper presented at 29th International Congress of Administrative Sciences, West Berlin, Sept. 1983.

Cheema, G.S. The organization and management of public enterprises: For regional development in Asia, Public Enterprises, 1982, 2, 21-36

Kitching, G.N. On the policies of development studies. Occasional Paper No.3. Centre for Development Studies, University College of Swansea, March, 1977

Gupta, A.K. Social Effects of rural projects monitoring through people participation. International Review of Administrative Sciences, 1981 (pp

--- A note on internal resource management in arid regions, small farmers: Credit constraints: A paradigm. Agricultural Systems (U.K) 1981 b, 7, 157-161 (C)

--- A perspective for micro-level intervention, transformation of sectors into access space: A critique of growth centre model of decentralized development. Mimeo 1979 (a)

--- Why poor people don't cooperate? A study of traditional forms of cooperation with implications for modern organizations. Draft paper presented at the IVth International Conference of the Management Institutes' working Group on Social Development Management, Ahmedabad, Jan. 23-27, 1984 (f)

--- Designing Developmental Organizations: Search for an Indian theory, IIM Working paper No. 444, 1982. Included in International Congress of Administrative Sciences, Berlin, Sept. 1983.(c)

--- Viable projects for unviable farmers. An action research enquiry into the structures and process of rural poverty in arid regions. Paper presented at the Symposium on Rural Development in South Asia, IUAES, Inter-Congress, Amsterdam 1981 C.(d)

- Credit Arrangements for drought prone regions: Policy Prescriptions and Planners reactions. IIM Working Paper 1983 (h)
- Impoverishment in Drought prone Regions: A view from within. IIM/SDC/NABARD Study report, Mimeo, 1983 (i)
- Dynamics of Access Differential in Semi-arid Regions (A note discussing issue concerning violence around grazing lands), invited paper for symposium on Technological Improvements in Rangelands, part of 2nd International Rangeland Congress, Adelaide.

Holland, S. Capital versus the regions. London: The Macmillan Press 1976.

Hope, K.R. Improving Public enterprise management in developing countries. *Journal of General Management*, 1982, 7, 72-85

Ruffat, J. Strategic management of public and non-market corporations. *Long Range Planning*, 1983, 16, 74-84.

Savas, E.S. On Equity in providing public services. EKISTICS May/June 1979, 276, 144-148

Staveren, J.M. Van and Dusseldrop, D.B.W.M. Van, Framework for Regional Planning in Developing Countries. Wageningen: International Institute for Land Reclamation and Improvement, 1980.

Higgins Benjamin 1978, Development Poles: do they exist? in *Growth Pole Strategy and Regional Development Policy*. ed. by FU Chen Co and Kumar Salih, pp 229-242, Pergamon Press, USA

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Dr. Alberto Mortara for inviting me to present my views on alternative perspectives on development with respect to cooperatives and public enterprises in backward regions in XV CIRIEC Congress. His encouraging comments enabled me to crystalize my own thoughts in the matter.