CHAPTER – 3

GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMMES FOR
ERADICATING POVERTY

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After Independence the Government of India and the State Governments formulated policies and programmes for eradication of poverty. Various exercises were done over the years in determining the extent of poverty in India in general and rural poverty in particular. The study conducted in 1970 by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) on poverty in Gujarat determined that at 1968-69 prices 44.76 per cent out of 2.11 crores of the total estimated rural population of Gujarat were below the poverty line. It further indicated that out of the rural poor 30 per cent lived below the line of destitution and amongst them 27 per cent come under the category of severe destitution. It further showed that 35.6 per cent of the rural population in the state had per capita annual income upto Rs. 180 per annum (Rs. 15 per month) and 56.36 per cent had income upto Rs. 240 per annum (Rs. 20 per month) at 1968-69 prices. Only 8.04 per cent of rural population had an income of more than Rs. 240 per annum.¹

"A study on poverty in Gujarat was also conducted in 1977 by the State Directorate of Economics and Statistics. It was based on the consumer expenditure data. It showed that approximately 63.47 per cent of the State rural population lived below the per capita monthly expenditure of Rs. 55 at 1973-74 prices which has been taken as the poverty line or had an annual income of Rs. 3300 at 1973-74 prices for a family of 5 persons."²

"The results of these two studies show different levels of rural poverty in the state of Gujarat. The conclusion reached in these studies are not comparable because data in these two studies has been used in different ways for computing income or consumption levels. Further time reference is also different in these studies. These studies however, show that there is an extent of rural population which is living below consumption levels."³

Economic growth in India after Independence has been governed by centralised planning at the national level. Some specific schemes aimed at helping certain
specified categories of the poorer sections of rural community were included as part of the national plans. In Gujarat, main schemes aiming towards the betterment of the poor were as follows:

- Antyodaya
- Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)
- Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM)
- Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)
- National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)
- Land Reforms
- Twenty Point Programme
- Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers (MFAL).
- Special Animal Husbandry Programme
- Rural Works Programme/Drought Prone Area Programme
- Desert Development Programme
- Tribal Area Development Programme
- Rural Growth Centres
- Samagra Gram Vikas
- Minimum Needs Programme
- Regional Rural Banks.

These schemes can be broadly divided into two categories. One those which are directly related to the eradication of poverty and two those which are indirectly related for eradication of poverty in Gujarat. Those which are directly related to the eradication of poverty in Gujarat, are described below:
3.1 Antyodaya

The term 'Antyodaya' means "upliftment of the last man in the row". As the term signifies, the programme was meant for the poorest amongst the poor in the rural area of the State. It was a centrally sponsored scheme started in 1977. This is the programme which had more practical approach towards the eradication of poverty than any of the earliest programmes. It made a complete departure from earlier strategies as the Government had assumed direct responsibility for the economic upliftment of the poor on individual family basis. For devising the profile of programme under Antyodaya, a pilot study was conducted initially in five districts. Five villages were selected in each district with the help of Gram Sabhas, the poorest were identified. A programme for their uplift was devised. The pilot enquiry revealed that the poorest families were without land. Their per capita monthly income was below Rs. 20 per month. In a few cases per capita income exceeded Rs. 20 but it was invariably below Rs. 30 per month which is half of what a family on the poverty line should normally have. The Antyodaya programme envisaged the economic development of the poorest of the poor families in selected villages of the state through self-employment, wage employment and old age pensions.

Raj Krishna mentioned four features of the Antyodaya approach in his forwarding note which deserved special emphasis. First, under this approach poverty did not remain a statistical abstraction. The poor family was identified as a concrete reality. Second, emphasis was placed on the delivery of productive assets so that the poor family began to get regular income from self-employment. Third, the administration went out to identify and assist the poor people, instead of waiting for the poor to come for assistance. Fourth, the criterion of identification was purely economic (income below the poverty line computed at Rs. 3600 per family per year in Gujarat). All these features were commendable and were different from the earlier practices.

Thus following special features distinguished Antyodaya from other programmes aimed at betterment of the poor in Gujarat:

(i) Criterion of selection was poverty only;
An extremely important feature of the programme was the complete absence of regional disparity which generally was an unintended effect of the other programmes of economic development. The impact of the benefits would be uniformly felt in all the 33,000 villages of the State, because at least one family from each village would be included for help under the programme;

The process of coverage started from the bottom and goes upward. The poorest were therefore, helped first and the focus was on the family and not on a group or a class of people. In Antyodaya man was the supreme consideration;

It brought qualitative change in the basic approach adopted for identification of the poor. For the first time the Government machinery, voluntary agencies and financing institutions identified the poorest families right at their doorsteps.


The following criteria were prescribed for identification of the Antyodaya families.\textsuperscript{11}

- Families having no economic assets like cattle or other investible property and having no person in the age group 15-59 years capable of economic activity due to infirmity, disability or old age were identified.

- Families having no economic assets as above but having one or more persons capable of economic activity whose annual per capita family earning did not exceed Rs. 100 per month or Rs. 1200 per year for a family of five persons. Generally families of landless labourers and artisans etc. fell in this category.

- Families of landless labourers and artisans etc. whose annual earnings ranged between Rs. 1200 and Rs. 1800 for a family of five persons were included in the programme.

- Families which had some land and other assets but were below the poverty line \textit{i.e.} below a per capita consumption level of Rs. 55 per month were included.
The following financial assistance was included under the Antyodaya Programme:

- **Old age pension:** The Antyodaya families having no economic asset and with no person in the family capable of economic activity due to infirmity, disability or old age were to be covered under the old age pension scheme of the state government. The rates of the pension were Rs. 30 per month for a single person and Rs. 40 per month for a couple. These rates were subsequently raised to Rs. 40 per month and Rs. 60 per month for single and couple respectively.

- **Land allotment:** The surplus land available as a result of the operation of land ceiling law or otherwise was to be given free on a priority basis to the Antyodaya families. It was also decided by the state Government that such Antyodaya families as were willing to migrate to Gujarat canal works for wage employment should be allotted irrigated land under Gujarat canal project command area provided they continued to work there for two years or more against payment. Possibility was also being examined for giving subsidy or reducing the cost of land to such allottees by extending the period of repayment.

- **Wage employment:** Wage employment to Antyodaya families was offered on the Gujarat canal project public works, mines, large scale industries, village forestry, etc. The Government issued orders to all departments to make available on a priority basis, employment opportunities to the families identified under the Antyodaya Programmes.

- **Loan for self-employment:** The following were included in this category:
  
  (a) **Agriculture and land development:** The Antyodaya families owning land were to be assisted according to the normal pattern of SFDA or DPAP project by way of subsidy for the purchase of fertilizers, agricultural implements, storage bins for foodgrain, bullocks, bullock carts, camel/camel-carts etc. Credit for development of land was also to be provided to the allottees of Government lands. For this a provision of 25 per cent subsidy to small farmers and 33.5 per
cent subsidy of the loan amount to marginal farmers through SFDA/DPAP projects was made.

(b) **Minor irrigation:** Loans and assistance for minor irrigation schemes were to be given to those Antyodaya families which were included in the categories of small or marginal farmers. The loan assistance was however, to be limited to the digging of well or for purchase of pump-sets only.

(c) **Milch cattle:** Provision for loans for the purchase of two cows/buffaloes unit with subsidy on the pattern on SFDA/DPAP was to be made in the areas covered by dairy schemes or where marketing arrangements for milk were available.

(d) **Sheep unit loan or assistance:** For providing a herd of thirty sheep and one ram on the pattern of special animal husbandry programme was made available in the areas covered under this programme.

(e) **Goat unit:** A unit of ten goats were to be made available to these families, who wanted to pursue goat rearing. Although this programme was not covered under Central SFDA, in case of state SFDA projects subsidy was given.

(f) **Poultry:** Poultry units were to be provided to Antyodaya families only in those areas where egg marketing facilities were available. There was great potential for developing this programme in some of the districts.

(g) **Village and cottage industries:** The pattern of assistance available and subsidy to be provided to Antyodaya families for various small scale/tiny cottage industries was worked out with a view to generating employment opportunities. Government also decided to subsidise the entire cost of charkha for spinning yarn. An effective linkage between Khadi Board and the implementing agency had been worked out.

The Antyodaya programme was implemented in all the districts of the State covering all the blocks and villages therein. During the first year 1.60 lakh families were identified whereas the targets for the second round was 1.40 lakh families. On the basis of annual projections to cover nearly 6 lakh families during 5 years, the
government of Gujarat had envisaged an total investment in order of Rs. 187 crores during the plan period. It was also envisaged that the current special schemes like SFDA, DPAP, DPA, etc. were to be fully integrated with the Antyodaya programme for providing subsidy to the selected families.

Besides the above, tailoring, basket making, niwar weaving, mats and bangle making and petty shop-keeping were the other small/cottage industry covered under the Antyodaya Programme. The programme went well in Kheda district.

The Antyodaya programme had very short life. It was discontinued in 1980. However, the core of the programme continued under different names after 1980. These are as under:

**3.2 Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)**

Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) primarily relates to the unified or integrated approach for the socio-economic development of the rural communities. It is designed to eradicate rural poverty and generate more income especially for the poor sections of the rural society. The basic idea is that operationally integrated strategy for the development is so designed as it may help in increasing production and productivity both in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors in the rural areas. Any development strategy which aims at improving the lot of the rural poor must create productive assets for them. Improving the productivity of land by providing access to inputs like water, improved seeds and fertilizers would be an essential step to help the rural poor who own some land to fall back upon processing and manufacturing activities based on local resources will also have to be identified and fully exploited. Development of appropriate skills and vocational opportunities backed effectively by the required services assume specific significance for IRDP.

The main objective of the IRDP was to bring rural families in the identified target groups above the poverty line and to create substantial opportunities of employment for these people in the rural sector through productive programmes at block level. The main thrust of IRDP was to transfer or (to make available) productive assets and thus broaden the resource base of the poorest of the poor rural families. The IRDP aimed at integration of five major sectors viz, (i) agriculture including animal husbandry, fishery, forestry and horticulture (ii)
village, cottage and small industries (iii) tertiary sector which would cover artisans and the requirements of skilled workers in several rural activities (iv) employment in various services that were necessary for the achievement of production and distribution in the fields of comprehensive agriculture and rural industries and (v) labour mobilisation, training in skills and organised mobility to tie up labour with opportunity.

Under the IRD Programme, the emphasis was on the weaker sections of the society consisting of small and marginal farmers, share croppers, agricultural and non-agricultural labourers, rural artisans, and families belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who were below the poverty line.  

**Operational Strategy of IRDP**

The main elements of the operational strategy of IRDP are as under:

- A five year development profile should be drawn up for each district and disaggregated into blocks, based on practical possibilities of development in all sectors. The plan so formulated provides the framework of action for the relevant schemes of development in each sector;

- Preparation of a specific agricultural extension strategy for the small and marginal farmers;

- A special programme of assistance for the households of the rural poor is to be drawn up by identifying those who are below the poverty line. A household rather than individual approach is to be followed with the objective of economic upliftment of the household through a package of activities involving all working members;

- In the identification of families below the poverty line village council (Gram Sabha) should be involved and identification done in a manner which would ensure that only those belonging to the target group are included into the programme;

- Preparation of a blue print for exploiting the available potential in the secondary and tertiary sectors, spelling out linkages for training and marketing for each block specifically for target group identified for assistance;
A suitable mechanism is to be developed to secure representation of the poor in the implementing agencies at the district and block levels to facilitate better planning and implementation of the programme;

The credit plan for the district/block should be prepared taking into account the total credit needs of the area and specifically indicating the credit requirements of the target groups;

The programme is to be implemented through a single agency in each district called District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) ensuring adequate autonomy to it so that the agency can formulate and implement the programmes effectively. The agency must be fully backed by support from various concerned departments at the district level;

Block organisation should be the field level agency for implementation of IRDP; and

IRDP has been conceived essentially as an anti-poverty programme. This objective could be achieved by enabling the poorest of the poor families to acquire productive assets, technology and skill as would make their economic activities viable. At the same time an attempt should also be made to provide social services like health, education and housing to them. The household-centred poverty alleviation strategy will thus consist of steps not only for the economic emancipation of the family but also for the education of the children, health and welfare of the vulnerable members, adoption of small family norm etc., ultimately improving the quality of life of the rural poor.”

The concept of Integrated Rural Development Programme was first mooted in the central budget of 1976-77. The central Government took up this programme during 1978-79. The programme was extended to cover the whole country with effect from October 2, 1980, on uniform basis. The IRDP was imbues with new orientation of ameliorating poverty and of bringing the identified poor families above the poverty line following an Antyodaya approach. The programme also laid emphasis on formulation of block/cluster

* Indian Rural Problems, Ashok Narang, Murari Lal & Sons, New Delhi, 2006, p. 204.
plan based on systematic identification of poor families and selection of appropriate activities for them. For example, Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) provided subsidy and bank credit for various types of vocations but insisted on monitoring and evaluating the income generation process to ensure incremental income for the beneficiaries.

In Gujarat, the IRD Programme was launched in all the 236 blocks with effect from October 2, 1980. The programme content under IRDP included individual beneficiary schemes, infrastructure development, and support to credit institutions. Families having an annual per capita income of less than Rs. 4000—were to be identified and assisted during the Sixth Five Year Plan.14 By October 2, 1980, all the blocks of district Kheda were covered under IRD Programme. The status of Kheda district in terms of benefitted families in Gujarat under the IRD Programme has been varying in different years.

This programme has gradually become more and more popular in Gujarat including Kheda district as more and more families availed of the facilities year after year offered under this programme. It further revealed that although the number of benefitted families increased during 1979-80 to 1981-82 years in the district Kheda their percentage decreased especially in year 1981-82 as compared to the previous year.

During the middle of 1982 Anand was not carved out of Kheda district as a separate district. The number of benefitted families decreased during the period 1982-83 to 1984-85 in Kheda district but their percentage increased in the year 1984-85 as compared to the year 1983-84.

In the recent past several evaluation studies of IRDP have been conducted. In these studies, an attempt has been made to as certain the extent of income generation through the provision of assets. The main findings of these studies are as under:

There are four evaluation studies of the IRDP with an all India coverage. According to these four evaluation studies, it is estimated that the number of persons that have crossed the poverty line would not exceed 40 per cent of those assisted though the individual studies give figures ranging from 17 per cent in the case of Reserve Bank
of India study to 49.4 per cent in the case of programme evaluation organisation (Planning Commission) study. Although the studies also point out that additional incomes had accrued in the case of 55 to 90 per cent of the beneficiaries, considering that only 40 per cent of the beneficiaries had crossed the poverty line, the general conclusion that emerges is that the impact of the programme has not been satisfactory and there is a need to make the IRDP more effective. These studies also identify the following two specific shortcomings of the programme:

(1) There was wrong identification of the beneficiaries to the extent of 15 to 20 per cent at an all India level though this ranged from 47 per cent to 70 per cent in different states. This shortcoming has been treated as one of the major shortcomings of the IRDP.

(2) The selection of activities was wrongly done without any consideration being given to the ability of the beneficiaries, differences in infrastructural support, backward and forward linkages, etc. As a result all these activities cannot be called viable. These thus affect the impact of the programme.

In addition, there are seven evaluation studies of the IRDP conducted in Gujarat. According to these, it is estimated that the number of persons that have crossed the poverty line would not exceed 40 per cent of those assisted though the individual studies give figures ranging from 35 per cent in the case of the HCM state study to 40 per cent in the case of IDS study. These figures, however, need to be accepted with caution due to widely differing methodologies for evaluation adopted. Thus, main conclusions of these evaluation studies conducted in Gujarat are the same as the one conducted at all India level.

Recently, Bagchee reviewed the main Poverty Alleviation Programmes in the rural sector in the light of the experience in implementing them in the Sixth Plan. According to him, these programmes suffer primarily from a lack of conceptual clarity and an inadequate understanding of the complex nature of the environment in which they have to be implemented. He suggests that the programme design needs to be reviewed, taking into account the implications of the environmental factors and assessing the capacity of the administrative machinery that is available.
3.3 Strategies for Poverty Alleviation

While under the IRDP all households with a total annual income of less than Rs. 3500 or an annual per capita income of less than Rs. 700 are treated as poor, no further attempt has been made to segment the group in terms of common characteristics/features and their requirements.

It is in this context that Hirway's distinction between the two categories of the poor, namely, those who have some skill, education, or enterprise and can take up self-employment and those who possess neither of these and cannot take up any activity becomes important. As stated by her, each category requires to be treated separately by suitable policy measures; the former through provision of assets for self-employment as they are 'credit worthy' and the latter through wage employment.

Rath also criticized the existing strategy of poverty alleviation and has advocated that a programme of creating wage-employment on a massive scale should form a central element in the strategy on the ground that the transfer of assets approach of the IRDP is largely misconceived. The major reasons for this, according to him, are that the "poorest of the poor" approach is not realistic as these households are the least capable of self-employment and also because the economy does not have adequate productive assets for distribution among the poor. Moreover, in his view, the subsidy element gives scope for corruption and has, on the other hand, increased the indebtedness of the poor.

However, Dantwala and Hirway both feel that Rath lays too much emphasis on the role of wage employment in the strategy of poverty alleviation. While the former is of the view that this will lead to the total dependence of the poor on the employers, the latter states that such an approach ignores the fact that self-employment is a major form of employment in the rural economy. Moreover, they both feel that Rath in his advocacy of wage-employment tends to ignore the malpractices that occur in rural employment programmes and also the fact that they accentuate the gap between the rich and the poor by strengthening the asset base of those who are relatively better off.

As overall reading of the Seventh Five Year Plan document leads one to surmise that the basic emphasis is on the generation of productive employment rather than the
alleviation of poverty which was the primary objective of the Sixth Five Year Plan. The programme for poverty alleviation should be regarded as supplementing the basic plan for overall economic growth in terms of generating productive assets and skilled as well as earnings of the poor\textsuperscript{21}.

In short, the Seventh Plan's reading on the situation is that the failure of these programmes is basically due to the administrative weaknesses and is not due to any shortcomings in the programme design. It can therefore, be concluded that the change in strategy required is in the organisational domain and that by merely affecting these changes it would be possible to provide necessary forward and backward linkages and assist all the poor households to cross the poverty line. Though the Seventh Plan professes to remove the gaps and weaknesses that have come to light while implementing the programme, the changes that it proposes to bring about in the case of IRDP are surprising.

The major change that has been affected in the programme is that the poverty line has now been cut off at Rs. 6,400 per annum for a household instead of the earlier limit of Rs. 3,500 (or Rs. 700 per capita income). However, since the programme will continue to aim at the poorest of the poor, the operating limit for identifying the households for assistance has been fixed at Rs. 4,800 and 10 million beneficiaries will in all be assisted. Further, while the subsidy ceilings fixed for different categories of beneficiaries would remain the same, the average subsidy is to be stepped up from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,333 thus allowing a capital investment level of Rs. 4,000.

Another important step proposed in the Seventh Plan is that a supplemental dose of assistance is to be given to those households who though were assisted during the Sixth Plan but were unable to cross the poverty line due to inadequate assistance. These households are to be given assistance on an average at the rate of Rs. 500 per household. The Seventh Plan also proposes certain specific measures relating to the organization of beneficiaries in order to increase their awareness, reduce the changes of wrong identification and improve linkages which need to be discussed. Thus the Seventh Plan also proposes to take up group-oriented activities through Cooperatives, registered societies and informal groups to overcome the limited absorption capacity of the poorest households and provide them with economies of scale as well as bargaining power.
3.4 Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM)

A national scheme for Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) was initiated by the Central Government in July, 1979. The main thrust of the scheme is equipping the rural youth with necessary skills and technological know-how to enable them to seek self-employment. Only youth belonging to the families of the target groups of small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, rural artisans and others below the poverty line and in the age group of 18-35 years were eligible under the scheme.

TRYSEM now forms part of the IRDP and aims at training two lakhs rural youth every year at the rate of 40 youth per block in the country. Training is one item in a package of services made available for them under the scheme. The scheme envisages organisational and operational linkages with other institutions so that supporting services, like credit, marketing, supply of raw material design development etc, are also provided to the trainees at the appropriate time, Kheda and Anand districts were covered under this programme.

3.5 Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)

The scheme of Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme was introduced by the Government of India from 15th August 1983. The main objectives of this scheme are (a) improving and expanding employment opportunities for the rural landless labourers with a view to provide guarantee of employment to at least one member of every landless household upto 100 days in a year; and (b) creating durable assets for strengthening the infrastructure as to meet the growing requirements of the rural economy. A total outlay of Rs. 500,00 crores to be fully financed by the Central Government was provided for implementation of this programme in the Sixth Five Year Plan.

This programme to be supposed to have resulted in the creation of a large number of durable community assets and economic infrastructure in the rural areas at the end of the Sixth Five Year Plan. The programme has however, been extended during the Seventh Five Year Plan with same objectives. Kheda and Anand districts have been covered under this programme.
3.6 National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)

For creating additional employment opportunities in rural areas as also for strengthening the infrastructure for rural development, a scheme known as the Food for Work Programme (FFWP) was launched by the Government of India towards the end of the year 1976-77. It was also the year during which there were insufficient rains in the entire country. The main infrastructure among works taken up consisted of soil and moisture conservation, flood protection, maintenance of existing roads and laying of new links, construction and improvement of irrigation facilities, construction of (i) panchayat ghars, (ii) school buildings, (iii) medical and health centres and improvement of sanitation and hygienic conditions in rural areas.

This scheme was modified and restructured and was remained as the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) which was a part of the Sixth Five Year Plan strategy of rural development.

The NREP was initially launched in October, 1980 on an ad hoc basis but from April 1981 it became a regular programme. The programme was expected to generate additional gainful employment in the rural areas, to the extent of 300-400 million man-days per annum create durable community assets, improve nutritional status; and living standards of the poor. Under this programme, development projects and target group oriented employment generation projects were inter-twined. Employment was viewed as an integral component of development ensuring that, both in concept and implementation, employment and development become catalyst of each other.

A major step was taken in 1983-84 when it was decided to subsidise the cost of the foodgrains to be distributed in the form of wages under this programme. Subsidy between 0.37 paise to 0.40 paise per kg. was provided for wheat and rice to be distributed under the programme. Kheda and Anand districts were covered under this programme.

In the Seventh Five Year Plan the NREP has been included as an important component of the anti-poverty strategy. This will have to be viewed as an integral part of the total package, which would imply that an effort will have to be made to direct and monitor the wage employment opportunities accruing to the poor identified for
assistance under the IRDP. The same principle of choosing the labour intensity projects, their capacity to provide reasonably long spells of employment during implementation, capacity to create a base for productive assets endowment and capacity for filling gaps in vital infrastructure were to be selected.

Evaluation of the programmes has been undertaken both at state as well as national level. Hirway evaluated implementation of the NREP in Gujarat. In the case of the RLEGP, which is much more recent programme the only study conducted is by the Punjab State Institute of Public Administration.

The main conclusion that these studies have reached in is that the case of NREP while it provides short term employment has not been effective as it has failed to provide a long term and continuous employment. As Hirway points out the programme has neither led to any significant increase in the employment of the individual workers nor in his level of living, which was the primary objective of the programme.

The ILO survey noted that on the sample projects the average employment provided per person was for 51 and 55 days in Gujarat and Karnataka respectively and that NREP employment contributed around 24 per cent of the total income of the sample households.

Hirway is of the view that the reduced impact is due to the fact that no systematic efforts were made to assess the nature and extent of unemployment and plan the works on this basis so that continuous employment is available to the poor.

In addition the long term goal of employment programmes, namely, the rehabilitation of the poor in the mainstream of the economy by increasing its labour absorbing capacity through creation of durable and productive assets also does not seem to be capable being achieved under the NREP. The main reason of these shortcomings, according, to Hirway, is the poor design of the programme on the one hand and the administrative constraints and weaknesses on the other.

The RLEGP is similar to the NREP insofar as the programme design and the mode of implementation both are concerned. Though the RLEGP has the objective of guaranteeing employment upto one hundred days in a year to one member of every rural landless labour household this objective is yet to be achieved. Thus, the
shortcomings that prevail in respect of the RLEGPs are basically those which have been noted in the context of the NREP. For instance in the study of the RLEGPs in Punjab one points out that only five per cent of the workers employed had worked for 100 days or more though 82 per cent of them were from families identified as belonging to those below the poverty line. In addition the authors also found that the same deficiencies viz. weaknesses in the planning process, lack of integration, selection of projects without investigating feasibility etc. were present in the programme.

3.7 Land Reforms

Land Reforms have been recognised to constitute a vital element both in terms of the anti-poverty strategy and for modernisation and increased productivity in agriculture. Redistribution of land could provide a permanent asset base for a large number of rural landless poor for taking up land-based and other supplementary activities. Similarly consolidation of holdings, tenancy regulation and updating of land records, would widen the access of small and marginal landholders to improved technology and inputs and thereby directly lead to increase and agricultural production.

A land reforms policy with a five fold objective was continued in the Sixth Five Year Plan. The objective envisaged (I) abolition of intermediary tenures; (ii) tenancy reforms aimed at security of tenure, regulation opened and conferring of ownership rights on tenants; (iii) ceiling on land holdings and distribution of surplus land; (iv) consolidation of holdings; and (v) compilation and updating of land records.

The scheme for financial assistance to the assigness of ceiling surplus land is to be continued during the Seventh Five Year Plan. Since land as an endowed is only first stage of productive self-employment for a large section of the poverty group, close linkages will have to forged with IRDP and other rural development programmes so that assigness of ceiling and other lands are given priority in identification and their performance monitored separately. Kheda and Anand districts were covered under this programme.
3.8 Twenty Point Programme

The late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi in a broadcast to the Nation on 14th January, 1982 spelled out a new national moto 'Shram Eva Jayte in addition to "Satyamev Jayate", appealing to the people for their whole hearted cooperation in making the 20-point programme a success. The late Prime Minister described the programme as "An agenda for the Nation" and remarked that it pinpointed areas of special thrust which would show immediate tangible results for various segments of the economy.

The items included under the 20-point programme were as under:

(1) Increase in the irrigation potential and provision of inputs for dry land agriculture,
(2) Special efforts to increase the production of pulses, vegetables and oilseeds.
(3) Strengthening and expanding coverage of Integrated Rural Development and National Rural Employment Programmes.
(4) Strict implementation of agricultural land ceilings and distribution of surplus lands.
(5) Review and effective enforcement of minimum wages for agricultural labour.
(6) Rehabilitation of the bonded labour.
(7) Accelerated programmes for the development of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.
(8) Supply of drinking water to all villages.
(9) Allotment of house sites to rural families and construction assistance to them.
(10) Improving the environment of slums and house-building schemes for economically weaker sections, measures to arrest unwarranted increase in land prices.
(11) Maximisation of power generation and electrification of all villages.
(12) Vigorous implementation of afforestation, social and farm forestry and the development of bio-gas and other alternative energy sources.
(13) Promotion of family planning on a voluntary basis as a people's movement.
(14) Substantial augmentation of universal primary health care facilities and control of leprosy, tuberculosis and blindness.
(15) Accelerated welfare programme for women and children, nutrition programmes of pregnant women, nursing mothers and children, specially in the tribal, hill and backward areas.

(16) Spread of universal elementary education for children in the 6-14 age group with special emphasis on girls and involvement of students and voluntary agencies in removal of adult illiteracy.

(17) Expansion of the public distribution system, supply of textbooks and exercise books to students on a priority basis of promotion of a strong consumer protection movement.

(18) Liberalisation of investment procedure and streamlining of industrial policies to ensure timely completion of projects providing all facilities to handicrafts, handloom, small and village industries to update their technologies.

(19) Continued strict action against smugglers, hoarders and tax evaders and checking black-money; and

(20) Improvement in the working of public sector enterprises.

Under 20-point programme looked above it will be seen that most of these programmes relate to rural development activities which are to support and help the village communities in their overall socio-economic development in a big way. Kheda and Anand districts were covered under this programme.

There are various schemes which are being implemented by the Government of India aiming indirectly at the eradication of poverty in Gujarat. These are as follows:

3.9 **Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers (MFAL)**

The Government of India launched the special programmes of Small Farmers Development Agency and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers in the Fourth Five Year Plan with a view to ensure that the benefit of development programmes reach the small cultivators and other under-privileged sections of the rural population. Under these centrally sponsored programmes agricultural labourers were trained with modern technology so that they could raise their standard of living. Kheda and Anand districts were covered under this programme.
3.10 Special Animal Husbandry Programme

This programme was launched during Sixth Five Year Plan and is aimed at improving the economic condition of small marginal farmers and agricultural labourers by persuading them to engage themselves in subsidiary occupations like sheep breeding, piggery, poultry farming and cross-breed calf-rearing and thereby supplement their income. In fact this scheme has proved to be the most beneficial scheme for the enhancement of the income of the rural poor so far. But it has limited impact as the scheme covers a limited number of districts/parts of the districts. In Gujarat. Sheep breeding is in operation in 10 districts, poultry and piggery in 2 each and cross-breed calf-rearing in 7 districts of Gujarat. Unfortunately Kheda and Anand districts were not covered under this scheme.

3.11 Rural Works Programme/Drought Prone Area Programme

The main objective of the Rural Works Programme (RWP) was to blunt the severity of scarcity conditions. Emphasis was, therefore, laid on labour intensive schemes to provide employment opportunities to the local labour. By the beginning of 1972, this programme was regarded as a permanent solution to the problems of drought in the selected districts. The plans of this scheme were treated as an exercise in micro-level planning for integrated area development of the drought prone areas. Keeping in view the changed scope of the programme, the Rural Works Programme (RWP) was renamed as Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP) from January, 1972 onwards.

The Drought Prone Area Programme during the Fifth Five Year Plan was initiated with two main objectives: (I) long-term development of the area with a view to restoring ecological balance; and (II)) short-term programme of development which will help in improving the lot of the community in general and the small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers ia the particular area.

The main strategy of the programme was development and management of irrigation resources; social conservation of moisture and afforestation; restructuring of cropping pattern and pasture development changes in agronomic practices : livestock development; and development of small/marginal farmers and agricultural labourers.
The strategy adopted in the Sixth Five Year Plan for DPAP continued during the Seventh Plan which would include increased stress on activities which can contribute directly to the restoration of the ecological balance and increasing the per capita income through effective development of land and other natural resources including efficient utilization of scarce water, conservation of scanty rainfall and arresting it sun-off from draught prone areas. Accordingly the programme, as at present, would continue to be implemented as an integrated area development programme rather than as a programme merely for creating increased employment opportunities. Kheda and Anand districts were covered under this programme.

3.12 Desert Development Programme

Gujarat desert covers an area of about 2.00 lakh sq. km. It covers ten districts with 61.00 per cent of the area and affect 38.00 per cent of population of the state. People in these areas are economically backward despite that there are immense development potentialities particularly in the field of animal husbandry, sheep breeding, wool and dairy farming.

A centrally sponsored Desert Development Programme was started from the year 1977-78. Under this programme priorities were given to afforestation and pasture development, animal husbandry, soil conservation, ground water development and its utilization, as well as for rural electrification. Kheda and Anand districts were not covered under this programme.

3.13 Tribal Area Development Programme

The tribal area development programme was launched in four districts in Gujarat. Its target group was the tribal’s in that area. Investments under this programme have not been made so as to help substantial number of families to rise in from the poverty line. In fact the programme is still in infancy. Only infrastructure has been put on the ground and the scheme has yet to grow as to its full impact. Kheda and Anand districts were not covered under this scheme.
3.14 Rural Growth Centers

The main objectives of the Rural Growth Centres Scheme are to provide economic infrastructure at the selected centres for triggering-off the process of rapid economic growth in their hinterland. The basic infrastructural items include road link, electricity, transport facility, banking and credit, storage, drinking water, fair price shops, veterinary aid, civil dispensary, school, supply of inputs, etc. Kheda and Anand districts were included under this programme.

3.15 Samagra Gram Vikas

The Samagra Gram Vikas Scheme aims at comprehensive and integrated development of the village as a whole with the following objectives:

(i) removal of unemployment;

(ii) assistance to all poor families in the village to enable them to raise above the poverty line; and

(iii) raising of the per capita income of the village inhabitants.

In order to achieve these objectives, the following strategy was adopted during the Sixth Five Year Plan:

(i) Survey of natural resources including human skills and their existing use pattern;

(ii) Assessment of resources income, and employment status of each family;

(iii) Preparation of individual beneficiary programmes for each family;

(iv) Preparation of the plans for the development of community services and economic infrastructure necessary to sustain the programmes.

The strategy adopted in the Sixth Five Year Plan for Samagra Gram Vikas will continue during the Seventh Five Year Plan. Kheda and Anand District were covered under this programme.
3.16 Minimum Needs Programme

The Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) introduced in the Fifth Five Year Plan included the components of elementary education, rural health, rural water supply, rural roads, rural electrifications, house site for landless labour, environmental improvement of urban slums and nutrition. The programme was envisaged as providing a measure of social justice by way of guaranteeing some minimum social consumption especially to the poorest sections of the population.

In the Sixth Five Year Plan the Minimum Needs Programme was reformulated and enlarged consistently with plan priorities. This is referred to as the Revised Minimum Needs Programme (RMNP). This programme is essentially an investment in human resource development. The programme lays down the urgency for providing social services according to nationally accepted norms within a time bound period. Kheda and Anand districts are covered under this scheme.

3.17 Regional Rural Banks (RRB)

Regional Rural Banks have been set up to develop rural economy for providing funds for the purpose of development of agriculture, trade, commerce, industry and other productive activities in the rural areas, credit and other facilities, particularly to the small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, artisans and small entrepreneurs for matters connected therewith.

The RRBs have been conceived as an institution and a catalyst for ensuring the development of rural economy by providing not only credit but also other essential facilities as an answer to meet the diverse and heterogeneous needs of the rural folk under different socio-economic and agro-geographical conditions.

Regional Rural Banks in Gujarat were established in 1975 with a view to providing banking services to the rural masses and extend various kinds of financial assistance to the weaker and poorer sections of village society. Branches of rural banks have been established in Kheda district also and these branches have actually lent welcome support for the weaker sections of rural society. This was observed during the course of survey of the district.
Schemes vis-a-vis the Sample

In the sample of Study, out of 400 selected rural households, some Antyodaya families were interviewed. These families were selected from twenty sampled villages and the district of Kheda. While collecting data during the survey from the sample households of Kheda district, information regarding their income and expenditure was obtained from the selected households sample. The analysis of the information collected from the sample revealed that thirty seven families had been selected for assistance under the Antyodaya programme of the Government of Gujarat. A further analysis of the data from these families revealed certain information about the benefits obtained by them under the programme. Though these families represent a very small part of the whole sample, detailed information was collected during survey about these families. This is given below:

Out of total thirty seven families benefitted under Antyodaya scheme, 62.16 per cent families belonged to agricultural labourers, 2 per cent belonged to service category and 24.32 per cent families came under the old age pension scheme. As regards coverage of identified Antyodaya families under different benefit schemes, all selected families were covered under old age pension scheme. Other benefits like allotment of land, wage employment, loan/assistance under the programme were not provided to these families because these did not came under the purview of the scheme. It was observed that some families had other sources of income in addition to the income through old age pension. The detailed analysis is given in chapter-5.
REFERENCE BOOKS


   - Reserve Bank of India, Evaluation Study of the IRDP.

14. Subbarao, K., Regional Variations in the Impact of Anti-Poverty Programme; A Review of Evidence; Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XX, No. 43, October 26, 1985. He is of the view that these studies have mechanically adopted the criterion of crossing the poverty line as a primary index of the programme. This according to him is not a correct index to judge the programme as it is too much to expect the very poor households trapped in poverty for centuries to be lifted above the poverty line in a couple of years.


25. Singh, S.S. and De, Nitish, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ; 40-41. The beneficiary households holding 'Yellow Cards'are those identified by the state Government as those households below the poverty line.