6.1 Introduction

Development Planning, which can be defined as the planning by government of a series of comprehensive and interrelated measures intended to cause economic development to proceed better than it would have otherwise, is a young branch of economic science. There was little that went by this name before World War II, though many of the same problems were dealt with by members of the colonial services, anthropologists, and others. Planning in the USSR started in the late 1920s, but in the beginning it was based on practical challenges rather than on economic science of whatever school. Planning of developing non-communist countries was started only after the second world war. Since much of economic science is a response to current political and social problems, it is pertinent to know what new conditions gave rise to development planning.

First, when the second world war ended, the world found itself faced with a super-power, the USSR, which was a backward agrarian country only three decades ago, ridden with all manners of inequities and ignorance.
Second, among the important effects of World War II was decolonisation. A large number of countries have attained or achieved independence since then. These countries began to ask self-consciously how best they could increase the material welfare of their people—a question which only a few countries such as England and France had asked about two hundred years ago. Development and planning for development were written on the banners of the governments of these countries. Third, there was a new awareness that poverty is not the inevitable fate of the majority of mankind living in the under-developed countries of the world. This awareness was itself the result of (i) the implementation of the Beveridge Report in 1945 which sought to protect the individual against poverty and destitution, and popularised the concept of 'welfare state' in the English-speaking world; (ii) the improvement in mass communications which brought events in the affluent North to the consciousness of the poor South. As a result of the propaganda by the politicians and the economists, economic development came to be regarded as a basic human right. In addition to this, the 'cold war' between the communist and non-communist developed countries compelled both to compete in attracting the attention and favour of the under-developed countries.
Finally, due to the introduction of modern medical and other scientific technology that spectacularly reduced mortality rates and increased life expectancy in the under-developed countries, a population explosion took place. This required increased production to maintain the level of living.

In addition to such political and social problems, there were other factors also which gave rise to a new and rapidly growing interest in development planning. First, the emergence of Keynesian economics, while in itself it had little to do with growth or development, popularised, in effect, the use of a type of economic reasoning which ran in terms of broad aggregates such as national income, savings, investment, etc. Second, the Harrod-Domar model, though formulated for different conditions from those of under-development, added output generation to the Keynesian income generation of investment, and thereby provided the principal pillar for the analysis of development and for a very large number of development plans. Finally, the seminal work of Rosenstein-Roden (1943), which resulted in the beginning of development economics as a separate discipline, described the common characteristics of under-development and explained the nature of disguised
unemployment and the obstacles in the way of making use of this reserve labour force. In the following year, Fumival (1944) also made an important contribution to the understanding of the conditions from which economic development must start.

Thus, by 1945 the economic development of under-developed countries became an accepted objective of national and international policy of both developed and under-developed countries. In March 1947, the United Nations established the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and in March 1948, the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) to 'initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for dealing with urgent economic problems arising out of the war and for raising the level of activity in Latin America and for maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of the Latin American countries both among themselves and with other countries of the world'.

6.2 Development Theorising

Development theorising in the mid-twentieth century had its roots in the classical and neo-classical schools of thought. In the 1950s and early 1960s, the emphasis of mainstream thought in development economics
remained on capital accumulation, planning and industrialisation. During this period, Prebisch (1950) talked about the 'centre-periphery' system; Feke (1953) pointed out the dual nature of the economies of developing economies; Lewis (1954) developed a two-sector model of dualism; Vakil and Brahmanand (1956) put forward the 'wage-goods model'; Nelson (1956) discussed the 'low-level equilibrium trap'; Leibenstein (1957) talked about a 'critical minimum effort'; Myrdal (1957) gave us the 'backwash effect' and 'circular and cumulative causation' doctrine; Hirschman (1958) advocated 'unbalanced growth' for the development process; Rostow (1960) talked about 'take-off'; Rosenstein-Rodan (1961) advanced the 'big push' theory; Gerschenkron (1962) discussed the 'great spurt'; Chenery and Bruno (1962) developed the 'two-gap' model which traced back to ideas about 'external strangulation of under-developed economies proposed by Hirschman (1958); Schultz (1962) emphasised the role of 'human capital' in the development process; and Nurkse (1953) discussed the 'vicious circle of poverty'.

With all these developments, the under-developed countries learnt the most important lesson that growth
can be socially engineered and that the time-lag involved in changing a poor economy into a modestly affluent one need not be that long. Particularly the balanced and unbalanced-growth doctrine both called attention to the indivisibilities and complementarities of investment, and as such called for a type of co-ordination which market forces, if left to themselves, would not be likely to succeed in bringing about. Although balanced growth was conceivable under either private or public co-ordination, the importance this doctrine attributed to complementarities—and thus, by implication, to the difference between social and private costs and benefits—clearly called for development planning. Similarly, the unbalanced growth doctrine, which expected the state to induce and then repair disequilibria, called for development planning if it was to be effective in practice. Hence arose the need to decide the objectives of planning and to fashion a development strategy which could utilise the development potential of an economy to achieve the desired objectives.

Since a strategy can be described as a set of policies intended to fulfil certain given objectives, one strategy differs from the other because their
objectives differ as well as because their proposed policies differ. Therefore, on the basis of differences and similarities in objectives and policy emphasis, it is possible to distinguish three basic approaches to the evolution of development strategies to attain the desired objectives. In order of their evolution these are commonly referred to as growth-oriented, employment-oriented, and poverty-oriented strategies.

The growth-oriented strategy was the initial approach developed in the late 1940s and supposedly neutral and objective goal and performance test of economic development. The main objective of this strategy has been the maximisation of growth of GNP with an emphasis on the modern sector and capital-intensive techniques. Balanced and un-balanced growth are the two major theoretical variants of this strategy. The thinkers and planners working in terms of this strategy assumed that either through the 'trickle-down' effect or through relatively orthodox policies the lower-income groups of the society would automatically be benefited if the growth of GNP is high. They also assumed that reduction of poverty could only be successfully tackled after a certain level of GNP had been reached. A somewhat sharper version of this view was embodied in the Leibenstein-Galenson model.
according to which a certain level of inequality is necessary to produce the amount of saving and investment which, according to the Harrod-Domar model, was the necessary precondition for a reasonable growth of output. But in reality the 'trickle-down' effect failed mainly because of unequal access to the opportunities of producing, or obtaining the income from, incremental GNP. Thus the growth oriented strategy produced even sharper inequalities in income distribution, at least up to medium income levels. This was in fact established and described by the famous inverted U-curve of Kuznets (1955). Simultaneously it was also realised that inequality of income distribution is not necessarily needed to promote savings and productive investments, as is shown, for instance, by the experience of Japan and South Korea. More significantly, this strategy resulted in the creation of high unemployment which was a consequence of a high rate of population increase combined with capital scarcity and the adoption of capital-intensive techniques.

Employment-oriented strategies stressed that simultaneous increase in output and employment can be
achieved through direct substitution of labour for capital in the production process. These strategies reflected the desire to reconcile economic growth with a broader distribution of income through increases in the level of productive employment. Thus, the objective of employment-oriented strategies reflected a wider definition of development that includes improvements in the standard of living of individuals in addition to economic growth. This stage in development thinking was perhaps best exemplified in the early 1970s by the earlier work of the ILO's World Employment Programme and the reports of the various ILO employment missions to Colombia (ILO, 1970), Sri Lanka (ILO, 1971), Kenya (ILO, 1972), the Philippines (ILO, 1973), etc. But soon it was realised that an employment-oriented strategy, by itself, will not suffice and that employment issues are intimately connected with wider issues of poverty and inequality. Thus came the era of poverty-oriented strategies.

In 1972, Singer developed the theme of 'redistribution from growth' strategy in a chapter of the report of the ILO Employment Mission to Kenya (ILO, 1972) organised in connection with the World
Employment programme of the ILO. In the following year Chenery et al. (1974) suggested a strategy, based on the Kenya ILO Employment Mission report, focused on 'redistribution with growth' as the means through which poverty may be eliminated. This volume was published jointly by the World Bank and the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex. By 1976, the ILO (1976) proposed the 'basic needs' strategy which is, in fact, different from the 'redistribution with growth' strategy in that it draws attention not just to income and income inequality but also to the type of material goods and social services that income should bring, and the problems of providing the minimum bundle needed. These two strategies constitute the group of poverty-oriented strategies. The main objective of these strategies is to raise per capita incomes above a predetermined 'poverty line' as soon as possible with the related aim of reducing income and social inequalities. These strategies are aimed at the redistribution of wealth, assets and output, mainly through the reallocation of productive resources in favour of explicitly defined poverty groups and the satisfaction of their basic needs within a minimum time.
6.3 The Basic Objectives of Indian Planning

The basic objectives of Indian Planning have not changed since the formulation of the first five year plan. While the precise formulation of the plan objectives have varied from plan to plan, essential goals of Indian planning have remained unchanged. These goals can be described mainly as:

(i) reduction in poverty and unemployment and improvement in the quality of life;
(ii) modernisation and building of a self-reliant economy; and
(iii) removal of regional disparity and strengthening the redistribution base of public policies and services in favour of the poor and weaker sections of the community.

In the background of all this lies the foundations of Indian plan objectives as reflected in the concepts of 'socialist pattern of society', 'social justice', and 'self-reliance'.

6.3.1 Socialistic Pattern of Society:

The central objective of India's social and economic policy is to have a 'socialistic Pattern of Society'. This phrase, as defined in the Second Five-
year plan, essentially means "that the basic criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit, but social gains, and that the pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relations should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increases in national income and employment but also in greater equality in incomes and wealth. Major decisions regarding production, distribution, consumption and investment—and in fact all significant socio-economic relationships—must be made by agencies informed by social purpose. The benefits of economic development must accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society, and there should be a progressive reduction of the concentration of incomes, wealth and economic power."

"The accent of the socialist pattern is on the attainment of positive goals, the raising of living standards, the enlargement of opportunities for all, the promotion of enterprise among the disadvantaged classes and the creation of a sense of partnership among all

sections of the community. These positive goals provide the criteria for basic decisions... Economic policy and institutional changes have to be planned in a manner that would secure economic advance along democratic and egalitarian lines.  

6.3.2. Social Justice:

An abiding concern for equity and social justice was a distinctive feature of the national movement for India's freedom struggle. In particular, both Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru always emphasised that political freedom would acquire its true significance only if it helped to remove the chronic poverty which afflicted majority of the Indian people under the colonial rule.

The promotion of social justice figures prominently in the 'Directive Principles of State Policy' as enshrined in our Constitution. Thus in Article 38, as originally approved by the Constituent Assembly, it was laid down that "The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice - social, economic and political - shall inform all the institutions of the national life". The concern with
social justice was further elaborated in Article 30 which states that:

"The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing:

(a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;

(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;

(e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter a vocation unsuited to their age or strength.

The importance attached to social justice was further emphasised when Parliament adopted in December, 1954 "The socialist pattern of society" as the objective of social and economic policy. Subsequently, in 1974 the Constitution itself was amended and it proclaimed India as "a sovereign socialist secular democratic
In addition, another clause was added to Article 38 to the effect that "The State shall, in particular, strive to minimize the inequalities in income and endeavor to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations".

In pursuance of the 'Directive Principles of State Policy' enshrined in the Constitution, all the Five-Year Plans have laid considerable emphasis on the establishment of a social order based on justice and offering equal opportunity to every citizen. Although plan objectives for social justice have not been stated in precise quantitative terms, it has been fairly obvious that promotion of social justice involves:

(a) Removal of poverty and provision of minimum level of income which will ensure tolerable living standards for all the citizens;
(b) Progressive reduction of inequalities of income and wealth.

6.3.3. Self-Reliance:

The objective of self-reliance was formulated explicitly for the first time in the Third Plan. In the formulation of this Plan, it was realized that "The balance of payments difficulties the country is facing are, it must be stressed, not short-term or
temporary; they will continue for several years to come. The external assistance is essential for this period, but the aim must be to make the economy more and more self-reliant, so that it is able to support within a period of 10 or 12 years an adequate scale of investment from its own production and savings. Normal inflow of capital may continue but reliance on special forms of external assistance has to be reduced progressively and eliminated. 3

Thus the Third Plan formulation of the objective of self-reliance contained three essential ideas:

(i) Self-reliance means elimination of special forms of external assistance;
(ii) Self-reliance cannot be achieved forthwith and has to be phased over time; and
(iii) The justification for external assistance during the intervening period must be that it helps to build up the growth potential of the economy to the level where it can support an adequate level of investment from its own production and savings.

The Fourth Plan sought to concretise the time phasing for realising the goal of self-reliance. The objective was laid down as "reducing foreign aid, net of the debt servicing (inclusive of interest payment)"

to half of the current level by the end of the Fourth Plan and to eliminate it altogether as speedily as possible thereafter.

But soon in the Draft Fifth Plan it was realised that: "Self-reliance would lose much of its significance if it were associated with a low rate of growth. What we seek is a dynamic self-reliance where the rate of growth is accelerated, while, at the same time, developing the capability to sustain it essentially from our own resources".

6.3.4 Plan-wise Objectives:

The Government of India set up the Planning Commission in 1950 to assess the country's need of material capital and human resources so as to formulate a plan for their more balanced and effective utilisation. Consequently, the country embarked on an era of Planning. So far India has completed almost seven five year plans.

As pointed out earlier, the objectives of Five-Year Plans differ from plan to plan, the First Five Year Plan (1951-52 to 1955-56), emphasised agricultural development, removal of poverty and unemployment through industrialisation, reduction of economic inequalities and a higher level of living. The Second Five-Year Plan (1956-57 to 1960-61) was aimed at rapid industrialisation.
with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries, removal of unemployment and poverty and reduction in inequalities in income and wealth. The Third Five-year Plan (1961-62 to 1965-66) aimed at the expansion of basic industries like steel, fuel and power and to establish machine-making capacity and to achieve self-sufficiency in agriculture and a higher overall growth rate. The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-1974) was aimed at the progressive attainment of equality with social justice and the provision of national minimum for the weaker sections of the community—these were the objectives of 'Garibi Hatao' (Remove Poverty) and 'growth with justice'. The Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974 to 1979) carried forward the short-term goals of the Fourth Five-Year Plan with the additional emphasis on removal of poverty and attainment of economic self-reliance. The Objectives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980 to 1985) were to attain a high rate of growth; to attain equality in income and wealth; efficiency in the use of resources; bringing harmony between the short and the long term goals by promoting the protection and improvement of ecological and environmental assets; economic and technological self-reliance; and improved quality of life of the people, through 'Minimum

4. But because of India's conflicts with China (1962) and Pakistan (1965), the approach of the Plan was shifted to defence and development.
Needs Programme*. The objectives in Seventh Five-Year
plan (1985-1990) continue to be growth, equity and
social justice, self-reliance, improved efficiency and
productivity. Within this framework, the movement
towards social justice has to be faster with a sharper
focus on the eradication of unemployment and on the
alleviation of poverty.

In this way one can conclude that although the
specific objectives of five-year plans differ from
plan to plan, yet the basic objectives of these plans
remain the same. For example, eradication of poverty,
removal of unemployment, and growth with social justice
have always been the basic objectives of our development
policy.

6.4 Anti-Poverty Programmes

In the past four decades of post-independence period,
India has completed 38 years of planning, covering six
five-year plans and four yearly plans. The Indian economy
is now in the terminal year of the seventh plan. In all
these plans, removal of poverty has always remained a
central concern.

The history of rural development in India during the
period after independence is fascinating indeed even though
the pace and direction of rural development have not come
up to our expectations. A country, constituted mainly of villages, where nearly 80 percent of the population lives, naturally accorded priority to rural development. To evolve suitable strategies, to build up adequate infrastructure and to formulate concrete programmes was a challenging task which called for expertise of diverse types as well as of high order. We examine here in brief some of these programmes initiated in the post-independence period for the upliftment of rural masses.

6.4.2 Community Development Programme

The first concrete programme drawn up for the rural areas was that of Community Development. This programme was launched in the year 1952. The basic objective of the programme was to secure the fullest development of the material and human resources of rural areas, on an area basis and develop local leadership and self-governing institutions and thereby raise the rural community to higher levels of living with the active participation, and, as much as possible, on the initiative of the people themselves. It was a programme of aided self help to be planned and implemented by the villagers themselves, the government offering only technical guidance and financial assistance. 6 Its programme content covered development of agriculture, horticulture, animal...

husbandry, fisheries, forestry, rural and cottage industries on the one side and promotion of health, sanitation, communications, education and social education on the other.

In its initial phase, the programme was implemented in what were called the community projects. There were 55 community projects which started operating in different parts of the country. Each project had the "Block" as the administrative unit which roughly covered 300 villages and a population of about 2 lakhs. This pattern was revised in April 1958 when National Extension Service (NES) Blocks were set up with lesser area and population coverage. A smaller area embracing 100 villages with a population of 60,000 to 70,000 was adopted as the basic unit of the proposed programme. These blocks now number 5126 and cover the entire rural areas in the country.

6.4.3 **Intensive Agricultural District Programme**

The Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) was launched in 1960. Regarding this programme the Third Five Year Plan stated that "the intensive agricultural district Programme has been
taken up, to begin with in one district in each state. The Programme is intended to contribute both to rapid increase in agricultural production in selected areas and to suggest new innovations and combinations of practices which may be of value elsewhere. 7

IADP was set up to develop the whole farm community. It was intended that the IADP would carry out a programme that both speeded up agricultural production and at the same time carried the programme to all farmers, small as well as large, tenants as well as owners of agricultural lands. It would combine all efforts into one programme for general economic development of the area in which it operated.

The approach towards intensification of agriculture in areas of quick response was subsequently extended to a large number of districts under the Intensive Agricultural Area Programme (IAAP). Again, the year 1965 saw another step which was going to be of much importance for agricultural development, particularly food production. It was during this year that the 'High Yielding Varieties Programme' (HYVP)

was conceived and introduced as a distinctive strategy for increasing agricultural production. In the new agricultural strategy, a three-dimensional approach towards agricultural development was adopted which consisted of high yielding variety programme, adoption of modern chemical technology and foodgrains price support policy. This programme envisaged a super intensive type of agricultural development based on package principles involving high factor inputs on new varieties capable of giving very high yields.

6.4.4 Small Farmer's Development Agency:

The utter failure of the "trickle down strategy" to produce any visible impact on the economic conditions of the weaker sections led to the adoption of a 'target-group' approach since the Fourth plan. The objective was to produce a direct impact on the economic status of the rural poor. It started with the Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) and has multiplied since then.

The SFDA was established on the basis of the recommendations made by the All India Rural Credit Review Committee in 1969. The Government of India
accepted this recommendation and started 46 SFDA pilot projects during the Fourth Plan. In addition, the Government also established 41 Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Agencies (MFAL) for improving the lot of these groups. In 1973, the National Commission on agriculture recommended the merger of these two agencies into one. This was accepted and acted upon since the Fifth Plan. The combined agency came to be known as the SFDA. The programme was further extended and it had covered 168 agencies in 198 districts since 1979 when it was merged with the IRDP. Each SFDA was expected to cover 50,000 families of small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers.

Apart from providing subsidies and arranging loans, the SFDA was required to organise and arrange for supplies of inputs such as fertilizers, seeds and pesticides, agricultural implements, marketing services and other facilities of small and marginal farmers.

The SFDA ushered in a new approach to development which has three distinguishing features. Firstly, in place of the earlier strategy of taking up development schemes oriented towards specific
projects or areas, it undertook specific beneficiary oriented schemes to improve the economic status of the target group. Second, subsidy-cum-credit based method of helping the target group was evolved such that a beneficiary could finance his entire investment even if he had no funds of his own. The subsidy provided by the Government served the purpose of margin money for taking bank loans. Thirdly, a new system of administering the programme was evolved.

6.4.5. Desert Development Programme (DDP)

The Desert Development Programme was started during 1977-78 with the objective of controlling desertification and restoring the ecological balance in certain desert and semi-desert areas and creating conditions for raising the level of production, and income/employment of the people in these areas. This was sought to be achieved through the following major activities:

(i) Afforestation (with special emphasis on shelter belt plantation), grassland development and sand dune stabilisation;
(ii) Optimum exploitation and conservation of groundwater;

(iii) Construction of water harvesting structure;

(iv) Rural electrification for energising tubewells and pumpsets; and

(v) Development of agriculture, horticulture, and animal husbandry suited to the agro-climatic conditions in the area.

The Programme covered both hot and cold desert areas of the country. It operated in 128 blocks covering arid areas in 20 districts in 5 states in the country, including the two cold desert areas of Ladakh and Spiti. The main aim of the programme was to check desertification and combine it with projects which would facilitate the development of productivity and productive resources of the area and its inhabitants.

6.4.6 **Special Livestock Production Programme**

The Special Livestock Production Programme (SLPP) was launched in 1975-76 on the basis of the recommendations of the National Commission on Agriculture. This programme was in operation in 183 districts in 21 states and 4 Union Territories. It consisted of two parts, viz. crossbred heifer rearing and setting up of sheep, poultry and piggery production units. Under the first scheme assistance was provided at the rate of 50 per cent to small and marginal farmers and 67 percent to agricultural laborers.
to enable them to feed cross bred heiford from
the 4th to the 32nd months of age. Under the second
scheme, assistance was given for the setting up of
sheep, poultry and piggery production units, for
which subsidy was provided at the rate of 25 per cent
to small farmers and 33 per cent to marginal farmers
and agricultural labourers, subject to a maximum
of Rs. 3000/- per beneficiary. In case of tribal
participants, the rate of subsidy was 50 percent, subject
to a maximum of Rs. 5000/-. Thirty percent of the
beneficiaries selected under the programme were from
the scheduled caste/scheduled tribe communities.
The expenditure on the programme was shared on a 50:50
basis with the state Governments, while 100 per cent
was made available to Union Territories.

6.4.7 Drought Prone Area Programme

Twenty percent of the area of our country is
periodically subject to the onslaught of droughts
leading to huge losses of agricultural production and
livestock wealth, besides causing untold misery to the
people inhabiting these areas. These are the hot arid,
semi-arid and dry sub-humid regions located in
different parts of the country. These areas have
constantly remained plagued with scarcity and suffered
stagnant economy and in the past have been a major source of regional imbalances and instability in the national economy. An enormous expenditure on scarcity relief measures was periodically incurred to save the local population from starvation. The Government tried to solve the problems of the chronically drought affected areas in a systematic manner so as to provide some security to the inhabitants there. While it might not be possible to prevent droughts, efforts have been made to alleviate their impact by implementing a variety of schemes.

Considerable emphasis, therefore, was laid on research into improved dry farming technologies during the Fourth Plan period. Rural Works Programme was initiated in 54 districts in 13 states during the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The programme focussed mainly on the execution of such rural works as medium and minor irrigation, soil conservation, afforestation, roads and drinking water supply schemes, and the generation of employment through them.

It was subsequently realised that it was not enough to have such a rural works programme. Following the Fourth Plan mid-term appraisal in 1971, the programme was reoriented from purely employment generation to draught proofing of the areas covered.
It was renamed as Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP). The programme was transferred from non-plan to a central plan scheme.

The basic objective of DPAP is to improve the economy of the chronically drought prone areas with the aid of a package of schemes envisaging optimum utilisation of available land, water, livestock and manpower resources to mitigate the severity and recurrence of droughts in the affected areas.

6.4.8 Tribal Development Agencies:

One of the outstanding programmes of rural development is the tribal development. India has a vast tribal population of about 40 million, mostly living below the poverty line. They constitute about 7 per cent of the total population of the country. Tribal areas have problems of their own. They are not in favour of change, particularly when strangers want to bring it about for them. It demanded a bold action to integrate these people in the national mainstream without injuring their feelings, without giving them sudden and abrupt shock of breaking away from their age old social and cultural set up. The economy of the tribal population is mainly agricultural. The tribal areas suffer from low productivity and lack
of infrastructure. Accordingly, a special programme for the development of selected tribal areas was initiated in 1971-72.

It was intended that the benefits of the different economic programmes in the project areas should accrue to the weaker sections and the deserving among the tribals. Subsequently, Agencies have in general, confined identification to tribal participants below 2 hectares of irrigated or 4 hectares of unirrigated holdings.

6.4.9 Command Area Development Programme

With great spurt in the construction of major and medium irrigated area, attention was drawn to the need for faster utilisation of the created irrigation potential. It was noticed that there was persistent gap between the potential created through major and medium irrigation schemes and the utilisation thereof. It was also found that agricultural production in the command area of irrigation projects was not coming up according to expectations. Therefore, the Command Area Development Programme was initiated in the Fifth Plan with a view to maximise agricultural production through better management of land and water use in the command
areas of irrigation projects where there was considerable gap between the potential created and its realisation, Command Area Development is directed to maximum utilisation of the resources of land and water both of which are limited in our country. The main objective of the programme is to reduce loss of water through seepage, bring maximum area under irrigation and by agronomic practices increase the intensity of cropping and yield per unit of water and land.

6.4.10 Minimum Needs Programme

The fifth five year plan introduced the minimum needs programme (MNP) which aimed at providing free or subsidised services through public agencies so as to improve the consumption levels of those living below the poverty line. This approach was carried through further in the shape of the Revised Minimum Needs Programme enunciated in the Draft Five Year Plan 1978-1983, with a substantial step up in the quantum of resources and occupies an important place in the sixth plan document. The programme covers eight items: elementary education, rural health, rural water supply, rural roads, rural electrification, assistance to rural landless labourers, environmental improvement
of urban slums and nutrition for small children. The provision of free or subsidised service through public agencies is expected to improve the consumption levels of those living below the poverty line and thereby improve the productivity and efficiency of both the rural and urban workers.

6.4.11 Integrated Rural Development Programme

This programme was first proposed in the central budget of 1976-77, and a beginning was made. This programme is intended to assist the rural population to derive economic benefits from the developmental assets of each area. The Programme with some modifications was introduced on an expanded scale in 1978-79, beginning with 2300 blocks, of which 2000 were under coterminous coverage, with SFDA, DPAP and DDP. On 2nd October, 1980, SFDA, MFAL, DAAP and DDP and other Programme were merged in the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). The Programme emphasised the family rather than individual approach in identification of beneficiaries. The target population in the IRDP is termed 'weaker section' without labelling them as small farmers, marginal farmers or agricultural labourers. It helps the selected families to acquire
productive assets, technology and skill so as to enable them to take up economically viable self-employment ventures in primary, secondary or tertiary sectors. Like the SFDA, it provides cent per cent financial assistance to the beneficiaries through a combination of subsidy and credit.

6.4.12 Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment

The absorption of the poorest rural households, particularly the youth, in rural industries and trades becomes difficult because they do not possess the necessary skill. A national scheme for Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM) was, therefore, initiated by the central Government in August, 1979 as a part of the IRDP. The scheme aims at equipping the rural youth with necessary skills and technology so as to enable them to take up self-employment. Only youths belonging to the families of the IRDP target groups, i.e., those below the poverty line and in the age group of 18-35 years, are eligible. The target is to train two lakh rural youth every year at the rate of 40 youth per block in the country. Only one beneficiary is to be taken from one family. Priority categories for selection are the scheduled castes, scheduled tribe and ex-serviceman. For women, a target is also suggested.
to the extent of one third of the TRYSEM trainees. But it was noticed in the first three years of the programme that the benefits under this scheme were not flowing to women in adequate measure. Therefore, a programme for Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) was introduced in September, 1982 in 50 blocks on a pilot basis with a view to increase their income and also to provide support services needed to enable them to take up income generating activities.

6.4.13 National Rural Employment Programme

In April, 1977, the central Government launched a nationwide "Food for Work Programme" (FWP) to enlarge employment opportunities for the rural poor. The basic objectives of the programme were (i) to generate additional gainful employment to a large number of unemployed and under-employed persons, both men and women, in rural areas for raising their incomes and consequently their nutritional levels; (ii) to create durable community assets and strengthen the rural infrastructure; and (iii) to utilise surplus foodgrains for the development of human resources.

Since October 1980, the 'Food for Work Programme' was renamed as the 'National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and made a part of the five year plan.
A centrally sponsored programme with equal contributions of the central and state Governments, the NREP, like FWP, provides supplementary employment opportunities to work seekers during the lean period of the year. It also aims at creating durable community assets. Apart from cash, wages are also paid in foodgrains so as to raise the nutritional standard of the rural poor. Inter-state allocation of foodgrains is made on a rational criteria related to the population size of the target group, i.e. states population of marginal farmers and agricultural labourers and their rural population below the poverty line.

6.4.14 Whole Village Development Programme:

Recognising the urgency of increasing productive capability in rural areas and promoting the welfare of the people by an equitable distribution of the benefits of development, in 1980 the National Commission on Agriculture recommended the adoption of a whole village approach to development with a view to harnessing the growth potential of the villages that were under coverage. The Central theme of the whole village approach is to build the programme of development, the utilisation of the growth potential would be
ment around the community as a whole. It was felt that if the community could be enthused and stirred into common action towards development, the utilisation of the growth potential would be easier and quicker from which the community as a whole would benefit. The programme components of the whole village development approach consisted of the following:

(i) Consolidation of holdings;
(ii) Overall land development plan for maximising water control and moisture preservation in dry areas;
(iii) Maximising irrigation support, subject to per acre maximum limit of investment based on the need to repay investment credit by extra production; and
(iv) Cropping programme for the village for the best use of irrigation and for ensuring the best control of irrigation and drainage.

In order to ensure that there should be an optimum utilisation of land and water, the programme was taken up for a village or an area comprising a cluster of villages so as to achieve the best watershed management.

In the interest of social justice, the state was required to provide support in the field of irrigation.
provide technical support, develop waste lands, provide house sites for landless and a legal framework for the consolidation of holdings and the protection of sharecroppers. The programme also envisaged adequate credit and financial support to the small farmers for the settlement of their debts with the money lenders.

6.4.15 Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)

The RLEGP was launched on 15th August, 1983 with the objective of improving and expanding employment opportunities for the rural landless with a view to provide guarantee of employment to at least one member of every landless household upto 100 days in a year and creating durable assets for strengthening the infrastructure so as to meet the growing requirements of the rural economy. The implementation of the programme has been entrusted to the states but they are required to prepare specific projects for approval by a central committee. During 1983-1985 the Central Committee approved 320 projects with an estimated cost of Rs. 906.59 crores.

Thus, we see that the poverty alleviation and employment generation programmes have matured from their general character to a more specific target group and area based programmes with their main thrust on the eradication of poverty and removal of unemployment in rural areas on a national scale.
6.5. The Integrated Rural Development Programme in Haryana.

In consonance with the plan objectives of raising the level of living of the poor, and pulling them up from the morass of poverty, a number of development programmes are in operation. These programmes mainly aim at providing employment to the persons living below the poverty line, since it is considered that by providing employment to this cross-section of the population, a source of income would be generated for them and would, thus, enable them to rise up from the existing subsistence living. Among these poverty alleviation programmes, the IRDP deserves special mention. Although the IRDP strategy and its applicability to the rural economy have been discussed and debated at various levels for over a decade, particularly from early 1970s, the programme was actually given a trial by the Government only since 1978-79. The on-going special programme which aimed at the disadvantaged groups prior to the sixth plan such as SFDA, DPAP and CADA, no doubt did bring some improvement in bettering the living conditions of the poorer people. However, it was increasingly felt that a far more ambitious and coordinated programme is required for the eradication of the more degrading forms of rural poverty. Through the provision of income generating assets, and access to credit and other inputs to the target groups...
with a view to mitigating the pangs of under-employment and poverty, and to lifting the targets of groups above the poverty line, the new strategy was introduced.

Some of the significant aspects of these programmes as brought out in the Sixth Plan document, are that they had a limited area spread over only 1818 blocks. Sectoral focus was limited to the primary sector and the beneficiary coverage, by and large, confined to persons with some landholdings, and the investment had not resulted in adequate additional asset creation with 6.1 million out of the total 8 million beneficiaries having been assisted to get agricultural inputs and improvements and demonstration etc.

These programmes could not make a dent on the rural poor due to the following reasons:

1. None of the programmes covered the entire country.
2. Due to the overlapping of the programmes in some blocks/areas it led to duplication of efforts and double benefits.
3. The benefits of these programmes have gone to better-off sections of the society.
4. The programmes have not taken care to create enough infrastructure, employment and income.
To overcome these drawbacks, the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) which has been under implementation since 1978-79 was launched. It was extended to the whole country from 2nd of October 1980. Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) and Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) are two important sub-components of IRDP which came into existence as the programme evolved.

The IRDP is a centrally sponsored scheme funded by the Centre and the States on 50:50 basis. The objective of the programme is to assist selected families of target group in rural areas to cross the poverty line by taking up self-employment ventures. The programme aims to achieve the stated objective by providing income generating assets including working capital, where necessary, to the target group families through a package of assistance including subsidy and institutional credit.

The target group of the programme consists of small farmers, marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, rural artisans and others whose annual family income is below the cut-off line. The small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers have been defined as under:

(1) **Small Farmer**: A cultivator with a land holding of 2 hectares or below is a small farmer. Where a farmer
has Class I irrigated land, as defined in the State Land Ceilings Legislation with 1 hectare or less, he will also be considered as small farmer. Where the land is irrigated but not of the Class 1 variety, a suitable conversion ratio may be adopted by the State Government with a ceiling of 2 hectares.

(ii) Marginal farmer:

A person with a land holding of 1 hectare or below is a marginal farmer. In the case of class 1 irrigated land, the ceiling will be 0.5 hectare.

(iii) Agricultural Labourers:

A person without any land other than homestead and deriving more than 50% of his income from agricultural wages is an agricultural labourer.

The IRDP provides special safeguards for certain sections of the target group. The families belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute the bulk of the poverty group. In order to ensure that these families are not denied their due share, it is provided that at least 30% of the assisted families should be drawn from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This minimum percentage of 30 is to operate in macro terms at the district and State levels. The targets for the block are determined as under:
(a) The percentage of assisted SC/ST families should be equal to SC/ST population percentage to the total population of a block in case the later percentage is 50 or above.

(b) Wherever percentage of the SC/ST population to the total population is less than 50, a mark up of 10% should be given to this percentage and the percentage of SC/ST families assisted should equal to the percentage so arrived at.

The IRDP gives special safeguards to women also in that at least 30% of the total beneficiaries should be women. Priority should be given to women headed households. The flow of financial investments to the categories of SCs/STs and Women should be commensurate with the percentage of their physical coverage.

The element of cost provided under this item pertain to concentrated feed for a maximum of two heifers, from 4th to 32nd month of age for a female cross bred calf, from 4th to 20th month for male cross bred calf and from 6th to 45th month for a female buffalo calf, respectively. In no case the beneficiary should be paid subsidy in cash. At an indicative normal requirement of 19 quintals for a female cross bred calf, 11.85 quintals for a male cross bred calf, and 17.30 quintals for a female buffalo calf for the entire period for
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Ceiling</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual/Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Small Farmers</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Marginal Farmers</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Labourers</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-agricultural Labourers, Rural artisans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Of these tribal families.</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 5000/- per family in all rural areas. More than 50% landholders in the ayacut should be IRDP small and marginal farmers and they should own not less than 25% of the land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Minor Irrigation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cost apportionment for each group member will be in proportion to their lands as a percentage of total land in ayacut. Of this cost, each IRDP family will get 50% subsidy without the absolute ceiling limit referred to at Sr. No. 1, above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative/registered society of beneficiaries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50% of the capital cost subject to individual ceiling at 1 above. All members of the cooperatives/registered society should be IRDP beneficiaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rearing of Heifer, small and Marginal farmer, agricultural labourers, Tribal Families.</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 5000/- per family.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| In case of minor irrigation projects, both individual and community, only percentage ceilings are applicable to IRDP beneficiaries. Monetary ceilings are not applicable. The monetary ceiling has been withdrawn for all minor irrigation IRDP beneficiaries whether they are being assisted for the first time or have been provided assistance earlier in the Sixth Plan. | | }
which subsidy is admissible, the beneficiary would be entitled to subsidised cattlefeed to the extent of his entitlement, i.e. 50%/66.66% subject to individual monetary ceilings above. The balance would be required to be met by the beneficiary from his own sources.

The Project Director, DRDA would identify the Agency for providing concentrated feed to IRDP beneficiaries, e.g. District Animal Husbandary Officer, Special Livestock Breeding Programme (SLBP), Dairy Cooperative Union etc. The designated agency would arrange for purchase and supply of cattlefeed from sources such as Cooperative Dairy Federations/State Agro Industries Co-operations and other institutional Agencies. Advance of 90% of subsidy may be made to the designated agency. The remaining 10% may be paid on report and presentation of final accounts. The final accounts should be supported by receipts statement(s) of the beneficiaries.

During the Sixth Five year Plan (1980-85), in the context of the long term poverty reduction projections for 1980-85, the IRDP was extended to the whole country, i.e. all the 5011 blocks at that time, in the form of a scheme for productive skill (through TRYSEM) and asset endowment to the rural poor who were to be
identified by a poverty-line based on a monthly per capita income linked to a minimum calorie intake. The new approach for providing assistance to special target groups amongst the weaker and poorer sections of the society flowed from the fore-runners of the IRDP for small and marginal farmers initiated in 1971. For these programmes SFDA and MFAL organisations created at the District level to channelise credit and other facilities, including technical guidance or inputs, to properly identified small and marginal farmers or agricultural labourers. These special agencies served as agents of change and contact points between the target groups and the credit agencies as well as the state authorities when emphasis shifted towards a more populist approach for eradication of poverty. It was realised that there were other weaker sections of the society besides small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers, waiting on the side-lines who also deserve to be brought within the fold of such benefits, even through 'non-farming', activities. Thus, under the broad and wide spread umbrella of the IRDP, it was sought to cover more and more sections of the rural unemployed or under-employed persons and other weaker sections of the society, particularly, those who had no land-holdings and
who mainly or largely depended upon their own personal or professional skills or were otherwise connected with the rural arts and crafts or cottage industries.

Unlike the earlier programmes, the IRDP is to identify the rural poor and provide them with necessary package of developmental inputs including infrastructure with the objective of generating more income and employment opportunities. The main objective of the IRDP is to raise the standard of living of the poorest families in rural areas above the poverty line as a testing basis by giving them income generating assets and access to credit and other inputs. The target group comprises of small and marginal farmers, agricultural and non-agricultural labourers, rural craftsmen and artisans, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and, in fact, all such families whose annual income is less than Rs. 3500/- . The seventh plan recommends that cost effectiveness and minimisation of leakages should be the guiding principles in the implementation of poverty alleviation programmes. These programmes should be formulated and implemented in a decentralised manner with the participation of people at the grass root level through village panchayats.
Salient Features of the IRDP

a) The programme covers all kinds of economic activities of all sections, viz, primary, secondary and tertiary sectors.

b) The programme covers all the blocks in the country.

c) Under this programme 600 poor families per block are proposed to be assisted.

d) The emphasis under IRDP is on providing substantial assistance to the beneficiary so that once and for all he crosses the poverty line.

e) In the IRDP target grant, the scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes form an important segment of the number of beneficiaries, i.e., at least 20%.

f) In the selection of beneficiaries 'Antodyas' approach is recommended, i.e. poorest of the poor.

g) A household rather than an individual has to be taken as a basic unit of development and economic programmes have to be devised for the family as a whole.

Progress of Implementation of the IRDP

Having spelt out the salient features of the IRDP, a brief account of the progress achieved under the programme
and the deficiencies and difficulties noticed in the actual implementation of the programme becomes both relevant and pertinent.

The main aim of the IRDP is to raise the level of living of the poorest families in the rural areas above the poverty line on a lasting basis by giving them income generating assets and access to credit and other inputs. The target group includes small and marginal farmers, agricultural and non-agricultural labourers and rural craftsmen and artisans, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and virtually all families with an annual income level of below Rs. 6400/-. The thrust of the programme is on raising incomes and generating opportunities for employment through schemes pertaining to agriculture and ancillary activities, cottage and small scale industries as well as other viable forms of economic activities, suiting the target groups of families. As bulk of the rural poor are landless, suitable types of activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors have also been included to benefit this group of target families. Support to these families in the form of supply of raw materials, marketing facilities, training and upgradation of skills have also been emphasised in the programme.
In the state of Haryana, IRDP was launched during the year 1978-79 in 39 selected special blocks. The programme was, however, extended to all the 87 operational blocks in the State on 2nd October 1980. The progress achieved under the IRDP in terms of expenditure number of families assisted and amount spent on subsidy during the period 1980-81 to 1984-85 may be seen from the following table 6.1.

It may be observed from the following table that the progress achieved under the IRDP during 1980-81 to 1984-85 is impressive. The total number of beneficiaries under the programme during 1980-81 was 47,548 which rose to 95054 during 1984-85 making an increase of 100%. In all, during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, 4,34,881 families were assisted, out of which 1,94,599 were under credit linked scheme and 2,40,282 under non-credit linked scheme. Mention may also be made to the assistance given to the scheduled castes families whose share in the poverty groups is sufficiently high. It may be recalled that under the minimum coverage of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in terms of families has been fixed at 30% in the seventh plan. As may be observed from table 6.1, this target is near fulfilment (29.1%). The total
### Table 6.2

#### The Performance of the IRDP in Haryana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Blocks Covered</th>
<th>Expenditure incurred (in Lakhs Rupees)</th>
<th>No. of beneficiaries under all Schemes</th>
<th>No. of SC beneficiaries under all Schemes</th>
<th>Total amount spent on subsidy (Rupees in Lakh)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>332.64</td>
<td>47,548</td>
<td>10,768</td>
<td>288.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>674.68</td>
<td>79,705</td>
<td>23,716</td>
<td>582.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>769.23</td>
<td>1,12,267</td>
<td>31,475</td>
<td>689.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>755.33</td>
<td>1,00,408</td>
<td>30,496</td>
<td>654.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>838.19</td>
<td>95,054</td>
<td>30,522</td>
<td>704.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3370.07</td>
<td>4,34,982</td>
<td>1,26,977</td>
<td></td>
<td>2919.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
expenditure incurred under the programme during the period 1980-81 to 1984-85 was Rs. 3370.07 lakhs out of which expenditure on account of payment of subsidy was to the extent of Rs. 2919.66 lakhs. It is worth mentioning here that Haryana has exceeded, to a significant extent, its targets in the matter of number of families assisted.

Thus, 4.35 lakh families have been assisted under the IRDP during the seventh five year plan period. But still a number of people remain to be assisted and raised above the poverty line. This gap is to be fulfilled during the seventh plan and the subsequent five-year plan period. During the seventh plan it is proposed to assist 2,79,000 families living below the poverty line. During the year 1984-85 the target was 55,800 while actually 95054 families were benefitted under the programme. Out of 2,79,000 families which are to be assisted during 1985-90, 48,496 families were assisted during 1985-86 and 50420 families were assisted during 1986-87. While during the year 1986 (upto 29.2.88) another 39258 families were assisted. Thus, only during the first three years of the seventh plan the targets are over-achieved. An outlay of Rs. 1298 lakhs is approved for the seventh five-year plan.

Thus, 4.35 lakh families have been assisted under
different schemes of the IRDP during the seventh five year plan. But it is possible that all the beneficiaries assisted under IRDP might not have crossed the poverty line. How effectively the state of Haryana has benefitted the vulnerable sections of the society can be seen by reviewing the performance of the IRDP. As regards the extent of benefits from the IRDP a few findings deserve consideration, even though there are differences in the findings of the Planning Commission of Haryana and other studies. The important findings of these studies are:

1) Among the two major planks-growth and redistribution-the growth concept was considered unrealistic\(^9\) and evaluation studies of the IRDP, which, in practice, is an anti-poverty programme only, have pointed out its dismal performance.\(^10\)

2) Majority of the beneficiaries reported that as a result of IRDP their income, family employment and consumption has increased, but in many cases they are relatively low and by themselves insufficient to bring the beneficiaries above the poverty line.


iii) A major area of concern is the correct identification of beneficiaries, as improper identification of target groups took away sizeable share of benefits.\(^\text{11}\)

iv) Another major observation about the IRDP is that it has a trend towards corruption. According to an evaluation study\(^\text{12}\), 71% of the total beneficiaries had to spend some money to bribe officials for expediting the payment of loan/subsidy and obtaining the assets under the IRDP.

v) 40.5% of the total beneficiaries were found to be defaulter in the payment of their loan instalment.

vi) The total number of mandays employed under different schemes went up during 1983-84 over 1981-82 with increases ranging between 13% to 111% of all the schemes. Buffalo-Scheme was found to be highly employment-oriented as it provided higher increase of 111% in mandays to beneficiaries followed by sheep rearing (74%), transport scheme (50%) and Irrigation (13%).

---

The existing set up of DRAP is not much suitable for planning, formulation and implementation of the programmes. There is lack of cohesion among different agencies. These schemes are highly centralised, targets are prescribed without considering local needs and funds are sanctioned towards the end of the stipulated periods.\(^{13}\)

The village level workers in these schemes are over burdened\(^{14}\) and also a weak link in its working. Since proper co-ordination between aiding agencies\(^{15}\) is not present, duplication of agencies and schemes\(^{16}\) has resulted in considerable amount of multiple counting of numbers of households lifted above poverty-line.

Yet another noteworthy fact is that evaluation studies of the IRDP by individual authors and organisations give different rates of success. Rath (1985) gives an estimate that 3.18%, or 1.45 million, households have been lifted above poverty\(^{17}\) at the all India level. The

\(^{13}\) See Paul, Samuel (1984).

\(^{14}\) See Tendulkar (1985).

\(^{15}\) See Krishna, Raj (1983).

\(^{16}\) See Hirwey and Abraham (1985).

\(^{17}\) See Rath (1985).
NAABARD study puts it at 20%, PEO study at 49%, ESO study at 34.3%, and Khattar and Pandey's study puts it at 28% (if properly identified, this percentage comes down to only 12% when we consider the total sample size).

x) In terms of an income mobility criterion, it has been observed that the lowest income groups have the least income mobility compared to the highest income beneficiaries. 19

Thus, all the evaluation studies come to the conclusion that all is not well with the IRDP, although IRDP assistance has made positive impact on generating income and employment. But the beneficiaries-oriented approach of the IRDP has not served the purpose for which it was started, as the benefits in a large number of cases are going to the wrong type of households for whom the programme is not meant. Many of the issues raised above relate to the methodological content of specific programmes. Through continuous review and monitoring, efforts are underway to bring about further refinements of the various schemes under IRDP. However, conscious efforts would now be required to achieve an integrated strategy for rural development.

in general, and poverty alleviation, in particular, with the following objectives:

a) To bring about a structural integration between the special programme of rural development and poverty alleviation and the plan as a whole in terms of macro-level policy formulation and resource allocation;

b) to ensure proper integration in the planning and implementation of sectoral and spatial development plans with individual beneficiaries-oriented programmes involving considerable decentralisation of planning and institutional co-ordination;

c) to open rural areas for all-round development through the provision of social and economic infrastructure;

d) to provide an adequate mechanism for people's participation; and

e) to strengthen the distribution system.

It, thus, emerges from our foregoing discussion that there is an impelling and urgent need for drastic re-orientation in the existing content of the poverty alleviation programmes and the implementing
procedure and its machinery. The lacunae in the identification of the really poor ones and the development programmes that are in operation for alleviating poverty have to be wiped off. These programmes have to be operated on a war footing and in such a fashion that benefits of these practically reaches to the poorest of the poor. What is urgently needed is to bring a real dent in the income of the most unprivileged cross section of the society, which is living in utterly abject poverty.

A group life insurance scheme for IRDP beneficiaries aged not less than 18 years and not more than 60 years has also been introduced w.e.f. 1.4.88. This scheme will apply to those assisted under IRDP from 1.4.88 and insurance cover will commence from the date on which the asset is disbursed to the beneficiary and will be operative till the date on which beneficiary completes age of 60 years or the period of 3 years from the date of commencement of cover, whichever is earlier. The sum of Rs. 3000 shall become payable by LIC to the nominee of the deceased in case of death and sum of Rs. 6000 shall become payable by LIC, in the event of death due to accident.

6.6 Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) In Haryana

The nutrition and health status of a country
greatly influences its socio-economic development.

Malnutrition is the most serious problem affecting children in India. India ranks second in population in the world today. According to the 1981 census, the total Indian population was 680 millions of which children up to 14 years of age number 255 millions and constitute 37.5% of the total population. Out of these 255 millions, 215 million (84.3%) lived in rural areas. There were about 111 million children in the age-group of 0-6 years constituting over 16% of the total population. Extensive diet and nutrition surveys carried out in various parts of the country have confirmed the fact that it is the children who were most vulnerable to malnutrition, particularly during their first six years of life.

Neglect of their needs during this crucial stage of development have an adverse effect throughout their lives. The high rate of mortality and morbidity, the toll of communicable diseases, various types of deficiency diseases etc. among children of pre-school age in India, more particularly from the weaker sections, are primarily attributable to malnutrition. Considering the seriousness of the problem and with a view to mitigating the nutritional deficiency in the backward sections of the community, our then Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, announced in the year 1970-71 a crash programme to provide
supplementary nutrition to children of less than 3 years of age, living in urban slums and tribal areas. This special nutrition programme was launched by the department of Social Welfare of the Government of India in 1970-71 in the central sector. The entire group of pre-school children below 6 years of age and expectant and nursing mothers in urban, slums and tribal areas were also brought under the perview of this scheme from the year 1971-72. Such services were introduced in 13 towns of Haryana, viz, Yamuna Nagar, Jagadhri, Kalka, Ambala, Karnal, Panipat, Sonepat, Bahadurgarh, Rohtak, Faridabad, Gurgaon, Jind and Narnaul. But all this did not solve the problem. The incidence of mortality and malnutrition continued to be high. Despite expansion of rural health infrastructure, health-care coverage was still limited in rural areas. Due to the cultural gap between the elite medical profession and the rural areas, an alternative approach for health care for rural population consisting of establishment of promotive, preventive, curative and rehabilitation services for rural people, especially for the children, was needed. Keeping in view these problems the Government of India launched the Integrated Child Development Scheme, in the year 1981 on an all India basis as a step
towards human resource development. Considering the magnitude and unprecedented nature of the task, on an experimental basis, the Scheme was introduced in 33 projects in different parts of the country in the initial stage. It was extended to 700 blocks in 1983-84.

The main objectives of this scheme are the following:

i) To improve the nutritional and health status of children in the age group of 0-6 years;

ii) to lay the foundations of proper psychological, physical and social development of the child;

iii) to reduce the incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school drop-outs;

iv) to achieve effective co-ordination of policy and implementation amongst the various departments to promote child development; and

v) to enhance the capability of the mother to look after the normal health and nutritional needs of the child through proper nutrition and health education.

To achieve these objectives the package of services being provided to the beneficiaries under the scheme include health check-up, immunisation of expectant mothers against tetanus, supplementary
nutrition, and nutrition and health education. These services are meant for expectant and nursing mothers. For other women in the age group of 15-44 years, nutrition and health education is imparted. For children of less than six years of age, the package of services includes supplementary nutrition, immunisation, health check up and referred services. Besides, non-formal pre-school education is also provided to the children between the age group of 3 to 6 years.

Thus, the ICDS provides all the possible help, guidance and education to all the children right from pre-natal stage to six years of age and also to the expectant and nursing mothers. As the name implies, it follows an integrated approach embracing all aspects related to health. In fact, the integration of services related to child health care into one scheme is its unique and salient feature.

Progress of the ICDS in Haryana

In Haryana, the number of children in the age group of 14 years or below constitutes about 42% of the state's total population. Out of these, 29 lakhs are in the age-group of 6-14 years. About 80% of the total children live in rural areas, which also
highlights the rural poverty. For the development of this segment of the population, the ICDS was launched on the 106 birth day of Mahatma Gandhi on 2nd of October, 1975 as an experimental rural project in Kathura Block of Sonepat District with the view to provide services to an important segment of the population—pregnant and lactating mothers—in an integrated manner so as to ensure proper growth and development of children in the rural areas. Since then, the projects have been expanding. Now, there are 35 rural and 5 urban projects covering two-fifths of the State of Haryana. Though Haryana is a progressive State and ranks second in the country regarding its per capita income, yet, in terms of health and development indicators, the State is far behind the other states. Infant mortality rate is very high, morbidity in children and prevalence of malnutrition is quite high. Against this background the ICDS projects, as a part of total development, are engaged in changing the picture of development and health in early years of life. Over a decade, the State is implementing, improving and expanding the most ambitious and comprehensive plans which aim at increasing the survival rate and enhancing the health, nutrition and learning opportunities of pre-school children and their mothers.
Package of Services

The concept of providing a package of services is based primarily on the consideration that the overall impact will last much longer if the different services develop in an integrated manner, as the efficiency of a particular service depends upon the support it receives from related services, e.g., the provision of supplementary nutritional programme is to improve the health of the child if he continues to do for the fulfilment of those objectives. The progress of ICDS can best be judged from the services rendered by the package of services under this scheme. The year-wise details of the beneficiaries under supplementary National Programme, Non-formal Pre-school Education, Immunisation and flow of expenditure are given in the following table 6.3.

With the objective of removing protein malnutrition, nutrition component is given to the children below six years of age, nursing and expectant mothers from...
the low income families. At present, this scheme is being implemented in thirty projects. The impact of supplementary nutrition can best be judged from the decrease in the number of severely malnourished children and fall in the infant mortality rate. The infant mortality rate, which was 115-132 per thousand in Kathura ICDS Project, declined to 101 per thousand in 1985. The percentage of severely malnourished children reduced to 4% in the year 1985, while it was 11.5% in the year 1976. The number of beneficiaries and the plan of expenditure both have remarkably increased during the period 1977-86. Hence, it can be said that significant improvements have been made in the nutritional status and health of the children and nursing and expectant mothers.

To check the tendency of drop-out, the ICDS programme is a means for the proper socialisation of children so that they develop interest in education. Children in the age-group of 3-6 years are imparted non-formal pre-school education in the Anagawaris. Attempts are made to conduct pre-school education in such a manner so as to ensure that the children develop desirable attitudes, values and patterns. The increasing number of children getting education under the non-formal pre-school education programme from 3860 to 104400 during the period 1977-86 speaks itself of the progress made by the ICDS.
Table 6.2
Performance of the ICDS in Haryana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Supplementary Nutrition</th>
<th>Non formal education</th>
<th>Immunizable</th>
<th>Flow of Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Beneficiaries</td>
<td>No. of Beneficiaries (in Thousand)</td>
<td>No. of Beneficiaries</td>
<td>Amount spent on ICDS in Lakhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expectant mothers.</td>
<td>B.C.G. DPT Polio</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amount spent on SNP (Rupees in Lakhs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children 0-6 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>3.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>10.76</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>9.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>13.60</td>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>18.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>15.64</td>
<td>30.12</td>
<td>15.64</td>
<td>42.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>21.86</td>
<td>48.86</td>
<td>17.13</td>
<td>68.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>34.80</td>
<td>67.69</td>
<td>46.60</td>
<td>103.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>52.22</td>
<td>98.38</td>
<td>64.82</td>
<td>156.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>65.84</td>
<td>104.40</td>
<td>33.11</td>
<td>131.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
High infant mortality and morbidity rates, especially in rural areas, are due to poor availability of medical facilities. Although, more health institutions have been opened in rural areas but they have failed to create an impact due to qualitatively poor medical facilities. High infant mortality rate is also due to poor mother and child care facilities in rural areas. Since rural areas have not been able to attract doctors, there is an imperative need to improve the quality of medical facilities in rural areas. The policy makers in the State are fully aware of this deficiency. Hence health check-up and immunisation services have already been included in the package of services. Immunisation at an appropriate time protects not only the mother but the new born baby also.

Thus, the integrated child development scheme is a boon to the poor children of the State. What has not been achieved over the years has been achieved through this programme by meeting the unmet age-long needs of the children and the women of the deprived sections of the society. By covering nearly 1,00,000 people in rural and urban areas and 50,000 people in tribal areas, this programme has been successful to a greater extent not only in laying down the foundations for the proper social and psychological development of the children but also in creating awareness and
increasing the capability of mothers to look after their children. The infant mortality rate has been reduced considerably over the years in areas where ICDS projects are functioning. Awareness about family planning and accepting it to keep the family size optimum was found to be better in ICDS areas and other related problems were found significantly high in non-ICDS projects. The instances of malnutrition were brought down considerably in ICDS areas. People getting health check-up, immunisation and other health services were reported to be better in both in terms of quality ICDS project areas. The ICDS and child care services have a positive impact on maternal and child health; and the scheme on the whole brought increased maternal and quantity. The ICDS was found equally good in having positive effects on the nutritional, intellectual, psychological and social status of the children and the mothers. It was found that moderate and severe grades of malnutrition were less frequent in rural areas having ICDS project. The nutritional services rendered through this scheme have resulted in better nutritional

status of children. It was found that children of the ICDS blocks were better in intellectual activities. The ICDS has also made a positive impact in socializing children through imparting non-formal pre-schooling education in AWCs. The outlook of the parents, families and the communities at large have been positively changing to a greater extent about the child care and their role in bringing up the children. The ICDS services have raised the level of knowledge of the people, particularly women, regarding the importance of breast feeding, supplementary feeding, growth chart, environmental hygiene, family planning, etc.

Contrary to this, some other studies present the other side of the ICDS. It was found that the quality and quantity of food was not according to norms fixed under the scheme. Nutrition education was not provided to parents though it was an avowed aim of this programme. No significant difference was found in the pre-schooling ab initio of nutritional and health status and knowledge of the ICDS and non-ICDS children. Due to wrong identification many children from non-poor families availed of those benefits which were meant for

---

27 See Phogat (1986).
the poor children. Community participation in the process of the projects was also lacking and the lacuna contributed to less effectiveness in the impact of the projects on beneficiaries.

The above mentioned facts lead us to the conclusion that still much needs to be done to involve local people, particularly women, in the ICDS programmes. Local leaders were found to be involving in this programme in terms of donating land to AWCs, constructing AWCs' buildings, and other related activities. But the involvement of local functional groups like 'mahila mandels', youth clubs, etc. needs to be strengthened. The active involvement of the community in the planning, implementation and monitoring stages of the scheme has left much to be desired. The ICDS community based programmes should take steps to involve the community in all its activities. There should be proper supervision so as to improve the quality and quantity of food to be served to the beneficiaries. Beneficiaries should be accurately selected, given correct proportion, and encouraged to consume their share in the AWCs. Effective and periodic monitoring of the supplementary nutrition programmes should be undertaken. Children should

29. See Jayaweera (1979) and Delhi School of Social Welfare (1976).
be immunised at their right age. Regular supply and proper storage of vaccination and other medicine should also be made.

To conclude, a well thought out programme of the ICDS has been accepted as a programme which can augment the total development of the children and the women. Fault lies with the implementation which can be solved if community involvement is increased.

Conclusion

Thus, on paper the broad policies that have been pursued all these years look of the kind which should be able to promote the egalitarian goals ideally. In fact, they could not be implemented in the manner envisaged. On the basis of the appraisal of anti-poverty and other programmes, it would be wrong to say that the policies were designed specially to benefit the rich at the cost of the poor. In fact, it is the way in which the policies are implemented, leaving the poor in their pristine poverty. Still the foregoing analysis of anti-poverty programmes clearly bring out the fact that the structure of growth of the economy at the present juncture along with the existing anti-poverty package is unlikely to make any significant and lasting
dent on the rural poverty in the State of Haryana. The current anti-poverty programmes, though quite significant in terms of absolute outlays, are not sufficient to tackle the problem of poverty in the State. Further, the anti-poverty programmes are at present entirely the responsibility of bureaucracy. The target approach which characterises all these programmes stands in the way of taking up schemes of a purely local nature. Moreover, the officials' claims of achievement usually relate to the 'quantity of inputs', e.g., 'how much money was spent rather than how well the money was spent' and 'whom has it benefitted', etc. As a result, there is a vast gap between promise and performance, between input and actual output, and between the expected impact and actual impact. The only way to prevent all this is to build into the system a mechanism which will ensure continued vigilance and continuous monitoring of rural development programmes at the grass-root level. Such a mechanism can not be provided by the bureaucracy but can only be provided by the community itself.

Individuals and families who suffer from extreme form of deprivation are neither normally taken care of by general and economic growth nor by any other anti-poverty programmes such as the IRDP. The worst
placed among the poor are those who are not able to participate in economic activities on account of old age, physical and mental handicaps, various disabilities due to morbidity etc. Traditionally, social security in India has been embedded in a variety of family, religious, caste, village and production relationships which are gradually disappearing with the rural/urban mobility, commercialisation of agriculture, urbanisation, and industrialisation. The solution lies in a publicly funded social security system as an integral part of the anti-poverty package which can take care of the poorest. Recently, the Government of Haryana has introduced social security measures in the form of old age pension.

We have seen, so far, that overall economic growth is no guarantee for the removal of poverty. Even anti-poverty programmes along with growth are unlikely to solve the problem of rural poverty. There is hardly any social security for the poor; the bureaucracy is totally unequal to the task of poverty removal; by and large, the poor benefits from the anti-poverty programmes only to that extent which do not affect the economic and social interests of the dominant sections of the rural community; and, lastly, there has been hardly any attempt to change this unequal bargaining game in rural areas.
What follows is a proposal to change this unequal bargaining situation which, on the face of it, may appear to be unequal to the task. The crux of the proposal is that the community should be responsible for social security to all its members. The bureaucracy and the Government at the central and state levels should enable and facilitate community to bear the responsibility. At present the various rural development programmes, including minimum needs programme and anti-poverty programmes, are planned and implemented by various government agencies on the basis of certain norms and guidelines issued by the central and state governments. At present, village community hardly participates in planning, implementation and monitoring of schemes concerning them. Indeed, often the people who are to benefit from these schemes do not have access to information about them. As against this, the community should be made responsible for the planning and implementation of all the developmental schemes, with the technical and administrative support of the bureaucracy by following the norms and broad guidelines issued by the Government at the central and state levels.

In brief, the proposal envisages a fundamental change in the role and functioning of the government.
functionaries. Their primary responsibility should be to the community which they are serving. The performance has to be assessed in terms of physical achievements and end results instead of on the money spent and the number covered. The progress has to be seen and felt by the people rather than reported upon to higher authorities.