Chapter II.
Industrial Development Of Backward Areas
Policies And Programs

It has been said in Chapter I that "Development" by itself is not distributed equitably across the various spatial/geographical units of a country, and that deliberate policy measures are required for such a dispersal. The present chapter discusses the policies and programs for remedying the problem of regional disparity in the dispersal of industrial development across the various regions of India. Soon after independence, it was realized that India is marked with natural as well as manmade variations in the levels of development. It was also realized that the existence of backward areas was significantly hindering the growth of the Indian economy accounting for variations in the distribution of income, infrastructure, industrial enterprises and other economic overheads. However, a professional approach in this direction could only be adopted in the late sixties and early seventies when backward areas were identified and fiscal measures and incentives were devised for the optimum realization of the potentials latent in them.

Prior to independence and during British Raj, Indian industry was characterized by a narrow locational base. During the later half of the 19th century (between 1850-1900) Indian industry was concentrated around major coastal towns and raw material centers. Cotton, textiles and plantations were the major industrial enterprises of this age. The two World Wars and the

protective Tariff policy of the British regime provided the necessary incentive for the expansion of Cotton and Jute Textiles, Iron and Steel, Sugar, Paper and Cement industry. However, the phenomenon of spatial dispersal of industries into backward regions of India was totally absent from the industrial policy during British Raj. The Census Of Manufacturing Industries adequately highlights this phenomenon in the following words,

"The three major Provinces (West Bengal, Madras and Bombay) accounted for 68 percent of the total factory strength. Rice mills accounted for 31 percent of these factories. General Engineering for 21 percent and Vegetable Oil Mills for 11 percent."

Pointing at the phenomenon of spatial concentration of industry, Malenbaum also remarks, "After allowing for the expansion in service facilities and in coal output needed for the railway system, there was little evidence of industrial diversification. While each large textile factory was soon surrounded by a large number of machine repair shops, these remained small-scale, makeshift enterprises."

After independence, India's policy makers sought to determine a pattern for national development in which industrialization was to play a critical role. The Directive Principles Of State Policy enshrined in Part IV of the Constitution Of India directed the State

2. India, First Census Of Manufacturers In India 1946, Volume 1., Delhi, Directorate Of Industrial Statistics, Ministry Of Industry And Supply, 1948. p.7

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

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

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

However, the objective of dispersing nation's industrial wealth across its various spatial units (especially the backward units) could not be picked up from the very outset. The first five year plan recognized the large potential for industrial development latent in some backward states of the country which were lagging behind due to a lack of infrastructure and ancillary services. The plan urged for paying adequate attention towards the development of these States. Within this perspective, one of the objective behind the passage of the Industries (development And Regulation) Act of 1951 was "to regulate industrial investment and production according to plan priorities and targets, and to achieve balanced economic development of different regions in the country."

development of India. "in order that industrialization may benefit the country as a whole, it is important that disparities in the level of development between different regions be progressively reduced. Lack of industries in different parts of the country is very often determined by factors such as the nonavailability of raw materials and other resources. A concentration of industries occurs due to a ready availability of water, electricity, transport and other infrastructural facilities. It is one of the important aims of National Planning to ensure that these facilities are steadily made available to areas which are lagging behind industrially, or where there is a greater need for providing employment opportunities provided that the location is otherwise suitable."

The Second Five Year Plan adopted balanced regional development as a goal of development planning and devised certain concrete measures in this direction. Backward areas were sought to be developed through the location of specific public sector industrial enterprises in backward regions. Industrial estates with minimum infrastructural facilities were sought to be located in these backward areas. The Government of Uttar Pradesh too formulated special Backward Area Plans for overcoming the devastation caused by floods and shortage of food grains in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bundelkhand. A special scheme for developing the hill areas (especially those located on the


Third Plan Period

The Third Five Year Plan made some effort in the direction of adopting a decentralized approach towards accelerating the pace of development in the areas neglected so far. This plan advised State Governments to set-up industrial enterprises well-suited to local conditions. Simultaneously, it emphasized on the provision of infrastructure such as transport and communication, electricity, water, and banking to attract large enterprises. Assuming that such large enterprises once established would attract other associated industries themselves acting as a nucleus. The Government of Uttar Pradesh made parallel efforts in line with the third five year plan for identifying backward regions within the States. In this perspective, it was recognized that backward pockets were present in all Districts of Uttar Pradesh. Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bundelkhand and Hill Areas of Uttar Pradesh were positively identified as economically backward. The Planning Commission also formed a study group, popularly known as the Patel Committee in the year 1962 to suggest measures for the development of four Districts of Eastern U.P. These were: Gazipur, Jaunpur, Deoria and Azamgarh. Special Development Programs were started in each of these districts in accordance with the recommendations of


10. India, Draft Third Five Year Plan, Delhi, Planning Commission, 1960. p.9, pp.143-144.
Patel Committee in 1964-65. The State Government further established three agencies during the third five year plan period to provide infrastructural and institutional support for the development of backward areas in the State. These were the:

1. Uttar Pradesh Finance Corporation;
2. Uttar Pradesh Export Corporation; and

Although the significance of these steps can not be denied, yet their impact could not materialize to the desired extent. In the opinion of shashi Maheswari\(^{11}\) the most important reason behind the relative failure of these steps was "the overall scarcity of resources available" in comparison with "the immensity of the problem".

Up to this stage, the problem of backward areas were sought to be solved by adopting a global strategy comprising of three main measures:

1. weightage was given to backward States in the allocation of Central Assistance;
2. The element of backwardness present in a State or area was considered as a determinant for the location of Central Industrial Projects;
3. a provision for Central Assistance was made for certain backward areas in the Northeast and in Eastern and hilly parts of Uttar Pradesh.

\(^{11}\) Shashi Bihani Maheswari, Policy Measures For Industrialization In Backward Areas Of Uttar Pradesh, Bombay, Himalaya, 1991. p.34.
Fourth Plan Period

By the time the fourth five year plan was formulated, it became evident that such a global approach was insufficient for the complexity of the problem. Meanwhile, two working groups set up by the Planning Commission and the Ministry For Industrial Development also highlighted the failure of the contemporary licensing policy in accelerating the pace of industrialization in backward areas. The Fourth Five Year Plan therefore, adopted a more comprehensive and location specific approach based upon the typical features of different categories of backward areas. The Fourth Plan emphasized that "a multidirectional area development approach be adopted to offset the high costs and low returns on investments," and to promote the dispersal of industries in the backward areas. Among other things, this multidirectional strategy included the following measures:

1. The fourth plan recognized the limitations of Per Capita Income as the solitary criteria for identifying backward areas and stressed upon the necessity for determining definite, comprehensive and precise criteria for such identification.

2. An attempt was made to identify backward districts and to devise adequate strategies for their development. Emphasis was laid upon finding specific solutions to the peculiar problems of each region and industrialization was given a high priority for the overall objectives of employment generation, eradication of


poverty and inequality of income.

3. Realizing that each backward region is faced with problems peculiar to itself, the fourth plan advised the States to formulate State and District level plans contriving their own strategies for the solution of specific problems faced by backward regions within their State boundaries. States were advised to build their own infrastructures within their plan sealing for implementing such strategies. 14

4. It announced definite fiscal and financial incentives for location of industries in backward areas. In addition to this, schemes for marginal and small farmers and agricultural labourers were also implemented during the fourth plan period. States were advised to devise and implement their own location specific measures.

As said above, the fourth plan has the distinction of initiating a more comprehensive and systematic approach towards the spatial diversification of industries in to India's backward regions. It was realized that although income, employment and industrial growth had increased in aggregates, regional disparity had also multiplied during the preceding three plan periods. "We sought to industrialize around an indigenous core of industries like ... Such industries as Steel, nonferrous metals, Petroleum, Fertilizers, Petrochemicals, and Heavy Engineering. But the outflow from such investment was eventually mopped-up and impounded by the urban and rural conglomerate. Planning failed even to start a trend towards balanced regional development. Not only did the vertical disparities accentuate, but the horizontal

balance too showed a distinct sign of deterioration."\textsuperscript{15}
According to Kundu and Raza,\textsuperscript{16} the expectation that massive investments in the public sector would have a trickle down effect did not materialize in many States.

In order to check this trend of persisting regional disparities, two working groups were constituted under the fourth five year plan period. The first working group was constituted under the Chairmanship of B.D. Pande for identifying the criteria of backwardness. The terms of reference of this Working Group included the following:

"to recommend the objective criteria to be followed in identification of backward regions which would qualify for special treatment by way of incentives for industries to be set-up in such regions. Among other things, the broad techno-economic factors which are relevant to the establishment of industries on a regional basis should be taken into account so that grant of special concessions does not lead to irrational growth of industrial development."\textsuperscript{17}

The second Working Group was constituted under the chairmanship of N.N. Wangchu to recommend fiscal and financial incentives for starting industries in the backward areas. Its terms of reference included the following among others:

(1) to consider the nature of concessions to be given for

\textsuperscript{15} R.T. Tewari, Changing Patterns Of Development In India, Delhi, Ashish, 1984. p.2.


\textsuperscript{17} India, Planning Commission, Identification Of Backward Areas; Report Of The Working Group, Delhi, Manager Of Publications, 1969. p.1.
enforcing the development of industries in backward regions. And in particular, to examine procedural, financial and fiscal incentives. (2) to consider the role of State Governments and financial institutions in the development of industries in backward regions.

(3) Examine the type of incentives that should be introduced to avoid concentration in metropolitan and highly industrialized areas.18

"The Pande Committee recommended the following criteria for identifying backward States and Union Territories:

(1) Total per capita income;
(2) Per capita income from industry and mining;
(3) Number of workers in registered factories;
(4) Per capita annual consumption of electricity;
(5) Length of surfaced roads in relation to total population and area of the State;
(6) Railway mileage in relation to population and area of the State.19

For identifying a backward District within a backward State, the following criteria was recommended:

(1) Such a district should be located at least fifty miles outside the radius of a large industrial project or a large city;

(2) Poverty of the people as indicated by low per capita


income starting from lowest to 25 percent below the State average;

(3) High density of population in relation to the utilization of productive resources and employment opportunities as indicated by the following factors:

(a) low percentage of population engaged in secondary and tertiary sectors (at least 25 percent below the State average);
(b) a low percentage of factory workers (25 percent below the State average);
(c) under utilization of natural resources;
(d) adequate availability of electricity or likelihood of its availability within one or two years;
(e) availability of transportation and communication or a likelihood of their availability within one or two years;
(f) availability of water or its likelihood within one or two years.

Pande Working Group strongly recommended the selection of 20 to 30 districts located in backward states and Union Territories all over India for grant of Central assistance for industrial development. The possibility of identifying backward districts in industrially advanced States was rejected altogether. It should be noted that the thrust of the Pande Working Group was in selecting and developing only those districts which possessed a minimum level of infrastructure for industrial development such as water, power, communication and transportation. This is amply evident from a perusal of criteria (a), (b) and (c). .

The Wangchu Working Group recommended the following
incentives for starting industries in backward areas:

1. Grant of higher or extra development rebate;
2. Exemption from income tax and corporate tax for five years after providing for development rebate;
3. Exemption from custom duty on plant, machinery and components to industrial units located in backward areas;
4. Exemption from excise duty for five years starting from the date of commencement of production;
5. Exemption from sales tax, both on raw material as well as finished products for a period of five years from the date of commencement of production;
6. Transport subsidy up to 400 miles of distance from the nearest railhead to the extent of fifty percent of the cost of transportation.  

The criteria fixed by the Pande Working Group for identification of backward areas was not accepted in total. It had to be modified after detailed consultations with the State Governments and Financial Institutions on the recommendation of the Committee Of Chief Ministers set-up by the National Development Council in 1969-70. It was not acceptable to the States. According to the new guidelines issued later, the State Governments were themselves to identify backward districts and the Planning Commission was to approve this selection for the implementation of Central and State Government schemes. The new

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set of criteria was as follows:

1. Per Capita production of food grains or commercial crops depending upon whether a district is predominantly a producer of food grains or cash crop. Conversion formulae for inter-district comparisons may be determined by the State Governments.

2. Ratio of population to agricultural labourers;

3. Gross Per Capita industrial output;

4. Number of factory employees per lakh of population. Alternatively the number of secondary and tertiary sector workers per lakh of population may be used;

5. Length of surfaced roads or railway mileage per lakh of population.  22

Even this set of criteria was subsequently modified in view of their inapplicability to all areas and all situations. As a result, whereas the Pande Working Group had recommended the selection of only 20 to 30 Districts all over India for grant of Central assistance, by 1985, around 246 districts had been declared backward. The major reasons for successively mediocrying these criteria were the following. Assessment of backwardness on purely statistical grounds might create a misleading impression of development and backwardness. This point has been detailed in chapter IV. pages 152-155. The limitations of statistical indices as a criteria for assessing backwardness have also been discussed in Chapter I. pages 15-18. Nonavailability of data to match the indicators set in the criteria was another reason. For example, per capita output of food grains is difficult to calculate in

Districts like Chamoli where the only major food grains grown are Mandua and Jhangora. This is difficult to match with the output at the State level where we are calculating food grains such as Wheat and Rice. The Government of U.P. itself declared its inability to collect data on all of the 15 indicators as asked by the Planning Commission in May 1966. This point too has been detailed in Chapter IV. pages 152-155. Above all, the entire issue acquired a political tinge. Local opinion and political mileage became important grounds for labeling a district as Backward. Finally, there was the obvious luring of Central assistance for development projects which would be made available once an area was officially labelled backward. Henceforth, a scheme which was to remain confined to backward districts in backward States was also extended to advanced States. In Uttar Pradesh for instance, the criteria that a district with no industry is backward gained all-round approval.

The recommendation of the N.N. Wangchu Working Group were implemented with the grant of several incentives for starting industries in identified backward area. The following few paragraphs are being devoted to a discussion of these incentives granted both by the Central Government and the State Government of Uttar Pradesh.

Incentives Of The Union Government

During The Fourth Plan Period the following incentives were announced by the Union Government.

(a) Capital Investment Subsidy: The Capital Investment Subsidy scheme declared on the 26th of August 1971 was the linchpin of Central Government incentives for backward areas.
Initially, a ten percent subsidy was to be granted to existing or new industrial units for substantial expansion in identified backward areas provided that the total fixed investment did not exceed Rupees 50 lakhs. For units to be started after March 1973, this subsidy was fixed at 15 percent with a limit on fixed capital investment of up to one Crore. Initially, the scheme was launched in two districts of each backward State and one backward district of each of the remaining States. Later on, it was expanded to cover six Districts each in backward States, and three Districts in each of the remaining States.23 Within the State of Uttar Pradesh, this scheme was covering all of the 42 declared backward Districts by the year 1983. The categorywise details of Capital Investment Subsidy are being given below:24

DETAILS OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT SUBSIDY
IN UTTAR PRADESH (1983)

(a) category Districts Number Of Districts ..............15
Percentage Of Subsidy ..............25%
Maximum Investment Limit ........25 Lakh

(b) Category Districts
Number Of Districts ..............06
Percentage Of Subsidy ..............15%
Maximum Investment Limit ........15 Lakh

(c) Category Districts
Number Of Districts ..............21

(b) Transport Subsidy Scheme

Under this scheme, 50 percent of freight charges on transportation of raw materials into or finished products from specified backward areas were subsidized by the Central Government. A distance limit of 400 kilometers was imposed from the nearest railhead. In July 1973, the five Hill Districts of Garhwal were brought within the purview of this scheme. This scheme was abandoned in 1978 due to operational misgivings. On account of bureaucratic delays in the re-embarrassment of freight charges, the entrepreneurs did not pay much attention to this scheme.

(c) Exemptions from Income Tax

A provision was made under Section 80(HH) of the Income Tax Act for a deduction of 20 percent of profits for computation of accessible income. This concession was available for a period of ten years from the date of commencement of production of an industrial unit or a hotel. Notified in April 1974, this scheme was made available to all industrial units and hotels located in backward areas commencing operation after December 1970. It was applicable only to those units which employ more than ten persons with power or twenty persons without power.

Concessions Granted By All India Term Lending Institutions
In line with the recommendation of the Wangchu Working Group, major Financial Institutions such as the Industrial Development Bank Of India, Industrial Finance Corporation Of India and Industrial Credit And Investment Corporation Of India, announced their own packages of confessional finance with a view to augment the efforts of the Union and State Governments and to provide finance for oncoming industrial units in backward areas. Following are the major concessions offered by All India Term Lending Institutions:

1. A lower interest rate of 9.5 percent was charged from industrial units located in backward areas.

2. A reduced commitment charge of 0.5 percent was charged.

3. A lower underwriting commission of 1.25 percent on shares and 0.75 percent on debentures was charged.

4. I.D.B.I. offered a special interest rate of 6.5 percent in case of refinance loans initially granted by commercial banks subject to a maximum limitation of Rupees 30 lakhs.

5. A direct loan assistance of up to one Crore was offered by I.D.B.I. I.F.C.I AND I.C.I.C.I. to new projects, or to existing projects for renovation or diversification.

6. A longer repayment period was fixed, i.e., 15-20 years rather than 10-12 years.

7. Moratorium for the payment of first installment was fixed at five years in case of backward districts instead of a normal moratorium of three years.

Several indirect promotional measures were also proposed, such as, sponsoring techno-economic surveys and feasibility studies, and funding technical consultancy organizations. This
was done with a view to assess the physical availability of natural and human resources as well as financial resources and to assess the feasibility of industrialization in backward areas.

Incentives offered By. Government Of Uttar Pradesh

The State Government of Uttar Pradesh offered certain concessions on its own. These include confessional water and power tariffs, easier terms for the purchase of land for industrial units located in backward districts of the State, and refunding sales tax in the form of long term low interest loans, or outright grants, etc. Some of this measures were provided on the anvil of the Uttar Pradesh Finance Corporation and were uniformly applicable throughout the State. Others varied from region to region and from estate to estate. The U.P.F.C. offered the following facilities:

1. Effective rate of interest on loans granted by the U.P.F.C. was 7 to 7.5 percent which was 1-1.5 percent lower than normal loans.

2. This interest rate was further lowered by 1-1.5 percent if the State Government granted a subsidy of 1 percent. This brought the interest rate on U.P.F.C. loans down to 66 percent.

3. The first installment was made due after two years of the payment of the loan or the commencement of production, whichever was earlier.

4. The period of repayment of loans was also extended to 15 years.

26. ibid. p.41.

87
5. The gestation period could be extended to four years from the disbursement of loan.

6. A lower margin of security was kept and a reduction of up to 50% was made on Corporation's normal fees, legal expenses and processing charges."

**Fifth Plan Period**

In the fifth five year plan, a definite effort was made to decentralize the process of industrial planning. It was realized that the preceding plans made an attempt to thinly film allocated resources over a wide spectrum of backward areas and necessities rather than blotting them in identified target areas to achieve satisfactory results. Moreover, the strategy of socio-economic development should be structured in a way to draw the disadvantaged sections of the population that live more in backward areas, in to the national mainstream. Backward areas were classified in to two categories:

1. Areas characterized by adverse physiographic conditions and inhabited by people with typical socio-cultural practices. Areas included in this category were the hill areas, draught prone zones and the tribal areas.

2. Areas characterized by adverse economic conditions, such as, adverse land-man ratio, inadequacy of infrastructure, resource potential and so on."

"This plan stressed on the organizational and institutional aspects of resource development and suggested an Area Development Approach to accelerate the pace

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27. ibid.

of development in backward areas.  

Regarding the Hill States, the plan decided that a special allocation of financial assistance should be made in the Hill States. The pattern of Central assistance in the hilly areas should be liberalized so that the States could make greater allocation of funds from their outlays for the development of such areas. The component of Central assistance occurring on account of expenditure incurred on hilly areas was fixed at 50% in comparison with 30% for nonhilly areas.

The District Industries Centers:

This program was launched on the 1st of May 1978 with a view to providing an integrated administrative framework at the district level itself to tackle the problems related to the industrial development of a backward district in a composite manner. It was realized that instead of scattering various aspects of industrial development in far-fetched and self-negating departments, better results could be achieved by integrating all sorts of services under a single roof. Prior to this, the District Industries Officer was a low level functionary incapable of planning and executing the industrial development of a District. Many institutions and agencies of the Central and State Governments had their own officials operating at the regional and District levels. There was no co-ordination between them. Therefore, the systematic development of a district used to suffer on account of organizational misgivings. Hence, it was found necessary to weave all functionaries in a single


institutional framework of the District Industries Center enabling it to function as a focal point of industrial development in a District.\textsuperscript{31} The major objective of a D.I.C. was to simplify to the maximum extent and to promote industries in least developed regions. The D.I.C. was sought to be linked with the overall financial framework of the district. Efforts were made to turn the D.I.C. into a nodal agency for rural industrialization by encouraging artisans and rural skilled craftsmen.

\textit{Sixth Plan Period}

In the sixth plan, District and Block level planning was stimulated in order to ensure the maximum participation of the local people as maximum utilization of local resources for promoting rural and village industries. The issue of backward hill areas was specifically raised in this plan. It was accepted that the present planning process has failed to make any significant impact on the development of hill areas.\textsuperscript{32} These areas are characterized by extreme pressures on meager natural resources especially land. Unemployment, large-scale migration and the peculiar environmental features of such areas often come in the way of their industrialization. Therefore, an integral strategy based upon the sound principles of ecology and economics is strongly needed. Apart from protecting their environment, there is an urgent need to provide the basic amenities of life

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31} R.K. Vepa, \textit{Small Industries: Challenges For The Eighties}, Delhi, Vikas, 1983. p.84.
\item \textsuperscript{32} India, \textit{Planning Commission, Draft Sixth Five Year Plan}, Delhi, Planning Commission, 1980. p.413.
\end{itemize}
such as food, fuel and shelter to the people of hilly region.  

During this plan period, the Government of Uttar Pradesh identified new backward areas to provide packages of incentives for their growth. The concept of No Industry Districts was introduced followed by a subsequent reclassification of backward districts in the year 1983. Some pioneer and prestige units were identified to qualify for special incentives. Term loans, equity participation, underwriting of shares were also planned by State level organizations such as P.I.C.U.P., U.P.F.C., and U.P.S.I.D.C.  

A National Committee On The Development Of Backward Areas was constituted in November 1978 under the Chairmanship of P. Shivaraman. This committee was in favor of identifying backward areas on the basis of fundamental backwardness that inhibits development. Fundamental backwardness is of the following types:

1. Tribal Areas;
2. Hill Areas inclusive of hill stations;
3. Draught prone zones;
4. Hot and cold water areas; 5. Chronically flood affected areas;
6. Coastal areas affected by salinity.

This committee introduced a new concept of a sub-plan especially devoted to the problems of backward areas. In the sub-plan, the

33. ibid. pp. 413-18.
34. Shashi Bihani, op.cit. p. 42.
needed allocation would come from the divisible part of development departments plan allocations. Special steps were proposed to be taken to force a discretionary grant for local planning and implementation groups in order to increase the level of their participation in the overall planning exercise. Financial discipline was sought to be imposed to prevent the diversion of funds meant for the sub-plans of backward areas.36

Seventh Plan Period

In the seventh plan document, it was mentioned that the hill areas of Western Ghaats and Himalayas are spread over 21 percent of the total area of the country and contain 9 percent of the total population. These have been an important focus in the Hill Area Development Program (H.A.D.B.) since the fifth five year plan, and have been receiving special central assistance. In the seventh plan, emphasis was laid on harmonizing the three parameters of development, i.e., socio-economic growth, development of infrastructure, and protection of ecology.37 The seventh plan also recognized that hill areas are particularly suited for industries requiring a pollution free atmosphere, cool climate and high skills.38

Conclusion

A perusal of this chapter reveals the commitment of the Government to industrially develop the backward districts of

36. India, Draft Sixth Five Year Plan, op.cit., pp.87-88.


38. ibid., p.344.
India in order to reduce regional disparities that so often threaten the political stability of the country. It also reveals a lack of continuity and clarity in concepts, aims and objectives and strategies adopted during the past few decades. Each plan expresses similar commitments and highlights some new concepts, objectives and strategies. But the problems remain the same. For example, lack of infrastructure was identified as a major priority in the industrial policy resolution of 1948 for the first time. Since then, it has been a top priority of the Government in every plan and policy document till today. In the beginning, all backward areas were stacked together. The objective was to develop them through the location of large industrial projects which would stimulate propulsive growth. There was a single macro plan for all sorts of backward areas. Later, it was found necessary to identify backward areas on the basis of fixed criteria through the location of large and small as well as cottage industries. Since then, such criteria have been varying not only from region to region, but from program to program and agency to agency. Each plan adds to the multiplicity of agencies and programs, but due to a lack of co-ordination, and the problem of overlapping and duplication among their functions, the impact is not visible on the surface.