

Chapter 2

EVOLUTION OF IRDP AS A VARIATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The fruit of economic development now occurring in developing countries is not being distributed equitably among the various areas and groups within a nation and among nations. The poor in the rural areas are usually the losers. IRDP as a strategy for rural development was initiated in many developing countries for the dual objective of mitigating poverty and ameliorating the quality of life in the rural areas. The abject poverty in the western countries was wiped out through rapid industrialisation and massive transfer of people to urban areas. This alternative is not open to latecomer developing economies. Remedies to their abysmal rural poverty are to be conceived and executed with international co-operation.

Even though the British in India began promoting rural development by initiating piecemeal policies, such policies did not gather momentum in the form of integrated rural development. Two vital activities were initiated almost simultaneously by Gandhi and Tagore, the two great Indians of the modern period. Mahatma Gandhi visualised an integrated model of rural reconstruction which became an integral part of his philosophy of non-violent struggle for freedom. He sought an allround

development of the village through the full and active play of all the resources of the individual. It involved rebuilding of every aspect of human life and envisaged a society based on self-supporting and self-governing villages. Self-sufficiency is the keynote of the economy of this society. It means that all requirements in the way of food and other necessities of life will be grown or produced in the village. The help of science may be required for creating soil suitability for the production of basic food or raw-material.

Gandhi desired to revive the 'Swadeshi' spirit among the masses so that they could become the architect of their own destiny through self-help and self-reliance. He did not like the people to be dependent on the state for the supply of articles of daily consumption. Such dependence, as he conceived would stultify the spontaneous growth of their personality as responsible citizen. His scheme, therefore, accorded highest priority to the development of agriculture through the optimum utilization of locally available resources. He was in favour of improving traditional tools and implements instead of dependence on excessive mechanisation to raise agricultural production. He advocated the use of green and composted manures to enrich the soil. Agricultural sector in his scheme would produce two types of crops, food crops

to fulfil the nutritional need of the people and fodder crops for the cattle population of the village. Agriculture is the backbone of the village economy and animal husbandry is, in turn, the backbone of agriculture. The cow has been basic unit of rural prosperity through the ages, mainly because she supplies not only wholesome milk for diet but also strong bullocks for farming purpose. He, therefore, desired to promote the evolution of 'dual purpose' cattle in the village economy.

In pursuance of the ideal village self-sufficiency Gandhiji advocated the promotion of village industries to ensure employment of the people in the village. He was, however, not against the introduction of mechanisation in industries but opposed to the employment of machinery in industries that results in the extinction of village industries and creates unemployment. He differentiated between mechanical efficiency and economic efficiency. The bigger machine may be more efficiency mechanically but would be economically inefficient and socially costly as they displace human labour and create social problem of unemployment. He prescribed for Indian villages a labour-intensive method of industrialisation to create employment opportunities within the village. However, the insistence on this approach was due to capital-scarcity in one hand and the abundance of work force on the other. He felt that if swaraj or self-government was to mean anything to the

teeming millions of the country, the national movement must touch all aspects of villagers' lives. He sought to revive 'charkha' in tune with the development of the spirit of 'Swadeshi'.

Gandhiji took initiative in giving practical shape to his vision of integrated rural development by undertaking different projects in his lifetime. The Wardha Village Uplift Scheme envisaged by him concentrated on a programme of sanitation, adult education, promotion of village industries, use of oil ghanis etc. The Sevagram Centre near Wardha (Madhya Pradesh) was initiated by Mahatma Gandhi in 1935, when he established his ashram near segaon village to improve the condition of those areas. He wanted each village to be complete republic independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence was necessary. He endeavoured to build Wardha as a self-sufficient village. With some assistance from government he established in his ashram a milk dairy, a hospital and a library. Multipurpose workers were trained in the village. The workers helped the villager in many ways, to change their diet, improve their sanitary condition, to have windows in their houses to send children to school and also to encourage participation of villagers in the development plan of the village. Some old village industries, such as, paddy husking, floor grinding, oil pressing, 'gur'-making, bee-keeping

and soap-making were revived and developed. The objective was to attain full employment and make the village self-sufficient in many respects.

Rabindranath Tagore's approach to the problem of rural reconstruction was quite different from that of Mahatma Gandhi. For the poet, the problem of rural development required not only the removal of poverty, but also the adding of Joy to the life of villagers. He sought prosperity of the village with the touch of beauty. He laid special emphasis on the development of self-reliance and self-respect in the village communities. He sought a revival of ancient culture and at the same time economic and social progress by the adoption of modern methods and techniques. He tried to bring about a harmony between urban society and rural society.

He started his own reconstruction work by giving shape to his own idea on rural reform. He set up the Institute of Rural Reconstruction in 1921 at Sriniketan near Santiniketan. The objects of the Institute were : (1) to study and locate the problem of the villagers; (2) to take their problem to the class-room for detailed analysis and also to provide solutions to the villagers; (3) to develop their own resources and potentialities; (4) to teach them better methods of growing crops and vegetables and of keeping livestock; (5) to encourage them to learn and practise arts and crafts; (6) to bring home the benefits of associated life,

mutual aid and co-operative endeavour. However, the central point in Tagore's scheme of rural development is interaction and exchange between urban technology and rural enterprise and initiative. Tagore's vision of Integrated Community Development later gained official recognition in the post-independent India.

An attempt towards Integrated rural development was made in independent India through the initiation of the Community Development programme on 2nd October, 1952. Altogether fiftyfive community projects were launched on that date. Each project was to consist of about 300 villages with a total area of 400 to 500 square miles, a cultivable area of about 150 thousand acres and covering a rural population of nearly 2 lakhs. Each project had a budget of Rs.6, 50, 000 spread over three years. Although the programme was multipurpose but it placed special emphasis on agricultural production and as such the areas selected were those endowed with irrigation facilities or had assured rainfall.

The programme was expected to be integrated and multifunctional to deal with the major problems of the rural people. Their problems are interrelated - the low level of production due to primitive methods followed in agriculture and village industries, malnutrition and disease, illiteracy and the bondage of the debt. A stagnating economy is both cause and effect of these conditions. These problems cannot be solved unless they are tackled simultaneously. It is in

the field of agricultural improvement the programme was supposed to make maximum contribution. The programme would induce thousands of farm families to adopt better methods of farming which is within their capacity and they can do with own local resources. The farmers would be encouraged to use the better kind of seeds which they can themselves multiply and store for next year's sowing. The programme would inculcate the practice of the use of irrigation from the small irrigation works which the farmers can themselves construct and maintain through collective effort. The adoption of simple soil conservation measures and crop protection technique by the farmers were to be encouraged by the programme.

All this process, however, cannot be initiated or sustained by exhortations or price incentives. It requires a vast army of skilled and devoted extension workers working with the farmers day in and day out. The active cooperation and enthusiasm of the peasants themselves have to be enlisted. They have to be organised into their co-operative for providing them credit, quality seeds, fertilizers, farm implements and for undertaking marketing. Capital resources being scarce in the agricultural sector, community development has the advantage of relying on local resources, particularly the abundant manpower.

A year later, the government launched another

programme of rural development called 'National Extension Service Blocks with a provision of Rs.7,50,000 per block for three years. The original view underlying these two schemes was that community development would mark an intensive phase of rural development lasting for three years and was not thus permanent. Whereas National Extension Service was to be a permanent multifunctional agency in the block. The planners called this new scheme a human movement that would instill in the people a will for better life. It would create in them a passionate desire for improving their standard of living through their own efforts and in full co-operation with their neighbours.

Community projects and national extension service thus became an integral part of the five year plans in India. The specific objectives comprehended by the planning commission for these services are, firstly, the approach of the various development departments working in the village must be coordinated and one comprehend the life of the villagers as a whole. This approach is to be made through a common agent to all the principal departments engaged in rural work who is now known as village level worker. Secondly, while the official machinery has to guide and assist, the principal responsibility for improving their own condition must rest with the people and therefore, those programmes are to be taken first in which element of self-help and mutual cooperation

are present. Thirdly, the chronic unemployment and underemployment is to be removed through the practice of scientific agriculture and cottage as well as small scale industries. Fourthly, advice and precepts are to be backed by practical aids i.e. supply of seeds, fertilizers, finance and technical guidance for solving the villager's practical problem; Fifthly, the best results are to be achieved by pursuing the programme intensively and by bringing all the families within the programme. Sixthly, there is to be created in the rural population a burning desire for higher standard of living - a will to live better.

The planning commission decided to cover the whole country with the extension service scheme. Therefore the opening of the new community project was stopped in 1954. The Commission pointed out that the extension workers would take up only those programme in the beginning which were useful to the cultivators in their effort to increase agricultural production. The various measures sought to be taken were: the supply of manures, improved seeds and implements, as well as increased use of co-operative credit. Thus as a first step National Extension Service Blocks were to be organised and then they were to be converted into Community Development Blocks.

Starting with fiftyfive blocks in 1952, the community development programme spread rapidly. By the end of the first

five year plan (1951-56), there were 1,114 blocks covering 1,63,000 villages with a population of 11 million. By the end of March, 1961 there were 3100 development blocks. Of these 880 blocks had completed more than five years and entered the second stage of the community development programme. The total outlay in the first plan was Rs.40 crores. In the second Rs.200 crores and in the third plan it was to be Rs.294 crores in addition to about Rs.28 crores for Panchayat.

A greater stress was laid on the need to prepare village production plans. These were to be furnished through two stages. The first stage was the preparation of the district and block plans by co-ordinating the activities under (i) the schematic budget of the block (ii) the programme of the different development departments of the State Government, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, (iii) programme of minor irrigation included in the agriculture and revenue department plan, (iv) programmes of the Panchayats and local authorities. The block plan would show the programme in each village arranged according to V.L.W. circles. The second stage should be to initiate discussion in every village on the basis of these village plan. The block level officers would start this discussion. The Panchayats, co-operative, the progressive farmers would also join.

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The production plan would consist of two parts.

First, the programme in the village included in the block programmes for which funds are allocated, and the second the programme prepared locally at the village level consisting of items like digging of field channels for utilizing irrigation, maintenance of bunds and field channels, tanks and wells, multiplication, storage and distribution of seeds and fertilizer. The production plan is thus a continuing programme linking up the block programmes with the local programmes prepared by the villagers themselves. The success would however depend on the efficient organisation of supplies and services and the assistance given by way of technical advice to the villagers. The latter would be the exclusive responsibilities of block staff. The former would be the responsibility of Panchayats, assisted by block staff.

The main lines of activities in a community development block are : (1) Agriculture and related matters; (2) Irrigation; (3) Communication; (4) Education; (5) Health; (6) Supplementary Employment; (7) Housing; (8) Social Welfare and (9) Training. Despite its multifaceted nature, the programme sought the economic improvement of the life of villagers whose fundamental problem was poverty. Agriculture thus received priority attention. Other avenues of employment were to be promoted to reduce the pressure on land, and development of cottage industries and other crafts were considered to be important. But an expansion of the

non-agricultural sector of the rural economy itself depended to a large extent, on the generation of surpluses in agriculture to provide the necessary capital, raw-material and market. Agriculture, therefore, was accorded pivotal position. It was proposed to irrigate 50% of cultivable land through minor irrigation work such as tubewells, tanks and canals. The road system in the countryside is to be developed to link every village through feeder roads with the main roads and no village would remain more than half a mile away from the main road. Education, both primary and secondary, along with social education was placed in the programme. One primary health unit in each development block and a secondary health unit with a hospital and a mobile dispensary at the project headquarters were set up. Health measure included provision of safe drinking water, control of epidemics and education of people in hygienic living. Underemployed and unemployed were to be provided with gainful employment through the promotion of cottage and small scale industries.

The Fourth Five Year Plan stipulates that the working of the Community Development Programme has thrown up various experiences during the last decade. The operation of the Blocks in five year stages, with tapering financial provision from stage to stage, was based on the assumption that, by the

end of the initial ten year period, there would be adequate mobilisation of resource by the local institution and sufficient channeling of other plan funds to make any separate provision thereafter for blocks unnecessary. Community Development, in other words, would then no longer be assisted and schematic but self-reliant and locally rooted. These assumptions have not proved correct. By and large the programme continues to be dependent on government initiative and even more so on government funds. Where funds are lacking, activities languished and the staff remained almost supernumerary. Where, however, administrative and financial support has been forthcoming, the combined contribution of Panchayatiraj and Community development has been significant in the formulation and implementation of local government plans. In certain instances, the Panchayatiraj institution have, for their part, made attempts to raise increasingly large resources through tax measures. In the majority of cases, however, local finance has continued to play very little part in local development. It cannot be denied that though the improvement of agriculture has remained the basic thrust throughout, within the limitation of resources, the programme has attempted to do something which in many cases had never been attempted.

However, the programme failed to register any appreciable increase in agricultural production with the

inevitable consequence that India was compelled to import more and more grain to feed its growing population. The benefits of the programme went to the large farmers at the cost of small cultivators and agricultural labours. In spite of the introduction of Panchayatiraj, the village leaders did not understand their full responsibility towards the community. There were a lack of integrated area development concept connecting small villages with large service centres, growth centres and cities, for the proper development of various services in that area. The programme was taken up on an uniform basis in all areas and no consideration was given to the regions peculiarities of soil, climate, mineral and other resources. Despite all these failures, however, the programme would have brought an allround development in rural life through its numerous and diverse activities but it was not seriously tried on Indian soil.

In the fifties and sixties, India's population registered an increase of 2.5 per cent per annum, but its food production was increasing by less than 2 per cent. The country was thus compelled to import foodgrains to the tune of one million tonnes of wheat from the United States and by the early sixties, the amount rose to 4 to 5 million tonnes annually to feed its growing population. In 1950, India invited a team of American expert and this team submitted its report entitled "India's Food Crisis and Steps to meet it

"in the same year. The Government accepted the recommendations of the team in letter and spirit. The team recommended the adoption of a wideranging package programme based on the increasing application of technology and modern management in Indian agriculture. The strategy of Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP) was framed on the recommendation of the team. Supplies of fertilisers, pesticides, improved seeds, improved farm implements, and other production inputs were also to be made through co-operatives. The team also recommended the introduction of price incentive to participating cultivators through assured price agreements. Public works programme was to be organised using local labour to undertake drainage, building, soil conservation, minor irrigation, building of approach roads and other development works contributing directly to increased production.

The Third Five Year Plan incorporated the programme and observed that this programme was to be taken up in one district in each state - its purpose being to contribute both to a rapid increase in agricultural production in selected areas and to suggest new innovations and combination of practices which could be of value elsewhere. A slight modified version of the same approach was extended to several other parts of the country in the form of the Intensive Agricultural Area Programme (IAAP). The main concern of the programme was, however, with specific crops. But the

programme failed to meet the challenge of food crisis brought about by continuous drought from 1964 to 1967. It was apprehended from different corners that India was heading towards a disaster in view of the prevalent rate of food production. It was in the midst of such dire warnings that India evolved what has come to be known as New Agricultural Strategy. The new strategy was put into operation in 1966. The agricultural package programme of heavy concentration of inputs in selected well-endowed regions with a view to raise productivity quickly began to show positive result. In 1969, Government of India announced the occurrence of 'Green Revolution'. The success of the new strategy was manifest in the massive rise of food production. But by the nature of its success it did not become an all India phenomenon, it was largely restricted to Punjab, Haryana, parts of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. To utilize the new package, the farmers needed to have knowledge of more sophisticated agronomic practices. Availability of requisite inputs like fertilizer, water, pesticides was also essential. The strategy, therefore, came to the use of that section of the agricultural community which possessed the necessary resources. Thus, the programme mainly benefited the rich farmers and cultivator of large landholdings. The small landholders and the landless agricultural labourers were bypassed by the new strategy which culminated into the widening of distance between the

rich and the poor in the rural areas. Therefore, the agricultural strategy of concentration on selected regions generated two kinds of imbalance in India : the regional imbalance and the class imbalance. Despite its success in raising agricultural production, the strategy was not an attempt even towards Integrated rural development. However a host of infrastructures were added.

2.2 THE BEGINNING

The design of the Fourth Five Year Plan was in effect moulded by the movement of Robert McNamara who took over the Presidentship of the World Bank in the early seventies. The hypothesis, McNamara circulated, was that the increase in income generated through what is known as a balanced development programme does not trickle down to the poor. The distribution of the additional income generated was very uneven. It accrued in larger than proportionate measure to those who owned land and other productive assets or were skilled in different types of work. The percolation of the increased income to the poor, who were largely resourceless and unskilled wage earners, was a thin trickle, if at all. Aid given to the less developed countries, McNamara sought, to be directed partially to the benefit of the target group of poor. He laid special emphasis on the

need to formulate a new approach to rural development - namely, growth with distributive justice. The 'Garibi Hatao' slogan of the Central Government sprang directly from the McNamara Hypothesis. The Fourth Plan was thus inextricably associated with plans and programmes to correct imbalances of its predecessor and is directly addressed to the groups and regions which had hitherto been neglected. Growth with social justice was the objective paid down in this plan. Thus in the agricultural sector, the Fourth Plan has two main objectives. The first objective is to provide condition necessary for a sustained increase of about 5 per cent per annum over the next decade. The second objective is to enable as a large a section of the rural population as possible, including the small cultivator, the farmer in dry areas and the agricultural labourer, to participate in development and share its benefits. Accordingly, the priority programme of development in agriculture fall broadly into two categories namely those which aim, at maximising production and those which aim at remedying imbalances.

The Plan document notes that small cultivators and agricultural labourers represent 52 per cent and 24 per cent respectively of the total rural households, whereas the pattern of land holding is such that less than one-fifth of the cropped area consists of small holdings. The plan also apprehends the danger of emergence of a sharp polarisation

between the more privileged and the less privileged classes in the rural sector, the privilege in this case relates to the resources and tools of development. The concern for small holders was also voiced by All India Rural Credit Review Committee which submitted its report in 1969. The Report pointed out that small farmers have not benefited in proportion either to their numbers or their needs from the various programmes of rural development implemented since the First Plan nor have been able to receive an equitable share of institutional credit. The number of small holdings and the area which they account for both justify the centrality of place they have occupied in Indian agriculture. The Committee also came to the conclusion that the productivity of the small farm was in no way less than that of the large farms nor was a small farmer any less progressive than large farmers. The Committee warned that more far reaching are the socio-economic implications of leaving this big section of the cultivating population out of the ambit of the agricultural and other rural development programmes. The Committee recommended for the benefit of such groups of cultivator an institutional set up in the form of a Small Farmers Development Agency in certain selected districts. This agency should identify

- (a) the special problems of small cultivators as producers;
- (b) the means by which they can be assisted to overcome the handicaps and render their farm economies viable and commercial; and
- (c) the arrangements by which those means can be provided.

The Committee emphasised that this agency should

make the optimum use of the existing institution and authorities as also the funds available otherwise.

The Fourth Five Year Plan pointed out the major handicaps of Small Farmers - defined as those holdings under two hectares as fragmentation of landholdings, insecurity of tenure, inadequate and ultimately supply of inputs and water, lack of credit facilities and unsatisfactory arrangements for marketing and storage, the approach to the problem of small farmers, according to it, is not that of developing a different technology but that of enabling such farmers by suitable means to participate in the available technology.

The Plan sought to achieve this by a number of ways, both general and specific. The general measures, which pertain to the country as a whole, are complementary in character and extend to a number of spheres, including minor irrigation, agricultural credit and animal husbandry. Community works such as tanks and tubewells were proposed to be constructed to benefit small farmers who would not be able to provide such facilities among themselves. There was also a proposal to reorient agricultural credit policies in favour of small farmers. The specific projects were contemplated exclusively for the benefits of the small farmers in about fortyfive selected district and these projects were to be implemented by a Small Farmers Development Agency in each of these districts. The Plan was equally concerned with the problem

of 'submarginal' cultivators and agricultural labourers. Sub-marginal cultivators are those who own holdings smaller in size than the one which could have brought them within the ambit of small farmers' schemes. They do not fully employ the available family labour, and the solution in their use does not lie merely in crop husbandry. Agricultural labourers constitute a large group in India, number 31 million according to 1961 Census. The Plan felt that the remedy for them lay in creating supplementary occupation and other employment opportunities.

This meant that these aspects had to be covered in local planning. This was proposed to be done in forty projects located in different districts all over the country. These projects were to be located around towns or other areas of demand so that employment oriented activities such as poultry and dairy farming could be developed. Likewise, a marketing and processing facilities were to be developed by way of providing support to sub-marginal cultivators and agricultural labourers. The Plan observed that these projects will of course be distinct from other projects designed for the potentially viable farmers, although, geographically the area of operation of two sets of projects may coincide in appropriate context. Where this happens, it may be possible to use Small Farmers Development Agency as the instrument for executing both the schemes. In other case a separate but analogous capacity would have to be created.

The Fourth Plan allocated Rs.115 crores as direct financial support for the amelioration of small farmers and agricultural labourers and put the two schemes - one for small but potentially viable farmers and the other for 'sub-marginal' farmers and agricultural labourers - under the control of the Central Government. Although the two schemes were sanctioned during 1970-71 but the programmes began to be implemented during 1971-72. To administer the programmes, two new agencies - the Small Farmers' Development Agency (SFDA) and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labour Agency (MFAL) were set up as corporate and autonomous bodies to work at district level. Initially the Fourth Plan visualised fortyfive SFDA and forty MFAL projects but the number of those actually started stood at fortysix and fortyone spread over ninetyseven districts. The government later decided to continue these project till the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan and these special schemes were extended to a total of 160 districts.

The major functions of SFDA were to keep small farmers by organising and arranging services (machines, implements and similar requirements) and supplies (improved seeds, fertilizer and pesticides) required by them, to arrange for irrigation from the most practicable sources; to assist them in securing loans from co-operatives and other credit institution; and to arrange facilities such as storing,

transporting, processing and marketing their produce. The agencies were also expected to exploit the possibilities of augmenting the income of small farmers through animal husbandry and agro-based industries. The major responsibilities of MFAL were to (a) identify eligible marginal farmers and agricultural labourers to be covered by the project; (b) to investigate these problems (c) to formulate economic programmes for providing gainful employment to them (d) to promote rural industries (e) to evolve adequate institutional financial and administrative arrangements for implementing various programmes; (f) to promote the creation of common facilities for the production, processing and marketing of products; and (g) to evaluate the programme from time to time. The focus of SFDA was directed more towards intensive farming while MFAL laid emphasis on the provision of subsidiary occupation and other employment generating schemes.

SFDA, MFAL was to serve as a catalyst in providing subsidies to small and marginal farmers on their institutional borrowings for agricultural purposes. The rate of subsidy to small and marginal farmers was 25 and 33.3 per cent respectively subject to the limit of Rs.3000 but may be raised to Rs.5,000 in the case of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. The agencies released the subsidy to the financing institutions or to the suppliers of services and goods on behalf of the beneficiaries.

Initially SFDA and MEAL were established as two separate agencies, but in June 1974, the Government of India decided to abolish the distinction between them and a combined agency emerged. Each agency consisted of a governing body with a small executive staff, headed by the district head. Its members were technical officers of agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation and other departments closely concerned with its programmes. Representatives from banks and other lending institutions were also included in the body. The governing body has three basic functions : (a) preparation of the project report outlining the basic economic and other characteristics of the project area, (b) formulation of detailed schemes for the benefit of the target groups and responsibility thereafter for their effective implementation and (c) to serve as a forum to discuss the problem, faced by the agencies and devise solutions.

Starting with eighty seven project areas, their number rose to 168 covering 1818 blocks, each block had an annual allocation of Rs.2.50 lakhs. The projects ceased to function from October 2, 1980. The evolution study carried out by the Programme Evaluation organization in 1979 shows that the implementation of the programme suffered from many deficiencies. Such as : (a) the improper identification and verification of beneficiaries led to the benefits of the scheme accruing to wrong persons, (b) Agricultural labourers

were almost totally neglected in the matter of credit,

(c) There were cases of neglected in the matter of credit,

(d) there were cases of misutilisation of input loans in

most of the projects (e) in regard to programmes of subsidiary occupations, the beneficiaries were not properly selected and supporting facilities were not provided adequately with the result that instead of augmenting income, they proved to be a liability for beneficiaries especially in case of dairying, and poultry programme. In the Rural Works Programme taken up in these projects the employment provided was for a very short period and in many cases persons other than identified agricultural labourers and marginal farmers were employed. Therefore, it is doubtful whether whatever employment was generated, actually went to the target group.

The perennial problem of subsistence agriculture and chronic poverty cannot be solved within the narrow confines of SFDA. The subsidy oriented package to the target groups of beneficiaries fails to bring any lasting impact. An integrated approach towards poverty eradication was absent in the schemes of SFDA which was designed to rectify only one category of imbalance. The Intensive Agricultural District Programme, in general, and New Agricultural Strategy in particular gave birth to regional imbalances too. To meet the criterion of 'assured water supply' for the adoption of new agricultural package, the drought prone areas, which constitute nineteen

per cent of the total area of the country, were neglected. An attempt in this direction was made during 1970-71 through the initiation of 'Rural Works Programme' in the selected drought prone areas of the country. Though basically it was an employment-oriented programme, its long term objective was to create infrastructure in the chronically drought prone areas. The activities, covered, were soil conservation, afforestation, road construction and provision of irrigation facilities. The labour intensive programme was expected not only to contribute further growth in those areas but also to diffuse economic activities. However, as pointed out by the planning commission in the Fourth Plan, the Rural Works Programme could not yield results commensurate with the expenditure because it was not integrated into local development planning.

In 1972-73, at the time of mid-term appraisal of the Fourth Plan, the Rural Works Programme was redesignated as the Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP). The new schemes, however, was not visualised in the Fourth Five Year Plan but it was inserted later as a central sector scheme with an allocation of Rs.70 crores. The Fifth Five Year Plan allocated for DPAP Rs.161.5 crores. As 50 per cent of the expenditure was to be borne by the concerned states, the total budget for five year became Rs.323 crores. DPAP programme during the Fourth Plan envisaged two-fold measures, viz. research into improved dry farming technology and application of such technology to dry

farming areas. The main constituents of the new technology were : (1) Soil management, (2) harvesting of water (3) new crop varieties, (4) new agronomic practices and (5) training of extension staff. Soil management included measures relating to soil structure, soil fertility, and correction of alkalinity of the soil. The harvesting of water included popularization of modern harvesting procedure including the use of aluminium foil and polyethylene film. The new crop included quick yielding and photo-intensive varieties such as short-duration varieties of castor, arhar and jowar. The adoption of these varieties will also enable double cropping over large areas. Among the new agronomic practices would be included the application of nutrients through foliar feeding. Initially these projects were to be taken near the existing research centres and for training purposes the services of agricultural Universities in these areas were to be organized.

The Fifth Five Year Plan envisaged an integrated area development of the drought-prone areas. This was to be accomplished through the development and management of irrigation resources, soil and moisture conservation, afforestation, pasture development, and livestock development. It was decided to provide at least ten per cent of the cropped area in each district with irrigation facilities during fifth plan period if possible by bringing water from another catchment. From the viewpoint of landuse planning, a sizeable part within the arid and semi-arid zones has been brought under crop husbandry

which fit only for conservation purposes. From its initiation the unit of the DPAP was the tehsil but 1979-80 the development block was made the basic unit. From the same period, the method of allocation also underwent a change - the allocation per block was fixed at Rs.15 lakhs per annum, to be contributed equally by the Central government and the states. The programme has been in operation in 511 blocks in 70 districts in thirteen states from 1981.

A centrally sponsored programme of area development was taken up during the Annual Plans (1966-69) in the command areas of eight river projects. Ten more such schemes were taken up during the fourth plan period and 50 during the fifth plan period. Development authorities for integrated development were to be set up in 50 major projects. Detailed surveys and studies were to be carried out and comprehensive integrated schemes were to be drawn up on this basis. Expenditure were to be incurred in respect of non-farm development works consisting of field survey, designs and preparation of plans for these works and the supervision of execution thereof, strengthening of existing extension, training and demonstration organization. At the state level there were to be joint directors in the department of irrigation, agriculture, soil conservation and co-operation with a whole time administrator for the command area vested with the powers of the head of the above departments to co-ordinate their activities. Other programmes included the fixing, and enforcing of suitable

cropping pattern; the planning and ensuring the supply of inputs such as credit, seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and so on. Marketing, processing and communication facilities were to be developed. This programme of integrated development of 50 major irrigation projects covering 14 million hectares was also to help the rich programme, which previously suffered because of bad water management. Thus the Command Area Development Programme (CADP) was an attempt towards integrated development approach to make the best use of the irrigation system with its modernization and the adjustment of cropping pattern to the soil and agro-climatic conditions of the command areas.

Hill Areas Development Programme (HADP) was envisaged in the Fifth Five Year Plan to bring about socio-economic transformation in the hill areas. Considering the peculiar problems of the hill areas in the States of Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Tamilnadu, Pilot projects were taken up under this programme. The main strategy of development in these projects was the integrated development of agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, land development and soil conservation, minor irrigation and other basic infrastructural facilities. Tribal Area Development Programme was initiated in the Fourth Plan through the launching of six projects in the tribal areas of the country. The emphasis in these programmes was to be laid on soil-conservation, land development, control

of shifting cultivation, subsidy towards the risk fund of co-operative institutions and restructuring of co-operative institutions to serve their various needs such as provision of credit, distribution of inputs, marketing of agricultural commodities, marketing of minor forest products and distribution of consumption goods.

As a part of studies on area planning, a centrally sponsored scheme on Pilot Research Project in Growth Centres was launched during the Fourth Plan. The objective of the pilot project was to enunciate a broad research methodology and pattern for identifying emerging growth centres and to ascertain how the growth potential of these centres could be developed through comprehensive and scientific study of the overall development needs and how these centres could be incorporated into the frame of the district plan and thus assist in the process of planning from the grassroots. The scheme was to study action plan relevant to the acceleration of integrated area development around potential growth centre of integrated area development around potential growth centre. Reports for these 20 projects were completed in 1974. However, these pilot research projects were of great help in designing a comprehensive area development programmes. The whole Village Development Programme was one of the area development schemes launched during the Fourth Plan. The scheme to be carried out

on pilot basis was taken up in 38 villages of 4 states in the country in 1974. The central theme of the whole village approach is to build the programme of development around the community as a whole. The programme included, (1) consolidation of holding; (2) overall land development plan for maximising water control and moisture preservation in dry areas; (3) maximising irrigation support; (4) cropping programme for the village for the best use of irrigation; (5) protection of share-croppers, (6) providing housesites for landless; (7) scaling down of old debts and supply of credit to small and marginal families.

Along with the programmes of area development and target group approach, as initiated during the Fourth Plan; special employment programmes were also taken up in the form of crash schemes. In line with the rural works programme taken up during the third plan period, a Crash Scheme of Rural Employment was taken up in 1971-72 as a non-plan programme to promote quick and direct employment to at least some specific numbers in each district. The scheme had two-fold purpose, namely (1) generation of an employment for 1000 persons on an average per year in each district; and (2) production of assets of a durable nature in consonance with local development plans.

The Intensive Rural Employment Programme was undertaken during 1972-73 in 15 selected blocks to provide full-employment to everyone who was willing to work. But these ad hoc schemes

of employment were ultimately given up as programmes like SFDA, DPAP were fully spread. Special Employment Guarantee Schemes, as formulated by the two states of Maharashtra and Gujarat, was aimed at providing increasing employment avenues in the rural areas. The Food for Work Programme was introduced in 1977 by the Janata Government. The aim was to provide employment to unemployed villagers during the slack season and at the same time to create community asset of lasting value. The wages paid to them were in the form of foodgrains. The programme was renamed in 1980 as National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) "with slight modification. The programme was to be implemented as a centrally sponsored scheme on a 50:50 sharing basis between the Centre and the States. "The State Governments could use some of the procedure adopted in Maharashtra for raising the employment guarantee fund for generating the additional resources needed for implementing such a project. Wages could, depending upon the possibilities be paid partly in cash and partly as grain. The programme was expected to cover on an average 1000 unemployed in every block.

Though a multiplicity of programmes were in operation since the initiation of planned development in India to attain the socio-economic betterment of the rural life, a search for integrated development model still continued even in the Fifth Five Year Plan. As the Plan document observed "It is recognised that rural development should include agricultural development

in its widest sense so as to embrace, besides crop production, all its allied activities. The integrated development should encompass both spatial and functional integration of all relevant programmes bearing on increased agricultural production and reduction of unemployment and underemployment among small farmers and agricultural labourer." Minimum Needs Programme is to be implemented on a massive scale during Fifth Plan. These programmes will cover a large number of developmental activities spread over a wide area. The aim is towards all-round development and not confined to increasing production only. People's participation in these development programme is vital for their success.

A movement was initiated by India's scientific community in early seventies to take science and technology to the villages. It called for scientists and scientific institutions to harness science and technology to eliminate rural poverty. Karimnagar Pilot Project was an attempt in this direction. The Karimnagar experiment was interdisciplinary, with a series of logical interconnected steps involving the preparation of an inventory of resources natural as well as human, and seeking their optimum utilization by injecting the appropriate technological inputs. It was the nursery of the Integrated Rural Development Programme which began in 1976.

The International movement for Integrated Rural Development programme also gathered momentum in the early

seventies. The World Bank announced a shift in its lending policy in 1973 in favour of schemes to eliminate rural poverty and following this call, other international organizations and donor agencies committed themselves to such a new strategy of rural development. Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank, observed while enunciating the new approach. The bank seriously notes that the decade of rapid growth has been accompanied by greater maldistribution of income in many developing countries and that the problem is most severe in the countryside. An increasingly inequitable situation will pose a growing threat to political stability. Disparities in income will simply widen unless action is taken which will directly benefit the poorest. The third world countries began returning their rural development programmes to qualify for loans from the World Bank. Countries of the Asia and Pacific regions began to evolve an Integrated Rural Development approach from the early seventies. Despite considerable efforts in the past, amelioration of poverty in the rural areas of these countries has posed an intractable problem. The priority to growth models tried in the past have generally failed to make the trickle down mechanism reach the hardcore poor. Although Integrated Rural Development as a strategy of rural development evolved and was shaped by the internal dynamics of the socio-economic forces in each of the countries, the donor's perception about the viable and feasible direction of rural development thus ultimately shaped the nature and characteristics of the integrated programmes. Eleven countries of the Asia and

pacific regions took initiative in forming Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific (CIRDAP) in 1979 at Dhaka to record the various experiences of IRDP under different policies, programmes, projects and activities. The Centre, since its inception reviews the inputs, the impacts, the problems and the issues together with the perspective of IRD programmes/projects from time to time in eleven CIRDAP member countries.

2.3 THE PRESENT FORM

In the Budget Session of Parliament in 1976, a blueprint for integrated rural development was presented. It laid emphasis on people's participation and judicious application of science and technology for the optimum utilization of resources. It envisaged the replacement of the ad-hoc measures by scientific planning based on complete knowledge of resource endowment. Priority importance was attached to infrastructure and institutional framework with a view to make impact over all economic aspects constituting comprehensive development of the rural areas. According to the Budget document, the aim should be to ensure a systematic, scientific and integrated use of our natural resources, and, as part of this process, enabling every person to engage himself in productive and socially useful occupation and earn income that would meet at least the basic needs. The Government allotted Rs.50 crores to Integrated Rural Development Programme which was started in selected districts.

The Janata Government terminates the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79), two years early and drafts its own Sixth Five Year Plan (1978-83). This Draft Plan reviewed the approach to rural development, specially with reference to the poor. It visualised an integrated plan of development at the block level, within which a special beneficiary-oriented plan for the poor was to be appropriately fitted. It pledged to make area-specific programmes to utilise local endowments for growth and social justice. The Draft Plan observed that the new approach would aim at integrating field programmes reflecting the economic activity of the rural family whose employment and development is the basic objective. It is proposed to bring this about by developing the primary, secondary and the tertiary sectors. In the primary sectors programmes for agriculture, animal husbandry fisheries and forestry development will be intensified. In the secondary sector programme for village and cottage industries as well as small scale industries skill formation and supporting services will be substantially enlarged and strengthened. Tertiary sector will be developed by creating facilities for organised marketing, processing and allied activities so as to absorb increasing number of local people.

As a comprehensive strategy and approach for translating these objectives into specific programmes the Integrated Rural Development would involve as per the plan document a multi-pronged attack on the problem of rural

development. 'Integration' would cover for principal dimension : integration of sectoral programmes, spatial integration and integration of social and economic processes, and above all the policies with a view to achieving a better fit between growth, removal of poverty and employment generation. The programme would focus on target groups comprising small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers and rural artisans and an extremely location-specific planning in the rural areas. The draft plan proposed the formulation of comprehensive block level plans. The block level would be formulated in harmony with the district and the state plan. The block level planning will have to take note of the local resources, manpowers, institutional strength and public participation for evolving a suitable programme of overall productivity with special emphasis on providing full-employment to the rural population. Full employment will have to be related to the raising of the income of the target groups, who are below the poverty line. The Plan further noted that out of 5100 blocks in the country, about 3000 were covered by one or more of the special programmes, such as SFDA, DPAP and CAD. Two thousands of them will be chosen on the basis of accepted priorities for a programme of integrated rural development including rural works aimed at creating full employment. Blocks with more than twenty per cent scheduled caste population will be taken up as a first priority. During each year of the Plan, another 300 blocks will be added leaving 1600 blocks to be covered in the next five year period

starting April, 1983. As on 31.3.1980, 2600 blocks were covered under the programme.

The Congress party abrogated the Janata Government's Sixth Five Year Plan (1978-83) and introduced its own Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85). This plan document reviewed the performance of SFDA. Besides the rather inadequate coverage, the plan found poor provision of additional assets for the poor as its major shortcomings. The plan document also reviewed the IRDP as it had been formulated and operated during the two-year 1978-80. While recognising the conceptually comprehensive nature of the programme, it observed that it had been no different from the earlier SFDA. After reviewing different programmes for poverty eradication, including the special area development plan like DPAP, DDP etc. the plan reached the conclusion that the constraints for which these programmes have suffered have not been financial but organisational inadequacies and lack of a clear cut plan of development of the area to which co-ordinated effort of all concerned agencies could be directed.

Therefore, the Sixth Plan proposed to replace the multiple agencies in the field for the purpose by a simple integrated programme called the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). In keeping with the earlier draft Plan (1978-83), it specified the first operational strategy of the IRDP programmes to be the formulation of a five year development profile for each district disaggregated into blocks, based on

practical (achievable) possibilities of development in agriculture and allied sectors. A scientific understanding of the resources of the district was a prerequisite for preferring such a profile. The authors of the Plan made special mention of optimum development of ground and surface water resources, development of dairy, animal husbandry, fisheries, forestry, local manurial and full resources including bio-fas development. They also wanted in the blue print the linkages for training and marketing. This modified version of IRDP was to be implemented from October 2, 1980 all over the country.

The IRDP was thus conceived basically as an antipoverty programme. The rural poor were small and marginal farmers, landless labourer and artisans. These people were poor because they mostly did not possess any productive assets other than their labour, nor did they possess any special skills. Therefore the Plan document pointed out that any development strategy which aims at improving the lot of the poor must aim at creating new productive assets for them. Improving the productivity of land by providing access to inputs like water, improved seeds and fertilizers would be an essential means to help these categories of the rural poor, who have some land asset. Diversification of agriculture through animal husbandry, dairying, forestry, fishery, sericulture, etc. will benefit both the landless and the landholders and this would form an important plank of the programme. Processing and

manufacturing activities based on local resources will also have to be identified and fully exploited. Post-harvest technology will have to be improved so that both producers and consumers benefit from enhanced production. The basic strategy was to promote self-employment of the poor households with the help of these assets so that they may earn incomes above the poverty line.

The way, in which the makers of the Sixth Plan conceived the IRDP, provided undoubtedly an element of justification to the nomenclature "integrated". They sought to increase production and productivity in agriculture and allied sectors through the optimal use of land, water and sunlight. The plan, therefore, wanted to employ the prospective beneficiaries in viable economic activities. In the view of the authorities of the Sixth Plan, the identification of these activities and the designing of their projects with the erection of forward and backward linkages are of great importance for helping the intended beneficiaries. The Planning Commission stipulated that a household rather than an individual be selected and economic uplift of the household be attempted through the association of all working members especially women. The Commission recommended special care to see that only those belonging to the target groups are selected. A mechanism was essential so that the poor were represented on the implementing agencies. A village plan register was to give all the details of the selected families

and the development programmes made for them.

The plan stated that on an average 10 to 12 thousand of of the twenty thousand households in a block were poor. Under the IRDP, 3000 of these poor households on an average per block, at the rate of 600 per year, were to be helped with requisite assets and training, through bank loans and government subsidy to carry out additional economic activities that will help them rise above povertyline. Two-thirds of these poor households were expected, on an average, to be covered by schemes falling in the area of agriculture including animal husbandry, 500 in village and cottage industries and 500 in services. The selection of the beneficiaries was to be according to the 'Antyodaya' principle, all poor households were first to be identified and ranked and the poorest were to be the first to be selected as beneficiaries under the programme. The capital subsidy was to be equal to one-fourth of the price for small farmers, one-third for marginal farmers and landless labourers, and was not to exceed Rs.3000 for any household, except scheduled tribe beneficiaries for whom the subsidy was to be 50 per cent of the value of the asset, and was not to exceed Rs.5000.

The Sixth Plan made an allocation of Rs.1500 crores, half of which was to come from the central government with other half to be provided by the state governments. The amount of Rs.1500 crores represents subsidy part of the investments under the IRDP. An amount of Rs.35 lakhs was to

be spent on each block. The banking sector is to provide credit support for the programme. Only credit requirement for the programme during the Sixth Plan period would be Rs.3000 crores. Thus a total investment of Rs.4500 crores was envisaged in the Sixth Plan. An estimated 15 million beneficiary households, spread over 5011 blocks of the country were expected to be covered by the programme during the plan period, out of which an estimated 5 million would be scheduled caste and scheduled tribe households.

However, the anti-poverty programme as launched in the Sixth Plan had three broad sub-components. These were (a) poverty group oriented programmes for asset and skill endowment coupled with supplementary wage employment; (b) special area programmes; and (c) Minimum Needs Programme (MNP).

In the first sub-component came the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), as Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP). Under sub-component (b) there were Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Desert Development Programme (DDP), Hill Area Development Programme (HADP). Under the sub-component (c), the broad heading of MNP would include (1) elementary education, (2) rural health, (3) rural water supply (4) rural roads (5) rural electrification (6) rural housing (7) nutrition.

The Sixth Plan noted that for successful implementation of IRDP, it would be necessary to establish adequate horizontal linkages with a number of such programmes at the field level. It was also proposed in the Sixth Plan that the scale of funding under IRDP was to be Rs.5 lakhs per block in the first year of the Plan, Rs.6 lakhs in the second year of the Plan and Rs.8 lakhs each in the last three years. The plan defined the cut off annual income of Rs.3500 per family.

Department of Rural Development of the Ministry of Agricultural, Government of India, has the overall responsibilities of policy prescription, direction and monitoring the different rural development programmes especially IRDP. At the state level, the Department of Rural Development is entrusted with the duties of designing, and evaluation of different poverty eradication programmes. The District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) is the apex body of the district level which is concerned with planning and implementation of IRDP. DRDA also functions as a nodal agency to plan and implement DWCRA and TRYSEM, along with IRDP. It is a registered society under societies act. The chief executive of DRDA is the project officer who is assisted by a number of specialist in various government departments. The programme is guided and monitored by a governing body. The District Planning Board with District Collector as its chief reviews the programmes from time to time.

At the block level, Block Development Officer performs the role of coordinator, at the block level of all the poverty alleviation programme of which IRDP is a major component. People's participation in all aspects of rural development is given special emphasis.

Village Level Functionaries are directly responsible for contacting the beneficiaries fortnightly a monthly. Selections of beneficiaries are done with the help of elected Panchayat member. The Village Level Workers would maintain an identity-cum-monitoring card known as 'Vikas Patrika'. Supervisory staff which mainly includes Block Development Officer and extension officers have to ensure that the village level functionaries are performing their job of contacting the beneficiaries to see that their assets are in tact. Block Level Co-ordinating Committee (B.L.C.C.) constituted under the Chairmanship of B.D.O. with extension officers, managers of the rural branches of the commercial banks and elected Panchayat members, is a body to review monthly progress of the programme. The Seventh Five Year Plan observed that during 1980-85, IRDP covered 165.6 lakh beneficiaries with a total expenditure of Rs.1,661 crores. The total investment mobilised as reported to be Rs.4,762.8 crores. The Plan observed that there were evidences sufficient to suggest that process of economic growth and anti-poverty programmes have made a significant dent in the problem of poverty. The Plan envisaged to cover 20 million families under IRDP

of which half will be new and other half would be those who had got some benefit in the Sixth Five Year Plan but could not make the grade. Thus the Seventh Five Year Plan has attached highest priority to IRDP. It has proposed to recast IRDP and prepared a 12 point plan. These are : (1) The beneficiaries will be given an oneshot investment of Rs.6000 per family (2) The previous beneficiaries would be given a supplementary dose of investment of bringing them above the poverty line. Qualitative improvement will be ensured by restricting the number of beneficiaries. (3) Instead of uniform allocation of funds on a blockwise basis it has now been decided to provide funds to states based on incidence of poverty. (4) The need to improve infrastructure linkages for supply of raw materials and marketing in the rural areas is highlighted. The State governments will be asked to establish District Supply and Marketing Societies (DSMS) for this purpose. (5) The target of coverage of women beneficiary would be 30 per cent of the total beneficiaries. (6) A new scheme for training of beneficiaries would be initiated. This will include launching of new composite rural training and technical centres. (7) streamlining of administrative arrangements will be carried out at the district level and state level, (8) The performance of banks is sought to be improved under the programme, (9) Identification of beneficiaries is proposed to be carried out with the assistance of people's representative (10) Efforts would make to create an awareness of benefits and rights of beneficiaries of IRDP. (11) Involvement of voluntary organisation would be encouraged,

(12) Concurrent evaluation will now be carried out at district level.

The ceiling of subsidy fixed for different categories in the Sixth Plan would continue. Within these the average subsidy per household would be stepped up from around Rs.1000 in the Sixth Plan to around Rs.1.333 to allow for higher per capita investment level so as to ensure adequate income return. A total financial allocation of Rs.3,474 crores has been made in the Plan. Besides it is expected that credit to the tune of around Rs.4,000 crores would be mobilised from the banking sector. The authority of the Seventh Plan also desired that the target groups of the IRDP be simultaneously covered by other anti-poverty programmes such as N.R.E.P., R.L.E.G.P., D.W.C.R.A. It was desired that projects like Special Rice Programme (Now IPRD), operation flood II, programme for handloom and sericulture be directed towards the target groups of the IRDP in a bid to attain maximum possible integration between those and IRDP. The IRDP was also desired to include land-based activities of minor irrigation, dry farming, horticulture and farm forestry. The written version of the Indian IRDP provides for concrete steps for strengthening in household activities in the Industries, Service and Business.

The basic approach and strategy of IRDP of India has not yet undergone any substantial change in the Eighth Five Year Plan. The general IRDP aim of creation of 'productive assets', skill as well as income for the poor persists. But, as expressed in the annual action plan of a DRDA in the State of west Bengal, some changes are revealed. In the first place, some reduction is contemplated in the financial allocation in 1992-93. The annual action plan of a district of West Bengal shows that the financial allocation for IRDP declined from Rs.212.96 lakhs in 1991-92 to 188.24 lakhs in 1992-93. This means that the fall in the financial allocation amounts to 11.6 per cent for this district in 1992-93. During 1991-92, 7365 beneficiaries were covered by IRDP but the target number of beneficiaries but the target no. of beneficiaries to be covered in 1992-93 were 5976.

However, there has been substantial increase in the target for families to be covered - 7079 families in 1993-94 in place of 5976 families in 1992-93. This reflects an increase of a little more than 18% over last year's target. The financial allocation for 1993-94 has also registered an upward revision to the tune of Rs.292.00 lakhs in place of Rs.211.00 lakhs for the last year. The increase in both physical target and financial target may be attributed to the decision of the Government to lay greater stress on IRDP as a part of rural development programme. At the same time

corresponding financial allocation has been necessitated for upward revision of monetary ceiling, a subsidy amount from Rs.5,000 to Rs.6,000 in case of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe beneficiaries and from Rs.3,000 to Rs.4,000 in other cases. The per capita subsidy has also gone up from Rs.2883 to Rs.3200 in 1993-94. Finally the poverty line is revised from Rs.6400 to Rs.11000 to take into account the inflation.