

**PLANNING AND SOCIETY
A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION
OF SELECTED PLAN DOCUMENTS**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SANJAY BAJPAI

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067.
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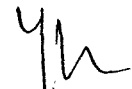
जवाहरलाल नेहरु विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
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D E C L E R A T I O N

This dissertaion entitled "Planning and Society- A Sociological Interpretation of Selected Plan Documents", by SANJAY BAJPAI for the degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University. We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.


M.N. Panini


Yogendra Singh

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I take this opportunity to extend my feelings of gratitude and thanks to Dr M. N. Panini for his encouragement even when we disagreed on basic issues.

I also thank the Chairperson and other faculty members for their guidance.

Thanks are also due to my friends, especially Ms Monica Sharma for incisive comments when they were most needed.

S. Bajpai.
SANJAY BAJPAI

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INTRODUCTION

The present work began as a study in 'ethno-development'.¹ The use of 'imported' development paradigms (by the Indian state) has invited criticism and comment from diverse fields. It was however felt that much of this criticism (including from the 'radical' left) did not account for the emerging social processes, instead it began with predefined paradigms of development which were subsequently imposed on the social/economic reality. This discursive strategy reduced these 'alternate' perspectives equally vulnerable to regression in presence of perplexing reality. A need was felt to study 'development' as it actually occurred rather than as it was planned. It was specifically planned to study the perceptions and experiences of development as it constituted the social-structure. In this context it was also noted that many explanations of 'lack of development' come to rest on the 'social-structure', it might therefore have been helpful to constitute social structure as a configuration of projections of self images into future hopes, fears, dilemmas faced by the people and their 'cultural' resources of norms, values, standards, beliefs, 'knowledge, strategies, images, practices, procedures, etc.

Despite a rich promise, the hope of undertaking the project in the 'normal' mode could not be fulfilled, the reason was the difficulty of creating and sustaining, a well defined 'object' of study, i.e. 'development'. That is, the question of which beliefs, strategies, practices, mechanisms, symbols to admit as 'symptoms' of development, and which others to exclude.

A society is not necessarily characterized by a single conception of 'Development' - definitely not ours. This is an issue marked by "radical openness" and is 'essentially contested' (Shotter 86), what it means is, that it would be futile to

- i) guarantee to (being able to) 'recognize' development when we encounter it.
- ii) try to resolve the disputes, or 'finish' the question, (regarding development) by argument of any kind... for these disputes must, by their nature be endless and there can be no general method for deciding among the various possibilities.

'Essentially Contested Concepts' have another feature, they derive from an "Original Exemplar" whose

authority is accepted by all participants.

Once the above is accepted it is easier to construct various arguments as organisation of practices, of acts rather than 'evaluate' them at face value in the first instance.

This question could not be satisfactorily answered prior to the venture because decisions such as those are 'products' of practice and usage, this time our own.

Fortunately there is a precedent created by Ramashray Roy (Roy 86 pp.15-27) who studied the notion of 'development' in its political context. He analysed the reigning concepts of Universe, Man and 'Development' and some of the consequences of its pursuits.

This suggested the idea of the analysis of plans, especially how they evolve notions-in-practice (i.e. the text of the plans), it was hoped that these ideas-in-practice would facilitate/furnish some new insights into the relations they succeeded in establishing with and among the various components of the society.

Choice of planning had an additional advantage. It obviated the problem of constituting a 'coherent object' of study. The plan documents themselves provide an entry point. This solution is achieved at a price, the social context of text production (the bureaucracy) has not been studied by professional sociologists, but is constituted in the domain of 'Public Administration', with its own rhetoric and its own tool-kit of concepts. There is little received sociological wisdom apart from some comments of speculative character by theoretical Marxists - especially the structural Marxists.

The above apart, the study, remains vulnerable to the embedded boundaries of perception and conceptualization. Here the study attempts to build an independent perspective through continually confronting planners' utterances with traditional sociological wisdom. But at best the present study manages to create some openings in planning discourse for a more thorough intervention to follow later.

The following analysis thus attempts to look at some of these concepts, especially those that were held to be major components of planner's basic approach in each of the plans.

Not all the plan documents have been chosen, those plans have been chosen about which sociologists have either said something or about which something could be said² - it needs to be emphasized that the modified goal of this exercise was not a survey of the institutions to uncover hidden linkages between them, nor was it to generate a final inventory of the notions and values embedded in the plans and their consequences for the society. The programme here is much more modest to examine some of the concepts practices and images, generated in plans, which informed the policies and programmes of the concerned plans in the sense that they affected their goals or the pursuit of the same. It was assumed that plans are an outcome of careful handiwork which involves feed-back from various sources, to an extent therefore plans are both a reflection of, and a component of social reality. It was also assumed that plans are meaningful tools that are 'translated' in a diversity of perspectives many not sharing the concerns of the planners. In a sense thus plans form a basis for negotiation, bargaining and alignments at various levels, thus being an important component of social-fact that is development. .

This 'translation' activity can be analysed within a number of 'social-frames'.³ The plan documents do not

encourage a consideration of these 'frames', for they articulate the plans in positivistic terms as passive reflections of reality rather than actively created (and socially negotiated) narratives.

The dissertation itself consists of Five Chapters, one on each plan analysed, and the fifth for summing up the 'findings.'

Chapter Notes

1. The similarity with 'Ethno-methodology' of H. GARFINKEL is intentional. 'Ethno-development' has to do with social changes that occurs as a result of pursuit of 'Development' within a society.
2. The plans chosen are Ist, IInd, IVth, VIth, and VIIth.
The reasons for chosing these plans are ;
First plan, was the first attempt at planning and created numerous precedents.

3. Not everybody is committed 'fully' to the goals of the plans and people have narrower goals rooted in this context e.g. political survival, patronage, promotions, 'control security' and what not - but here we are again in the danger of resurrecting our 'ethnodevelopment' in a modified form. In fact, it would be prudent to start by admitting the possibility that even activity of plan formulation itself is affected by the 'social-frames' embedded in the social context of its generation. For 'Social Frames' See Goffman (75).

First Plan

THE RHETORIC OF BASIC APPROACH

To begin with, planners ennuciate the Basic Approach (Basic Approach) to planning. The Basic Approach also serves as a rhetorical device, in an attempt to influence people from different social positions to their perspective.

Politics of Basic Approach

They were aware of the political nature of this effort, at the time there were groups with conflicting perspective on development and other issues. The planners approach in this regard can be termed as "conciliatory".

Search for Authority

In their search for authority they relied on the charisma of science and technology. For themselves they chose the role of a 'neutral scientist as mediator'.

For the values that were to inform this enterprize they relied on the constitution² - these values were

'democracy' and social justice. A far reaching contribution of planners lay in this successful operationalization of democracy and welfarism.

Treading the tight Rope:

This approach however had a limitation, all through the plan there is a tension between the need for an exhaustive and realistic analysis of the situation, and a fear of evoking 'closed thinking' based on too narrow a formulation of interests based on the some analyais. For example, planners often evoke ill defined fears of mass discontents with very loose but identifiable associational with workers, loandowners, zamindars, unemployed etc without an analysis in terms of "capitalism","feudalism","trade unions"etc. This vagueness is not due to inadequate analysis but was carefully structured to allow creative intervention.

Tabooing Conflict:

Such allusions were used both, to erect taboos against transgressing limitations imposed by democracy and social justice, (the values of the planners) as well as through deliberate vagueness and incomplete analysis, to

keep the potential adversaries from precipitating social conflicts³. This structure of taboos eg. against coercion for nationalization, in family planning, land reforms, as well as against rejection of welfare role of the state, once introduced, developed and strengthened, both the traditions of planning as well as polity.

The logic of the Basic Approach (BA)

The aura of scientific approach was generated in the first paragraph itself by emphasizing the instrumentalistic role of the plan⁴. The consensus on ends is sought to be built through working out the basic approach and applying it to various situations and different sectors. Essentially the basic approach consists of a consideration of means, while remaining under constraint of various taboos, in exploring the possibility of attaining various ends, and through this exercise building up a consensus on various issues.,

Features of the Basic Approach.

The plan begins with a concept of planning, much of it implicit, with the following characteristics :-

- 1) It is based on knowledge⁶ : Adequate data, detailed

working out of implications, better understanding of mechanisms, co-relations and factors etc. are emphasized.⁷ Not that such conditions are presumed to be present in India at the time, planners admit to incomplete (at least inadequate) information. But they act as if (the information) did exist by resorting to approximations and estimates.⁸ Not only do the planners seek more information only for themselves they also want other people to 'better' informed, so as to create openings in social discourse.

2) It is based on control : Employing both market and administrative measures, equipped with a better knowledge about society and economy planners seek to establish control over strategic points.⁹

3) It is hierarchical : Despite their emphasis planners (perhaps unintentionally) incorporated a hierarchical social structure. They did not seek out an egalitarian order.

First basis of this hierarchy is knowledge, so that there is a chain, a ladder like formation, with higher level having an understanding and knowledge about the lower level. The analogy is of a scientist and his subject matter. The

scientist builds up an information stock about his subject which yields it without resistance.

The second basis is of course control, which is based on knowledge. It must be recognized though that this notion of control is non-repressive. Further both external and internal control is operative. While shared norms impose limits on what a strata can do to lower strata, it is constrained in its activity by the ability of higher stratas to manipulate it, through change in its circumstances rooted in depth knowledge.

It comes as no surprise that planners conceive of the Government being at the top of this social hierarchy, with a Panoptic eye on all activities.

4) Totalitarian System of Plan Formulation : What is surprising is their notion of peoples participation, it is hard to take this commitment to democracy seriously when we notice that they did not see a big difference between a totalitarian system and democracy when it comes to the role of people in plan formulation as opposed to plan implementation where mass mobilization is envisaged¹⁰. Not only is there no system for incorporating peoples

suggestion in planning at the inception stage, the very¹¹
treatment of the subject eg. 'demand for unity of purpose'
insistence of a 'best calculated path'¹² etc. appears¹³
paternalistic .

There might be an instant reaction against such a statement-after all planners explicitly state that what was presented was an outline and comments were invited from all. But two things worked against any through reconsideration of plan.

1) There was no indication of the lines along which criticism might have been offered, moreover many of the relations were worked out using big administrative machinery and huge amount of data was presumably involved (much of it closed for outsiders). Thus their estimates could neither be examined as isolated variables nor challenged as relations.

5) The last feature to be noticed is the omission of 'power' as a variable in their formulation. They intintevly recognized that power is immanent in discourse, but having committed themselves to 'minimum use of coercion", their estimate did not treat it separately.

In fact they treated it in a peculiar narrow fashion, considerations of power were treated as conflict for control over resources. By orienting present activity towards future they postponed the struggle for power and by proposing an indefinitely expanding economy, they hoped to settle the question of control, provisionally, each time by employing the considerations of optimization¹⁴ .

It can be argued that the attitude to power- call it 'social complex of power'¹⁵ if you will is rooted in the particular circumstances as seen by individuals, located differently in social structure, this is apart from the diversity due to geography, history and culture. In short while there was everything right with the basic approach, for its 'success' host of strategies were needed which would have had to be socially negotiated. It is this part which the plan seriously lacked. It may be instructive to call them "implementation strategies"

Incomplete application of the Basic Approach :

The paucity of implementation strategies comes out most clearly in the chapter on 'Planning and Administration'¹⁶ subtitled 'implementing the plan' . The

treatment here is most general and implications of the basic approach are not worked out at all.

There are for instance no guidelines about what to expect in an administrator no even the faintest suggestion. There is emphasise on selection of right man for the job or proper training without working out how training needs to be altered, what are the factors that millitats against proper training etc.

There is an analysis of some problems of administration and their historical roots, but little effort is made to workout the effect of recommended policies on even the considered there.

The most illuminating treatment relates to role's policy in implementation. It is revealing that even though planners themselves left out many policies ellipticaly formulated, and left issues vague, they recommend clear policies - when they should have recognized limitations in thsi aspect, of any radical reformulation.

We find thus specific strategies totally absent and there is no suggestion that this task remained undone. Neither is there on a hint on how to develope them.

Treatment of Social Institutions and Procures :

Following their general practice one finds that they take a position that for attainment of our ends we should take into account the social structure, they also admit that social processes are complex.

It is to be expected that in its true spirit the draft would have refrained from identifying the 'undesirable' aspect of social structure, elements of tradition and such other social institutions since that would have brought the planners directly in conflict with entrenched interests nor could they be expected to spell out very clearly the strategies to be employed to eliminate them, if that was the intention.

However they sacrificed credibility by ignoring these institutions completely since they constituted the ground reality which the planners had to tackle; more over, for many of such strategies to succeed they needed to mobilize mass support, but pending a credibility gap no strategy requiring public support could have been expected to succeed.

A paragraph on public welfare held the contemporary "social order" to be the source of endemic conflict,²⁰ also indicated was the alleged failure of mechanisms to bring about conciliation and enlightenment. There was a hint that the problem of lack of openings in localized social discourse of "interests" was due to "ignorance" on part of one or both parties. One wonders if closure of thinking is entirely due to ignorance. Past experience suggests that this has also to do with the idiom used to organize the understanding of local circumstances and opportunities tend to open the traditional institutions but they survive. In this is recognized by the planners themselves who differentiate between ultimate objective and programme for immediate action. They did however founder in not being able to give 'shape' to a programme of effecting those changes at the grass roots. Not that the planners did not see the apparent clash of interests in what they are proposing. In fact they address themselves separately to each sector; the big peasant in "Registered Farms". Small peasant in "the Peasant", Tenant holders in "Cooperative Farming Societies" and, lastly the rural labours in [pp. 94-108]

It is clear that they are here trying out their policy of creative conciliation of the basic approach.

As the first step they try to reduce resistance to and reform through compensations. How is this to be achieved? The draft outline is silent, land backs caste dominance [Srinivas 87]. Domination over the village means prestige and means wealth as well as power and leadership. Thus it would be unrealistic to expect a change either through compensation or legislation when one group dominates the ground reality so thoroughly.

While analysis is made from the point of view of technology, care is not taken if openings and opportunities in social structure exist for exploitation of technological potential.

It is also surprising that justifications based on tradition are offered, it is not realized that private landownership may have to be abolished if only to break the stranglehold of 'tradition'.

The question of village leadership similarly goes unanswered, any amorphousness of formulation can be compensated for by demonstrating control over ground

situation but this is not paid need to, so that the small farmer is not sure if cooperatives would enable him to retain control over his land. The responsibility for employment generation is also shifted on yet non-existent co-operatives, neither would the unemployed have been able to steer the co-operatives to work for employment generation. In short the state is not able to understand the helplessness of the exploited and willing to assure them of help and security.

Not just this there is a host of 'problems' and 'obligations' relating to caste & kinship and these definitely have economic implications, there is no treatment in the plan, no idea of strategies of helping people with such 'problems' instead the immediate programme reflects an urban bias with its sole aim of generating a surplus.

Limitations in implementation of existing legislation are not analysed, instead new laws are proposed, though the plan depends so heavily on the peasant no attempt is made to reach him by locating him in the social network in which he exists, neither is there a strategy of combating this network it is simply ignored. Even while analysing implementation it is assumed that an "adequate number" of

"competent" administrators would suffice in effectively implementing, say minimum wages, when negotiation of real wages of workers occurs in conditions over which the oppressor has complete control and its elements are dominance, network of services, participation in collective affairs, physical security, caste membership etc.

The one element that of Registered Farms, which has striking similarities with 'green revolution' is one element where the powerful interests go unchallenged.

The welfare measures, including social components like removal of caste disabilities, lack of education, deprivation are also not realistic. For instance disaggregation can be of little help in a situation of exploitation and dominance of untouchability, and provision of vocational education and more so relevant education would need planning. [Ref. Ch. 4]

To eat, though planners began on the right note they did not account for implication of this strategy, especially the demands it made on them. Specifically they did not help draw up suitable strategies needed, to meet diversity of circumstances neither did they prepare a mandate for those who would negotiate with different

interest groups and sectors nor did they try and set terms on which such further negotiation could proceed, in absence of any of the three the plan had no teeth.

Lastly working as they were with a pyramidal model of plan implementastion, for their own effectiveness they needed to have seen the political dimension of the task they left in complete - they needed to recognize the Janus needed nature of these social institutions, while their one faced the local institutions the other looked up at the polity. Thus predictably they challenged the weak bonds that planning established at higher levels, for instance planners needed to recognize that their own exhorbitions apart the political office holders needed support basis for this own viability and if lower level alignments failed to work out, they would have no opion but to take recourse to patronage and traditional institutions.

Lastly, we look into the planners use of 'resource'. The first thing is that planners perceive an acute shortage of resources which they frame as central problem of development. Therefore the need to utilise them to "maximum advantage"²¹ - the basis of their leadership. They also emphasize the need to carefully 'husband'

resources and 'argument'²² them as far as possible, which appears logical and very apt in a country with shortage.

Their concept of resources however, when seen in their theory of practice appears puzzling. They talk of finance as resources which really implies basket of commodities available in the market, when one would have thought they were referring to shortage of inputs.²³ Market on which the planners rely, we know incorporate realities of social relations and provides poor index to value of commodity or service produced.

Where most of the people exist outside or at the margin of the market, the first task might have been to discover the ways of incorporating them inside and encouraging them to meet their needs (one could say empowering them) Rooted as they were in the mainstream, the intense effort they put in vastly expanded the production of some select commodities at the cost of others. This had two effects, it placed those marginalized, at an adverse position their output had little value, their needs were not met as the various goods and services they used were completed out of the factor market, depriving them of their land, this forests etc.

Secondly it linked the rural sector to the urban sector of the economy, [Murti 67] thus urban sector provided reference groups and model, depriving rural areas of autonomy of their development.

Planners were not at all clear how greater diversity could be encouraged²⁴. Their recommendations are feeble in this regard and there is no hint, how this diversity could be brought about, what kind of institutional arrangements and ground strategies would provide a market to them, leading to the monocultural mode of "development" 'infecting' their pyramid bottom upwards.

Chapter Notes

1. This theme pervades the whole Draft outline. Planners for instance, seek to avoid conflict in Reorganisation of Agriculture and Labour Relations in industry. A small extract from section on welfare is presented here.

[I, p.227, para 18] "The social and economic organization cannot function smoothly if it is exposed to abnormal social tensions, these may partly be regraded as a reaction to social injustice and denial of equality of opportunity but are in no small measure due to failure to bring about timely adjustment and enlightenment."

2. [2] The following quotations from the text supports our contention.

[I p.11, para 11] "The economic and social pattern to be attained through planning is indicated in the Directive Principles of State Policy enunciated in Articles 36 to 51...."

[I pp.11, para .12] "Briefly the directive principles visualize an economic and social order based on equality of opportunity and social justice, the

the right to work, the right to an adequate wage and a measure of social security."

3. The taboo against transgression of limits of democracy is built up slowly by making democracy the holy-cow of planning - 'its demise could threaten the prospect of Development and would thus be self defeating",for instance the following quotation.

[I p9, para 7]"...In a totalitarian country, planning is in the hands of an all-powerful central authority. This makes the implementation of plan easier and facilitates the achievement of results quickly. But, the acceptance of a totalitarian system involves a sacrifice of certain basic values and, while they are attained under conditions of hardship and suffering the incidence of which is by no means lightly or equally distributed... Democratic processes are more complicated, they make larger demands...but they are an essential condition of growth from within, and, therefore of sound and enduring progress... Democratic planning means choosing the hard way; but, what may seem to be the easy way or a short cut is, perhaps, nowhere more dangerous than in this sphere.

The planners do however seem to recognize the 'essentially contested' character of these 'ends', for each decision therefore they seek to build consensus anew through the use of basic approach. For instance their arguments in favour of "food-control" [I pp.69-72 paras 8-13].

6. [I p7, para 1] "The two main constituents of the concept of planning are : (a) a system of ends to be pursued, and (b) knowledge as to available resources and their optimum allocation.
7. [I, p3, lo], "The techniques of Planning will improve as implementation of the plans proceeds. The full significance of the plan will emerge as each strand is worked out in detail, appropriate administrative and financial procedures are adopted and the machinery for direction and control is established."
8. [I, p3, para 5] "...In India, there are special difficulties in the way of presenting a plan along the lines adopted in other countries... Statistical data are not available regarding even some of the basic aspects of economy. It is therefore not possible to present a completely integrated view of economy and the likely effects of planning on the various

constituent units or sectors of economy."

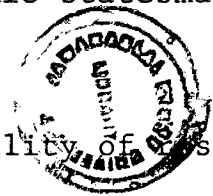
9. [I, p3, para 9] "Through the five year plan is not all inclusive in scope, it does attempt to establish control at strategic points in the system which would make it possible to influence a much larger field of activity."

10. [I,, p9, Para7], "...Economic development necessitates sacrifices in the immediate present; these have to be made under a totalitarian system as much as under a democratic system. The only difference is that under the latter, these sacrifices are made voluntarily on a rational acceptance of the ideals of planning."

11. [I, p9, para 6], "... a major task of a Government which embarks upon planning in peace-time and for a constructive end is to create in the community.. [an]...earnestness of purpose on the basis of which resources can be mobilised to the full extent. It is this earnestness of purpose which enables a community to make whatever sacrifices are necessary for attainment of defined goals."

12. [I p8, para 3], "There is no doubt that if economic and social problems are analyzed objectively and assessed in terms of certain well-defined criteria, a course of action best calculated to produce the desired results could be mapped out."
13. [I p8, para 3], "The objective of economic planning, then, is to analyze the constructive urges of the community into new lines of activity."
14. [I p17, para 26], "The conclusion is that in the pursuit of varied objectives, there emerges at each stage in a country's development, an optimum combination, and the task of economic statesmanship is to keep close to this optimum."
"...At and given time, the availability of resources conditions the ends that can be pursued effectively, and ends, together with the technical possibilities of available resource, determine the application of these resources in terms of concrete programmes of action in various fields. Over a period of time, the systematic pursuit of defined ends creates conditions for an addition to, and adoption of available resources." [I p7, para 1]

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15. Bruno Latour [Law] emphasizes the Associational basis of power. He sees power as emerging from 'translation' activity by numerous people. His 'performative' definition of power - as embedded in social relations allows the analyst to understand societal response through perceptions of dramatis personae.

16. "One of the essential conditions" (in the perception of planners)" for successful planning" is [1 p8, para 5] an efficient administrative set-up, with personnel of requisite capacity and quality."

But when it comes to laying out the detailed strategy all that they are able to do is to list out a set of 3 conditions' for integrity in administration [1 p246 para 9].

17. The plan lists out, strain of war, paucity of bureacrats at the top, change to democratic state as three factors affecting efficiency and integrity of administration.

Thus the variables are work strain, structure of bureaucracy, changing relationships.

18. [I page 8, para 4] "Planning is purposive adaption of resources to social ends. This adaption requires that we take into account the economic and social structure inherited from the past. Social processes are complex, and a correction of some of the long-term trends which have been operative in the economy calls for time and steady effort. In order to secure ordered all round progress, planning has to be envisaged as continuing process..."

19. Hanson in Lipton & Streeton (1968).

20. Ref. note [1] also the following quotation,
[I. p227, para 5]

"There are several considerations which should govern the approach to the problems of social welfare. It should be definitely recognized that for most part these problems have their origin in the defects of the social order and the needed remedial action is thus a clear obligation and not just a field for the practice of charity."

21. [I p34, para 2], "At the present time, the outlook for resources is not encouraging. This very factor emphasized the need for careful husbanding of resources, for augmenting them as far as possible and for careful selection of projects to be undertaken by the Central and the states Governments. It will be appreciated that for financing the bulk of their development programme states have to rely on their own resources and it is only in respect of important schemes which are calculated to increase production directly and substantially that assistance from the Central Government or other resources, e.g. foreign aid, may be possible."
22. [I p7, para 1], "Planning is essentially a way of organising and utilizing resources to maximum advantage in terms of defined social ends."
23. "It has not been possible, with the data at our disposal, to estimate the aggregate resources likely to be available for development in the private sector of the economy in the period of five year plans. These would depend on the total savings of the community available for productive investment."

What does the word 'resource' refer to here, does it mean quantities of various inputs in different industries?

[I p39, para 11], "The distribution of outlay of Rs.1,493 Cr. in the first part of the plan reflects broadly the priorities in development that have been kept in view in framing the plan."

What do they mean by stating an amount of money as a resource. Planners want to 'buy' from the market, the available commodities to support their developmental efforts and they estimate Rs.1,493 Cr. as the money they can commandeer in the present state.

24. [I p68, para 6], "The per capita availability in even lower (than 17 oz) in some states but in these frequently other food stuff are to be had in addition to the principal cereals.

Clearly here definition of resource is being broadened but if there are other food stuffs then this output and its potentialities also need to be explored.

Second Plan

ADMINISTERING DEVELOPMENT THROUGH PROJECTS

Values for Ends; Rationality for Means:

For the Second Five Year also the planners accepted the "Value-Objectives-Means" formulation of the first plan. They took over the avowed ideals and values thrown up by the political process as the objectives of the plans. For instance to their continuing claim of allegiance to "Democracy" they added "Socialism" as an objective. Thus they accepted three simultaneous objectives of, Economic growth, Democracy and Socialism.

However the planners operationalized "socialism" and "Democracy" differently. While "socialism" informs the "objectives" of the plans, "Democracy" informs the "Means", so that measures were to be adopted reducing inequality but they were to be democratic¹. (Notice that there is no term like "Socialistic means" corresponding to "Democratic Means"). The following paragraph appears to confirm our belief.

Correspondingly "socialism" itself underwent a deep change, whereas in the first plan, "diminution of inequalities" was supported by an economic justification [para p20, para 34], the second plan dispensed with it altogether and adopted "socialism" as a value furnishing an objective in its own right.

In principle this was a major break from the first plan since reduction of inequalities of income and a more even distribution of economic power was being promoted to the level of an independent objective along with "Economic growth". In practice however, having conceived of it as a value, "socialism" was operationalized (read quantified) in "Objective terms" creating a situation whereby, "Power" which is embedded in social relations, was reduced to income and wealth². Consequently its redistribution was made contingent on other priorities and subordinated to them. These were economic growth, Democracy and even "Social Harmony".

Thus commitment to "socialism" is squeezed between a higher priority for economic growth on the one hand and unrelenting insistence not just on "non-coercive" measures

to be adopted, but also on "social harmony", which is itself a function of social structure and it patently status quoist.

Much like the first plan, the second plan embodied a simple Robbinsian formulation, so that accumulation of goods and services was taken to be the crucial justification for planning⁴. The planners went further, they specified the sectors of growth.

Starting with a unilinear concept of development, the planners give it meaning in terms of "concrete" projects⁵. Their conception of "concrete tasks" ignored even the micro-social and political context in which each of these tasks had to be effected.

They also hint at the bias of these tasks, they relate to major industries in the core sector⁶.

The redistributive consequences of this strategy are well known and have been debated long enough. The aspect emphasized here is that these biases were aggregate patterns, made up of a number of projects conceived in the public sector⁷. Each of these projects was drawn up as a quantum, a discrete package and its effects added upto the

total, be it supply of products or demand for inputs. There is a "project-bias" therefore independent of the key-sector bias.

It would therefore be inappropriate to think that the key industry bias was a temporary phase; as is clearly seen above future lines of development were also seen in terms of heavy industries imparting a long term bias through commitment of public resources in this sector.

Having decided in favour of projects lead development, planners focussed on their implementation. Traditionally projects of the kind described were preserve of the administration, thus attention was focussed on its strengths and weaknesses .

Clearly an artful political manoeuvre was performed. The issue involved at the political level were not resolved by then, the first plan had also not succeeded in the area Community Development. By shifting attention to individual projects, political opposition was muted. The questions of implementation were then formulated in general administrative terms which appear to be politically neutral. The following question should be read with an eye its insensitivity towards social and political realities.

[Page 48, Para 2] "As development goes forward, the expression 'administration' steadily assumes a broader extent. It includes within its scope the building up of personnel, training of men, running the administrative machine, seeking the co-operation and participation of people, informing and educating the public and finally, organizing a sound system of planning based as much on the participation of people at each level as on the best technical, economic and statistical information available. If the administrative machinery, both at the Centre and in the States, did its work with efficiency, integrity and with a sense of urgency and purpose, the success of the second plan would be fully assured. thus in a very real sense, the second five year plan resolves itself into a series of administrative tasks."

If the above statement is taken seriously then the "series of administrative tasks" gets charged with political issues and comes out embedded in the matrix of social relations. These were, however, ignored and so get to delegated to the administration before sensitized issues involved.

The definitional exclusion of social and political considerations render these packages deceptively unproblematic, a trap in which the planner themselves fall, as is obvious in the last two sentences quoted. The construction of these tasks thus affected the way they were assessed. For instance while assessing the progress of community development programmes, in the first plan this is all the second plan said,

[I page 5 para 2] ... and there have also been short falls in expenditure on community projects, education, village and small industries etc."

The numerical bias remained even when future programmes were being designed. This can be seen from the treatment of community Development Programme.⁹

That the projects had been only a mixed success is clear in the report of Programme Evaluation Organization¹⁰ Quoted in the second plan draft outline itself.

But in the interests of coherence and to sustain the gloss of viability the significance of the findings had to be suppressed. Towards this end, the draft document simply does not address the specific issues raised, rather

it refers to the general efforts to enhance effectiveness¹¹ ,

The impatience with irritants marks the whole treatment of community development and National Extension.

For instance the draft outline reiterates the importance of enlisting the support of inlage institutions but fails to list out the circumstances which favour participation of village panchayats in the projects.

Also while they glibly talk of expansion of CD and NES they do not deal with the difficulties involved originating in the fact that most favourable areas only were chosen in the first plan.

Instead, therefore, of facing the issues squarely¹² they respond with pious platitudes .

To summarize, in their effort to present a viable looking plan which could embody the aspirations of the masses, the planners focussed on a series of "tasks" to be performed during the plan. These "tasks" were constructed for most part in "technical-administrative" terms, such a formulation definitionally excluded social and political considerations. It however also meant that the assessment of the first plan could also not include these

considerations in the interest of consistency. The seriously eroded the analytical - Rhetorical resource base of the plan which had to rely instead on catch-words and pious platitudes to mobilize support.

In terms of its ability to initiate structural changes, the above formulation proved too costly, because it deprived the planners of a clearcut strategy of effecting the changes contemplated.

The following paragraph brings out the predicament in which they landed themselves

"[Page 18 Para 24] A planned approach to development necessitates, in a word, an integration of economic and social policies inter se and interms of the objectives and priorities on which the plan is based. The techniques or instruments to be employed may and have to vary in the light of requirements. In some cases, fiscal or price incentives may have to be ruined on; in others, licensing procedures and practices may have to be adjusted; in still others foreign exchange allocations, sanctions of capital issues, fixation of profit margin allocation of scarce raw materials may be necessary. A plan must carry with it these sanctions

or regulatory devices: for by definition, it is an attempt to improve upon the results that can be achieved under irregulated and unco-ordinated play of private incentives and decisions nor are mere regulatory devices enough. Progressively as we have seen, the state - and the cooperative sectors - has to enlarge its field of operation, and this carries with it increased capacity to gather the surpluses arising out of sales of the goods and services and amenities provided that in turn makes further investment possible. It is not only regulation within the existing structure that can answer the needs of development: the structure itself has to change."

The turn of phrases in the above para suggests that the planners conceive of "paternalistic" model of structural change and that this appeal is focussed towards the chief executive of the government who must conform to the values enshrined in the constitution rather than articulating perceived interests the planners seek to foster.

Chapter Notes

1. [Para 4, pp7] the process and pattern of development should reflect certain basic social values and purposes. Development should result in a diminution of economic and social inequalities and should be achieved through democratic means and processes. Economic objectives cannot be divorced from social objectives and means and objectives go together. It is only in the context of a plan which satisfies the legitimate urges of the people that a democratic society can put forward its best effort".

2. [Para 10, pp10] "The socialist pattern of society is not to be regarded as some fixed or rigid pattern. It is not rooted in any doctrine or dogma. Each country has to develop according to its own genius and traditions. Economic and social policy has to be shaped from time to time in the light of historical circumstances. But, as clear sense of direction and a consistent regard for certain basic values are necessary. The accent of the socialist pattern is on the attainment of positive goals : the raising of living standards and the enlargement of opportunities for all, the promotion of enterprise among the disadvantaged classes and the creation of a sense of partnership among all

sections of the community".

3. [Para 26,pp 18] "An improvement in living standards, an increase in investment, an expansion of employment opportunities and a reduction in inequalities of income and wealth - all these can follow only from the totality of measures and institutional changes undertaken. To take an instance, various fiscal devices have been suggested for reducing inequalities of income and wealth : steeper progression in income tax, enhancement of estate duties, a small annual tax on wealth, taxation of higher incomes on the basis of expenditure rather than income, etc. Each of such proposals has to be examined in the light of its revenue yield, its effect on incentives, its administrative implications and the net contribution it makes to the objective in view, namely the reduction in inequalities. The taxation Enquiry Commission considered this question. It stressed the point that the attainment of a wider measure of equality in incomes, wealth and opportunities must form an integral part of economic development and social advance currently."

4. [Page 6, para 3] The principal objective of the second five year plan is to secure a more rapid growth of the

national economy and to increase the country's productive potential in a way that will make possible accelerated development in the succeeding plan periods. A country like India which starts late on industrialization has to encompass within a relatively brief period processes of development which took several generations in countries with an early start.

5. [Page 11, Para 12] A plan may be expressed in terms of the financial outlay proposed to be incurred. Essentially however a plan represents the concrete tasks to be completed within the stipulated period. These tasks, involve certain inputs - the use of which so much labour, the setting up of so much plant and machinery, the application of certain types of skills and techniques etc. Correspondingly, the results of the plans are reflected in certain outputs - so much food and raw materials, so much of consumer goods and so much of the means and instruments of productness which in due course would result in further production of consumergoods. The magnitude of the tasks undertaken and the significance of the results to be attained can perhaps be appreciated better in such real terms."

6. [Page 7, Para 5] "Rapid industrialization is the core of development. But if industrialization has to be rapid enough, the country must aim at developing industries which make machines to make the machine needed for the large number of industries in the field of consumer good and intermediate products."

7. [Page 12, Para 13] "It is intended to strengthen further the programmes of development in respect of heavy industries, oil exploration and coal and to make a beginning with development of atomic energy. The dynamism of the second plan lies to a considerable extent in these new programmes, on the fulfilment of which all efforts have to be concentrated."

8. [Page 48, Para 1] "While the area of agreement on matters of policy is considerable the doubt is frequently expressed whether, in range and quality administrative action will prove equal to responsibilities assumed by the Central and State Governments in the second five year plan. It is likely that as the plan proceeds the most difficult issues will relate less to matters of policy and approach, much more to questions of administration and finance'."

9. [Page 12 Para 13] "Under the community development programmes, intensive work has been proposed in 3800 national extension blocks and 1120 community project blocks. Altogether, this programme is to be expanded so as to cover a population of 325 million by 1960-61 as compared to the present coverage of 80 millions. this means covering almost entire rural area. All these programmes, as also programmes relating to social services, call for a great deal of finance and organization. These are fields in which there is already sufficient experience, and the increasing personnel is either available or can be quickly trained".

10. [Page 85, Para 3] "The second report of the Programme Evaluation Organization contained a careful analysis of the community development and national extension programme. While acknowledging the significant role of the programme in the intellectual, social and economic transformation of the countryside, it referred to the slow development of co-operative institutions, the role of the village panchayat the need to ensure adequate administrative arrangements for supplies and the importance of developing village industries."

11. i.e. [Page 85 Para 3] "Through regional seminars of community development project and extension workers and other means a continuous effort is being made to enhance the effectiveness of the programme at the level of the village."

12. [Page 87 Para 12] "The aim of the community projects and the national Extension service is not merely to provide ample food, clothing, shelter, health and recreation facilities in the villages. There on of cause essential. Equally important in the realization that what is required is a change in the mental outlook of the people, instilling in them an ambition for higher standards. This is essentially a human problem - how to change the outlook of the 70 million families living in the countryside, arouse enthusiasm in them for new knowledge and new ways of life and fill them with ambition and the will do a better life."

Fourth Plan : RECOVERY OF THE SOCIAL DOMAIN

THE DRAFT AND THE PLAN

For fourth plan, we shall change our practice of analysing the Draft on its own outline for the planner's view of society. This is because the draft outline of the fourth plan and the fourth plan document itself differ substantially. In a sense the draft outline is an "anti-plan" it generated debate and opened negotiations and bargaining at different levels, the final result of bargaining was of course expressed only in the actual implementation and is therefore inaccessible within the confines of the plan. Even so the plan document itself shows modifications, shifts of emphasis subtle changes in analysis and strategies which result from protracted negotiations at different fora.

The fourth plan document for instance adds a section on "Aim and Objective of Planning" (to its first chapter) which reiterates the commitment to "Socialistic pattern of society" drawing largely from the constitution and the second plan. There is also a difference in the analysis of "the situation" which articulate numerous

concerns, marginalized in the neo-classical treatment of the
Draft-outline¹ .

1. [Para 6 Page 3] "The financial outlay was about Rs 8630 crores, substantially higher than the original provision of Rs. 7500 crores. But an appreciable part of it was neutralized as a result of rise in prices. Progress in physical terms was much slower than expected in many fields,....."

Thus is another sequence of "explanations", in the Draft outline of performance in terms of 'causes',²
[Page 3 Para 7] "National income increased at the rate of 4.9 per cent in the third year and 7.6 per cent in the fourth year. In the fifth year however, there was a severe set-back due to unprecedented drought conditions and Pakistan-India hostilities and national income actually declined by 4.2 per cent."

It is note worthy that only poor performance is "explained" rather explained away interms of war and drought and no logical connection is attempted between the posited cause (hostilities) and effect (income decline).

The fourth plan by contrast is a richer narrative. Reviewing the economic situation the plan states "[Page 5 para 1.9] Per capita real income in 1955-56 was about the same as it was in 1960-61, the results of the meagre growth rate of national income having been almost completely neutralized by the 2.5 per cent rate of growth of population. In 1966-67, following a severe draught, the national income registered only a nominal increase of 0.9 per cent. However, the record harvest of 1967-68, marking a significant increase in agricultural output, was instrumental in raising national income by 9 per cent that year".

There is a new factor for explaining the statement "per capita income" and that is -- fast population growth -- this issue was completely ignored in the Draft outline which mentioned only the aggregate national income.

Third plan was seen as a failure by both documents. while the fourth plan provides a more complex analysis, in terms of a great number of parameters it too formulates the performances as a pathology by restricting analysis only to "explanation of the perceived failure. the analysis thus. is subordinated to the model, which remains

largely unquestioned.

More pointedly, the planners did not locate the performance, "functionally"³, among the socio-political structures that were emerging. These structures, some of which were presided over by the state, come to embody interests and strategies, both of which conditioned the performances parameters.⁴ To illustrate that we mean through a concrete example, let us take a second look at the kind of 'explanation' offered in the draft-outline. It should ofcourse be remembered that steep price-rise is a politically charged issue.

"[Para 8 Page 4] These shortfalls in domestic production occfurred at the same time as aggregate spending in the economy was using in both public and private sectors. In consequence the third plan witnessed a steep increase in prices...."

"[Para 9 Page 4] "Within this general increase, the movements in respect of different commodity groups varied."

"[Para 10, Page 4] To counter the pressure on prices resulting from small increases in supplies and large increases in spending, a number of measures were taken in

the last few years. These included an enlargement of the network of fair price shops and consumer cooperatives; larger distribution of imported foodgrains at fixed prices. But these have not been adequate to contain price increase for the reason that the large dislocations in the economy during 1965-66 resulted in a widening of gap between available supplies and total domestic expenditure. If domestic output in 1965-66 had shown an increase over the previous years the price situation would have been less difficult. But since this did not happen, the strain on domestic prices has been such as to make it a matter of general concern."

They stop at saying that "the aggregate spending in the economy was rising..." but do not link this fact to the policies being followed. This allows them to substitute "pressure on prices" for "war" and droughts directly ignoring contingent policy alteration in the succeeding para where measures to combat price rise are listed out and also allows them "to explain away" the hardship of people in terms of "large dislocations" later. Nowhere do they mention the role of policies being followed in the shape of the problem as it emerged. Instead they divert the attention

from this issue to one on production failure for which they do have an 'explanation'.

The above analysis is strengthened by the fact that the paragraphs analysed above are followed, by one on abnormal conditions, that prevailed during the third plan and the next section deals with positive achievement, both being attempts to 'manage' the damage to prestige of planning.

In comparison to the Draft outline the fourth plan document on the other hand appears more complete at the first sight.⁵ To illustrate let us read the numerous paragraphs devoted to the same object (of plan performance in the first chapter of the plan document

"[Page 5 Para 1.1c] In 1964-65, which was a year of favourable weather conditions, a record harvest was reaped. Agricultural production fell sharply in the subsequent two years due to widespread drought conditions. In 1967-68, however, a sharp recovery took place due to a combined result of the establishment of new cereal seeds, the incentive of higher prices... and, last but not the least, favorable weather conditions.... in 1968-69 the availability of inputs has continued to increase."

"[Page 5 Para 1.11] The slow rate of growth of agricultural production not only depressed the rate of growth of the economy but also led to an alarming increase in the dependence on imports of food grains and other agricultural commodities."

"[Page 7 Para 1.12] In 1965-66, with the dislocation caused by the Indo-pakistan conflict and the consequent disruption in the flow of foreign aid, the growth of industrial production slowed down. The slowing down of the public investment programme led to a further reduction in the rate of growth of industrial production in subsequent years.. This sharp deceleration was accompanied by an increase in unutilized capacity in a number of industries. Many factors, contributed to it; decline in purchasing power because of the setback on the agricultural front; stagnation in investment; shortage of foreign exchange because of the need for abnormally high imports of food grains and raw materials and for completion of a number of projects started earlier. As a result of several measures taken by the Government.. an all round industrial recovery began in January 1968...

"[Page 8 Para 1.13] Upto 1962-63 the rise in wholesale prices was mild. In subsequent years the rise was sharper... Prices however, became relatively stable during 1968-69 due to the substantial increase of food grains production in 1967-68 and the continued restraint on expenditure. This increase in the price level necessitated increased grants of dearness allowance to Government Employees and industrial workers. The resulting increase in non-plan expenditure affected adversely Government's capacity to step up investments. At the same time, as a result of many factors, the cost of production in the economy increased and profitability of enterprises was generally reduced."

"[Page 8 Para 1.14] "In order to meet the increase in defence expenditure and other elements of non-plan expenditure, a bold effort at raising taxes was made during some years. The larger commitments of non-plan expenditure and the rising costs of investments could not, however, be fully met by domestic resource mobilization. This again increased the dependence on foreign aid and led to larger deficit financing. In the event, inflationary pressures were generated affecting savings and eroding resources for financing development."

The planners in the Fourth Plan document articulate a diversity of concerns, dependence on imports, unutilized productive capacity, taxes, inflation etc., they also consider a larger number of parameters⁶ like availability of inputs, DA instalments to employees, profitability of enterprises, rising costs of investments. This made this analysis tighter and richer, so that numerous effects of changes can be seen linked up and different aspects of problems are analysed which could not be done earlier. Further the policy perspective also comes out clearly⁷. For instance reduction in industrial production is linked to stagnation in Public investment; DA instalments to workers are seen to erode the capacity of government to invest; Defence and increased non-plan expenditure are held to be responsible for dependence on foreign aid; use of Deficit financing lead to inflation, loss of savings, etc.

Re-entry of the 'Extra-economic' in the Plan:

Reading the above suggests that the fourth plan went some way towards explaining economic situation not just in terms of 'external' causes as in the Draft outline, but also in terms of policy alternatives. This was achieved by a greater attention to concerns other than aggregate

production, thus changes were noted even if they did not directly seem to affect overall supply and demand in the first instance.

Indeed while the draft outline 'defends' the policies it, the fourth plan is more forthright,

"[Page 9 Para 1.16] while the difficulties of the last few years have unquestionably risen from factors beyond control there are still a number of lacunae which have evoked legitimate criticism. Despite larger outlays, actual developments have often fallen short of targets. In many key sectors, delays in construction, escalation of costs and the failure to utilize capacity fully have added to the difficulties. Many of the projects undertaken in the public sector represent new and complex venture and to an extent, initial difficulties are only to expected. But even allowing for this, the fact remains that the concern for speed, economy and efficiency has not been as pervasive as it ought to be. The public sector has the responsibility to set better standards of performance and it has yet to fulfil its role of generating adequate surplusses for investment."

Replacing Analysis with Pious Denouncements

As mentioned earlier the Fourth Plan appears more complete at the first sight, the above para exemplifies the point. The first sentence acknowledges the inadequacy of State intervention. But from second sentences, on the diversity of concensus is set aside and "public-sector performance" substituted for policy choices so that subsequently public sector management is denounced for its inability to perform. That is not all. an all pervasive lack of "concern for speed, economy and efficiency" is held responsible for poor performance. While there is nothing wrong in noting such a fact if it is so, any worthwhile analysis can not rest content only with that, in the least it was expected that planners would talk about the causes of such a 'criminal' lack of concern, or how. as a problem it is distributed and what might be done about it. They quite ignored the appportunity to question even their structure of implementation for the role which performance has in activities, strategies, plans and identity of different agents. The questioning of political structure in the right of a full formulation of the problem interms of both policy and programmes, could have been the second level and, questioning of the model which ignored the complexities.

mostly social, could have been the third, instead we have a condemnation of the state of affairs which serves little purpose. Nevertheless it filled, in a gap left embarrassingly open by the Draft-outline. Here they were helped by two good monsoons and initial successes of the green revolution strategy. We can see that the draft outline devotes a whole section of the chapter on "Progress under first three Plans". Clearly there was public resentment against performance and legitimacy of planning had to be established. This section is however dispensed within the plan document itself after two good harvests and a higher industrial production provided some room for the planners. Indeed the following statement brings out clearly how little distance was travelled between the draftoutline and the Fourth Plan.

"[Page 12 Para 1.27] Analysis of the varied experience since the beginning of the Third five year plan appears to lead to some conclusions which are relevant to the framing of a correct approach to the Fourth Plan. In the first instance, the record of past years shows that the basic strategy of Indian Planning is not at fault".

Fourth Plan and the Social Sphere:

It is not only in the sphere of economic analysis that the two documents differ. The patterns of similarities and divergences are also replicated in the "social sphere". In the Draft outline there is a sub-sector on "Progress in social Services", the corresponding paragraphs are titled "Social Situation" in the fourth plan, accordingly the treatment of society⁸ is also wider in the fourth plan document. For instance introducing the subject the Draft outline says

"[Page 13 Para 33] "Important as the development of the material sectors of agriculture, irrigation, industry, transport and power are, the large effort put into the development of the faculties of the people during the last fifteen years is perhaps of even greater significance. It is the people who in the final analysis are the architects of progress, even as they are the beneficiaries. Of necessity, investment in the building up of this social capital has to be on a massive scale in a country of the size of India; and it is investment which yields fruits over a long period of years, by adding to the quantity and excellence of things done."

The economic metaphor here is quite in contrast with what the fourth plan says below

"[Page 11 Para 1.20] In the matter of social justice and equality there are two aspects to be considered; reduction of concentration and wider diffusion of wealth, income and economic power is one; improvement in the condition of the common man and the weaker sections, especially through provision of employment and education, is the other. As regards the former, in the rural sector the land reforms legislation, including the ceiling on land holdings has been a notable achievement. In the urban industrial sector the expansion of the public sector, industrial licensing and taxation measures have been the main instruments used."

The fourth plan thus enlarged the area of consideration by incorporating "socialistic" concerns as well. It also managed to be more "forthright" and "frank" in its discussion on education and health, it admits for instance, that

"[Page 10 Para 20]"It is true that the constitutional directive regarding free and compulsory education upto the age of 14 has yet to be fulfilled and that in some states the gap in this regard is very wide. Also, facilities like

those of primary health centres has yet to cover the whole country adequately and the quality of the services they afford needs urgent improvements".

The treatment also covers a wider ground, it talks of education and vertical social mobility of labour, of special programmes for weaker sections, assistance to village and small industries, minimum wages, regional imbalances, and concentration of industries in urban areas etc.

The same forthrightness seen with respect to education and health facilities can also be seen about community development programme and "objective of equality" for instance.

"[Page 110 para 122] "Community Development programmes which were initially considered as main instruments of rural transformation were found to be too official oriented and emphasis shifted to the creation of Panchayati Raj institutions. A comprehensive programme of rural co-operation was also launched with the beginning of the second plan".

"[Page 11.para 1.25] Available informational does not indicate any trend towards reduction in the concentration of income and wealth. Nor is there any indication that there has been any lessening of disparity in the standards of living of various classes. There is also the complaint that even in institutions like the cooperatives which were fashioned to promote socio-economic democracy, the propertied classes and the rich dominate".

The above two paragraphs also bring out the limitations of the planner's analysis. If co-operative and panchayati Raj institutions are dominated by the rich it makes little sense in trying to employ them for "social transformation". The planners also do not follow up their statement that CD programmes were "found to be too official oriented" [to succeed we may add]. Are we to believe that officialdom was incapable of effecting such a programme? More likely during implementation these programmes became "official oriented", if so what is it that happened? Here again there was a need for relating performance to the socio-economic context in which CD programme were being launched, the content would include social institutions as well as changes in them, also included would be different social networks and the way they are employed by different

groups and how these institutions, become stakes in social conflict and the way performance is affected by them. In absence of analysis rooted in the specific context of these programmes, the explanations of failures tended to leave the embedded models untouched while denouncing implementation machinery at a very general level against standards previously set.

Besides squandering an opportunity to learn from experience and re-examine their basic premise, ignoring of social institutions meant that planners could not employ these as resources themselves. Instead they persistently kept clamouring for greater power for the government in all matters despite, lip-service to decentralization. For instance.

"[Page 11.Para 1.24] For the Government to take a moire dynamic role in accelerating the pace of development, spreading its benefits widely, seeking to mitigate inequalities or to correct regional imbalances, it must have greater command over the economic resources of the country. While there has been progress in this direction, much remains to be done so strenghen the financial capability of centre and states.."

Centralization (both economic and political), apart, in the absence of an analysis relating the parameters of performance" in various sectors to socio-economic formations, the fourth plan, quite like the second, generated a service of programmes which were described only in technico-administrative terms. The increasing volume of plans fourth, sixth and seventh is a witness to this cyclic process of explaining performance failures as administrative failures and finding administrative courses for them. Each round of witch-hunting generated a new series of administrative directives not fulfilled. While it was legitimate and useful to be concerned with devising standards and instituting technologically the 'best' procedures, not rooting them in social realities at the ground level deprived the administrators of a useful 'map', faithful to the 'territory' they found themselves in.

We could cite the example of the treatment of 'agriculture' in the fourth plan to see how these limitations operate. There are three chapters that cover "Agriculture" "Animal Husbandary, Dairying, Fisharies and Forests". "Cooperation and Community Development". We shall

concentrate on Agriculture. Even this in fact is quite daunting, containing about 23 sections spread over seventy pages. Apparently the treatment is quite exhaustive covering all the aspects like Research, Farmers Training, Seeds, Fertilizers, Pests protection, Ware housing specific crops, Dry farming, credit land reforms etc.

In addition the planner's grasp of even the subtle technical aspects of agriculture is also quite obvious as one turns the pages. But when it comes to tracing the contours of social landscape, planners ignore it completely even in matters like implementations of land reforms. In fact this section of the plan is surprisingly short, running in three paragraphs. [7.193 to 7.195]. The first concentrates on land-records "Landrecords including tenencies" are considered as "a serious constraint" on the "expeditious implementation of land reforms". It recommends a complete revision of records of rights in the next five years. So far so good, but it is hard to believe that revision of records would be easier than implementation of landreforms. Clearly it is not absence of records per se that constrained land reforms, but, its use by entrenched interests. A closer analysis might have yielded other constraints, under-representational of the marginal farmers

and the landless, carefully cultivated landship and patronage networks, which cross-cross the administrative structure, elects, informal arrangements and illegal rents. It is an analysis of these social relations in their totality which would have furnished the mode of intervention to the planners.

Similar naivete is also observable in their treatment of other "constraints", the ignorance of law among "potential beneficiaries" and "subordinate officials". They want to organize "in-service training and orientation courses", while these welcome measures, should not be forgotten that the ignorance of law is carefully structured in society as a mode of domination and concentration on a single mode allowed the antagonists to use others. Thus the content of the courses offered, as also the mode of information dissemination deserved a place in the plan which was not granted.

The last paragraph informs us that a land reforms centre has been opened in Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, But they failed to share this perspective of the problem, and definitely did not mention institutional linkages with it.

To conclude, in the fourth plan we find, firstly further separation of policy and programmes, instead of a re-examination of the models on which the programmes were based, the approach was extended to fields like agriculture and co-operatives. This considerably flattens out this discussion of socio-political constraints on social change. The fourth plan document expanded considerably the concerns of the draft outline and provided a polity oriented analysis of the situation. However in addition to the above the text also suggests that in this keenness to defend their political masters the planners mystified the analysis, restricted the explanation of failures in performance to "the causes of failure", and resorted to condemnation as a substitute both for a 'functional' analysis that would have enabled them to effect a change and a re-examination of the models embedded in this approach of the earlier plans.

Chapter Notes

1. The draft-outline in fact employs a surprisingly simplistic 'neo-classical' frame in its presentation of the economic scenario. The main concern is limited to National income, aggregate production, total savings, gross consumption figures etc. As such the frame readily bends itself to mystification in two ways. Firstly the draft outline does not assess the impact of past fluctuations in aggregate parameters on matters of direct concern to people like scarcity of food, rising unemployment, poverty etc. Secondly it fails to constitute happenings like war and droughts in a rigorous economic terminology demanded by this model, with the result that social and economic 'costs' of these ('calamities') to various sections of the population is never examined against a backdrop of policy alternatives. On both counts this model represses a critical evaluation of the possibility of state intervention for mitigating the hardships of the people, and sustaining viable growth strategies through difficult periods like droughts and hostilities.

2. It is not to argue that all analysis in terms of 'causes' is invalid. In the planning process one looks for

helpful 'explanations'. As can be seen below the 'explanation' does not extend their frame but only allows it to survive.

3. The reference here is not to what is taken to be functionalism in sociology but M. Foucault says in 'Power knowledge. He recomends that one insist on an explanation of social facts that links them to larger 'system' functionally [like explaining 'gulag' within 'Socialism'].

4. This gap deprives the planners of a crucial cluster of concepts, around which to develop an understanding of 'society'. Quite predictably the Draft outline fails to model the society as an autonomous reality involved in a 'reciprocal' interaction with the state. In this model society appears as an aggregate of productionk maximizing agents when even economics sees people as 'gratification maximizing' 'need satisfying' agents.

5. My perception is that the fourth plan document does not even begin with the narrow and simplistic model of its predecessor [i.e. the Draft-outline] even though it borrows a number of terms from it.

6. It employs a set of more disaggregated parameters, overall performances are broken down into "sub-frames" of different programmes, industries & sectors. Success is evaluated for each parameter against these "sub-frames".

7. In this sense it portrays the 'state' as an active, policy making and enforcing agency, subject to economic and administrative limitations, but having a set of its own priorities. The consequences of its policies in the part for the present are however left unexamined.

8. In contrast to the draft outline, which views people as truncated 'economic' agents (production maximizing) the Fourth plan itself models the society as a collectivity of people, each with his/her own concrete concerns and aspirations.

9. Indeed even as both (7) & (8) helped the planners to incorporate 'society' as an independent consideration, in its own right, it did not become an autonomous reality in this plan. One reason appears to be that in the fourth plan document, focus is shifted to subframes, which, however, are again constituted in technical, economic and administrative parameters.

SIXTH PLAN : POLITICAL CHANGE AND PLANNING STRATEGY

The Draft of sixth plan 1978-83 (iv) was written in a climate of political change and a radical departure from the past was promised. The theme of the plan was "well reasoned change"², a possible explanation of such a cautious rejection of the past policies might be that the political leadership had to defend itself against charges of political vendatta and that it was keen to project an image of 'maturity' and 'competence'. In the text such 'caution' is however put to other uses as well.

In contrast to the second and fourth plan, the draft sixth plan claimed its roots in the objectives of the Draft Plan (1978-83)³ presented to, and approved by, the National Development council. Apart from the statement of objectives which taken as final, there were few references to the earlier draft.

SPECIFICATION OF OBJECTIVES

The statement of objectives reveals two types of 'objectives' separated by the sentence "these primary objectives have to be attained while at the same time..."

While the first list concerns "unemployment", "standard of living", and "basic services". The second list concerns, "Growth rate of economy", "reduction in inequalities", "self-reliance"⁴. The nature of dichotomy comes into play in the discussion on unemployment. Unemployment is shown to be glaring⁵. Agriculture⁶ is chosen over 'industry' for expansion so as to absorb surplus labour'. This was to be achieved through enhanced productivity, to be achieved in two ways

- i) 'optimum'⁷ use of land, at all costs
- ii) More labour intensive cultivation (by regulation of farm-mechanisation) but sub-ordinated⁸ to (1).

Now if we look back at the list of objectives we find that faster 'economic growth' occurs in the second list, while 'unemployment' occurs among the 'primary objectives'. 'Primary objectives' were, in practice, subordinated to 'essential conditions', 'unemployment' 'reduction in inequalities' furnishes another pair which makes the above distinction clearer⁹ and reinforces our analysis.

In conclusion we notice that, the text organizes

the 'essential conditions' (which were continuities with the earlier plans) using the possibility created through the opening theme of 'cautious rejection'.

SOCIETY IN THE SIXTH PLAN

We can now move over to the notions about society embedded in the plan. The text in the plan, as always, is organized around the 'objectives' and only on reflection does it reveal their conception of society. We shall therefore enter their "social domain" through one of their primary objectives - 'Removal of unemployment' and choose 'aggregate production' from their 'essential conditions' the supplement our analysis. While the text furnishes data to show how glaring the problem of 'unemployment' was, the focus on 'political choice' as its 'cause' restricts the scope of analysis considerably. Employing a variant of Malthusian theory of poverty the text 'explains' unemployment through a 'population increase theory'. Linked crucially to this theory is the assumption of stagnant aggregate production. The text at this point does not distinguish between 'aggregate production' and 'productivity' of the economic processes under consideration, but uses them interchangeably. As a result

"productivity" becomes an important notion. There appears to be a faulty assumption that Economic Production is a 'creative' process - when it might be more appropriate to describe it as a 'transformation' of 'inputs' into 'outputs' both having a value. Also, this notion does not allow 'value' itself to be considered as a social construct - an attribution, result of a complex process of social negotiation involving the political economy of dominance, conflict, institutions - both 'traditional' and modern, social networks, symbol-sets. [The same applies to inputs/outputs - the values assigned to both, the exclusion of some factors as inputs because they are available 'free' - would bring in the ecological angle.]

IGNORING DOMINANCE

This presents us with an 'uninteresting' and 'flat' picture [Preston 87] of 'unemployment' problem in our society - a certain number of people are 'surplus', due to increased population", who have to be absorbed by increasing the carrying capacity of the economy through 'productivity' increases. This portrays society as an aggregate of passive individuals who have to be 'administered development'. In the process the responses of individual and collectivity to

the emerging scenario are ignored, so also is the structure of material constraints and entrenched perceptions that determine the "coping-machanisms" of different sections of society. This gap presents inadequate due recognition of the fact that unemployed are 'losers' in social conflict over material and symbolic resources, their 'poverty' therefore is a reflection of 'dominance'.

All these questions are marginalized in the text by blurring the distinction between aggregate income and aggregate employment - ignoring the redistributive consequences.

TEXTUAL REPRESSSION OF SOCIAL-PHILOSOPHY OF CHANGE; TWO CASES

i) SMALL SCALE INDUSTRY:

It has been mentioned earlier that planners sought to use agricultural sector and small industries sector to find employment for the unemployed. The continued dependence on the green revolution strategy is obvious and the consequence have been profusely commented upon [Frankel 71]. this analysis has little to add to them. Instead we may draw our second illustration from their consideration of

the small scale industry sector. Here, we must not lose sight of a contrast, where as 'agriculture' gets resources (irrigation, inputs, technology), small industries get 'state protection', 'small improvements in techniques', 'small and simple machines' etc .¹⁰

More importantly, for our purpose here, there is apparently no embedded theory of small scale industries. Again this sector appears passive, needing "administered change". As earlier, it envisages "substantial increase in employment content" through improvement in the 'quality' of production, increase(ed) productivity, reduce(d) costs and expand(ed) market. "The onus of change has thus been shifted to the state-small industry nexus. For this the state must provide "organization", credit supply, small improvements in techniques, design and marketing assistance." Small scale sector, we know, has been one where perfect-competition has been seldom approximated, [Sethuraman, 81] and exchange occurs embedded in social relations, reciprocity, informal arrangements and the like.¹³ All these are crucial for drawing any meaningful strategies of attaining the above mentioned objectives.

ii) EDUCATION: SUBSTITUTING SOCIAL-PHILOSOPHY WITH ADMINISTRATION:

The last entry point into the domain of 'society', selected here is 'education'. The plan asserts that earlier socio-economic reality was not taken into account. Let us examine some of the 88 paras that occur in the chapter to see how the plan engages the 'socio-economic complex.' The objectives of the planners in this field, are 'dedicated' to their larger objectives for socio-economic development. We shall not concern ourselves with those areas where approach to the goals itself conditions the planners conceptualization of education.

Not having functionally explained illiteracy, unemployment and poverty, the planners could not conceive of a credible frame for educational policy that would allow external initiatives. A 'passive society' is therefore sought to be administered better education. The text also suggests that 'education' is conceived of, more as a one way transfer of knowledge, skills etc., rather than a combined student-teacher endeavour to develop knowledge-in-practices.

Further, despite assertions to the contrary referred to earlier, in-practice they formulate failure of

education as an administrative failure, requiring administrative reform - better monitoring, less wastage, constitution of committees, better organized enrolment drives, single-point entry-system.

Absence of a 'functional analysis' has been noted for the earlier plan (IV plan -)¹⁴. The sixth plan claims the emphasis on 'functional development' of pupils in the programmes. This involves "increasing the awareness of the pupil about the social reality around them and to impart skills, so that they can organize themselves to solve the problems of their day-today life" which is unexceptionable. But as stated earlier "social reality" may be constituted in a number of ways and the "day-to-day" problems are enveloped in the structure of dominance for their target group. The issue of dominance is simply ignored - this can be seen from the contents of curriculum [VI 26.27]" the programme will include, besides literacy, an appropriate mix, suited to the needs of the individual. of such themes as general education, citizenship training, health education and family planning, upgrading of vocational skills, appreciation of the use of appropriate technology, physical education and cultural activities etc." This paragraph alone could be

commented upon at length. The problem of which social-reality is also left unattended by neither (a) ensuring representation of target group controlling situation nor (b) specifying and elaborating the theme in the plan itself.

Instead they frankly admit that the plan requires "appropriate social environment"¹⁵, such an environment could occur only in a society already rid of conflict and dominance, using such on a programme to attain such a goal is therefore meaningless, This is taken to be support for our contention that despite assertions to the contrary a functional analysis of literacy, skills, social awareness is missing from the plan, the gross is produced by selectively picking up a few in sights about some safe everyday difficulties noted in socio-economic difficulties of the poor and suggestion administrative 'solutions' for them.

Chapter Notes

1. The Draft outline was written at the time the Janata Party was in power i.e. from 1970 to 1979.
- 2 [VI 1.21] "The preceeding assessment of India's economic development over a quarter of a century of planning has indicated some fundamental failures and it is on

account of these that the need has arisen for a reappraisal of the development strategy. We must face the fact that the more important objectives of planning have not been achieved. The most cherished goals seem to be almost as distant today as when we set out the road so planned development".

3. "The Draft Plan (1978-83) presented to the National Development Council in March 1978 embodies the following statement of Plan objectives:

"To achieve within a period of ten- years".

- i. the removal of unemployment and significant underemployment .
- ii. An appreciable rise in the standard of living of the poorest sections of the population;
- iii. Provision by the state of some of the basic needs of the people in these income groups, like clean drinking water, elementary education, health care, adult literacy. rural roads. rural housing for landless and minimum services for urban slums.

The primary objectives have to be attained while at the same time;

- iv. achieving a higher rate of growth of the economy than in the past;
 - v. moving towards a significant reduction in the present disparities of income and wealth;
 - vi. ensuring the country's continued progress towards self-reliance
4. Ref. to Note [3] for the two lists
 5. This is supported by a total figure of 53 million [VI 1.24]
 6. [VI 1.24] Since even with a rate of growth of industrial production of 7 per cent per annum the additional employment in the organised sector is not likely to exceed 7.5 million persons. The remaining 46 million would have to be absorbed by the unorganised agricultural/non-agricultural sectors.
[VI 1.26] the employment objective depends crucially on increased labour absorption in agriculture and allied activities. This means increasing the productivity of available land through irrigation. multiple cropping and improved technology.
 7. [VI 1.26] Expand area under imagination as rapidly as possible, cropping patterns and practices which optimise

the use of land and water resources.

8. [VI 1.26] (ii) to regulate the growth of farm mechanisation to ensure maximum labour use consistent with optimum land and water utilization".
9. Infact this treatment reminds one of the 1st plan and its use of the word 'resource' plan as seen in chapter 2) also uses similar devices in its treatment of socialism and economic growth, substitution of productivity' for redistribution.

[VI 1.29] ... The planning strategy would aim at protection of the existing livelihood of rural artisans and a substantial increase in the employment content of the rural industrial sector consistent with economic cost. It would seek to improve the quality of production, increase productivity, reduce costs and expand the market".

But, [VI 1.36] policies which minimise uemployment should be expected to reduce inequalities".

10. [VI 1.30] "some rural industries like handlooms and handicrafts. can be viable, and even competitive in

export markets, given organisation, credit supply, small improvements in techniques, design and marketing assistance".

11. [VI 24.18] "(iv) To reduce progressively the extent of general subsidies, by providing them selectively for credit, development of skills, improvement in designs and techniques and expansion of marketing facilities".
12. [VI 24.31] "Further, effort will be made to identify technological and other problems of small industries and arrange for research and investigation on them through local and other concerned educational and technical institutions. Facilities, for research and common services will be expanded for this purpose".
13. [VI 24.31] "Special arrangements would be made to ensure an effective and co-ordinated approach for the development and widespread application of suitable small and simple machines and devices for increasing the productivity and earning capacity of workers in these industries. Efforts would be made to fully integrate techniques of production with broader programmes of all round rural development.

14. [VI 26.1] "Education can be a powerful instrument of social and economic development. A number of attempts were made in the past to relate education to socio-economic development but the success has been very partial. The politics suggested need to be so operationalized as to become an integral part of national development.

15. [VI 26.28] "The Success of the programme will depend upon an appropriate social environment. sincere motivation of adults, proper selection and training of workers". Notice also the loaded term 'sincere motivation of adults. Why do the 'adult' in question appear insincere? Is it because the 'agency' responsible had no due to the world of that adult. his/her strategies of survival etc. etc. How is this "be ensured in an unequal society?

[VI 26.30] "In fact. this programme will be regarded as a collaborative effort in which all central and state agencies. industry employers, organizations of workers. voluntary organisation etc. will have to play an important role".

The last part of the sentence suggests a striking helplessness on part of the planners. they have nowhere suggested how the above could be done; and by specifying the context of education also left little room for articulation of interests of such a divergent set of groups.

SEVENTH PLAN : POVERTY REMOVAL THROUGH PRODUCTIVITY

In the earlier chapters, we noted a gradual crystallization of a strategy of state intervention up to the sixth plan. We also held that due to the absence of constitution of society as an independent entity in the plans, the character of the strategy of intervention became 'techno-administrative' under pressure of 'experience'. Upto the sixth plan the value orientation of the Directive Principles of the Constitution provided the axis around which the argument for structural reorganization was built, making the issue politically transparent. In addition the fourth plan saw emergence of 'society' as an independent consideration though not an autonomous entity. The sixth plan advanced this perspective to the extent that it incorporated the bearings of socio-economic realities of the various programmes. However the response of the state continued to be formulated within the administrativist approach of the earlier plans (giving it a structure transparency).

FROM VALUES TO WORKABILITY

Till the sixth plan the goals & values dominated the strategy of planning, in the seventh plan there was a qualitative change. For the first time strategy of the planning (ie planner's social-philosophy of development) itself came to determine the pursuit of goals.

BASIC APPROACH GENERATES 'PROBLEMS'

The plan presents an integrated approach to planning. This basic approach could be identified as, thrust on "productivity and efficiency". Having formulated the basic approach thus, the plan goes on to deal with residual 'problems'¹. There are two types of such 'problems'. the first is the need for prespecified set of goals from which the basic approach of the plans must be derived²; the second concerns the 'problem areas' that eluded the planners even in the seventh plan.

Regarding the first residue, the approach being intrinsically dependent on an 'external' variables, the vision is easily assimilated with the generalized basic approach. The adequacy or otherwise of the vision is therefore tested only in its role in the second linkage.

There is a set of five problems set aside by the planners. These are "the rehabilitation and revitalization of agricultural credit", "improvement in the quality of agricultural and rural administration". "strategy and programme contents of family welfare programme", "productivity. efficiency and internal resource generation of Public sector enterprises". "Participation of people in all phases of development."

PRODUCTIVITY, POVERTY AND WASTES

Besides the above, the treatment of poverty and employment problem also appears to be partial. This partial character of the treatment itself appears to be the result of inbuilt limitations (of the definition and understanding) of the two crucial terms of the basic approach.³ "Productivity" and 'efficiency' .

"Efficiency and higher productivity" are economic terms and involve relationship between inputs and outputs. It is quite unproblematic to talk about efficiency, productivity and income linkage of a single enterprise. However at the level of political-economy, more-so at the local level and for poorer sections. these terms are mediated by market relations viz effective demand

considerations. There are few wastes in the Indian economy, almost all 'uneconomic' by products having some value, which is extracted by the informal sector [Sethuraman 81] generating small incomes. Higher productivity and efficiency being selective, profoundly but uncaringly affect the relative prices of these wastes, thereby affecting the incomes of this section.

Added to the above anxieties is their identification with capital-output ratio. National accounting seldom registers changes in incomes through indigeneous 'waste-recycling'. as such, it is unlikely that the costs of increased productivity and efficiency to this section would be worked out.' 'Product quality' is enmeshed in a different series of concerns, firstly the 'quality' is linked to the political-economy of market control through 'effective' demand. This demand is a part of consumerist culture of the affluent urban sector whose reference group is the western bourgeoisie. the quality consciousness so meaningful to the planners and all producers in general, is quite divorced from the 'needs' of the Indian poor. Closely relatedz to quality is the question of technolgoical development⁴.

But [VII p. ix para 3] "New developments in micro-electronics, informatics, telematics, biotechnologies, material science, oceanography, instrumentation and space technology" offer exciting opportunities' for those who are in a position to challenge the domination and hegemony of the ruling nexus at the local, regional and National levels. For others this vision is socially distant-and too incoherent for a meaningful translation [Law 86 pp. 264-280]

POVERTY REMOVAL : THE UNFULFILLED TEXTUAL PROGRAMME

5

On the poverty front the planners do not suggest "What the "efforts" would comprise of, nor does it textually 'integrate' the the various programs or indicate directions, it also does not specify the loopholes' it mentions. The word loophole reminds of ambiguity, omissions etc in law by which one can avoid a penalty or responsibility, and has definite connotations of opposing parties involved in counter-manouvers. The text mentions plugging loopholes in operation, one wonders if it is appropriate to justifiably attribute, sufficient commitment to and identification with such measures on part of the bureaucracy, criss-crossed as it is with networks of

kinship, patronage, or corruption to allow a clear formulation of two sides.

The phrase "a comprehensive design" also has many difficulties. It suggests a single scenario of interdependencies, such a strategy would need close approximation of each programme to the original plan, making it flexible-call it decentralized if you will, does not help either, because it leads to the problem of discretionary power and associated unmanageabilities. The word 'comprehensive' suggests a broadness of scope but comprehensiveness has to be attained in operation, and cannot be confined only to a reconciliation of input and output figures in plans.

This is important because 'problems' may occur either in role performance or in fighting for change. Phrase "problems faced, in para 8, is not followed by the specific problems that are implied compare with [VII para 3]. In fact the word 'special problems' only heightens the suspicion that the planners do not envisage a challenge to the presence of such social categorization - but in practice sustained the status quo by 'solving' the 'problems' associated with role performance

The above treatment should be taken to imply that the seventh plan did not, at all consider the poverty questions as a socio-economic issue. The problem with their treatment is rather, that when it does incorporate the socio-economic angle, it follows the precedent created by the sixth plan. The text succeeds in integrating the programmees 'administratively rather than socially'.⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Looking back at the experience and activity of planning for the last four decades, we observe the emergence and decay of a number of 'organizing' concepts as focal points of debate on development. Some of these have been, 'democracy', 'socialism', 'resource', 'common good', 'equality', 'reorganisation', 'integrity', 'commitment', 'policies and programmes', 'productivity', 'quality'. Here we must also remind ourselves that these are 'essentially contested' concepts. On a sociological plane, it means that, societal response to the planners', utterances, would be organized such as to yield both agreements and disagreements. This is not the same as the trivial observation that disagreements about objectives and approaches are only to be expected. These agreements are in fact rooted in social structure. As such we can comment that a formulation which does not account for 'disagreements' from the very beginning cannot expect to succeed.

Further, we examined the various textual practices and speech acts occurring in the plan. For instance, we noted

how 'socialism' got subordinated to 'economic growth' in practice in the plans. We also noticed how the general denial of interpretative work in the plan obviated the need of providing 'good reasons' for making choices, formulating problems, recommending strategies, temporarily. Simultaneously it discourages an exploration of alternatives, and leads to the scenario of fast changing goals and strategies being raised to the pedestal in one plan, only to be unceremoniously dropped in the next.

Having denied the creative handiwork involved in producing the narrative that is in the plan; the planners lost perspective of social change. Specifically they could not re-examine 'performance' parameters themselves for their functional linkages with outside society.

This brings us to the aspect of the exercise. By excluding institutions and locally rooted perceptions, the plan ended up fighting not just specific institutions but the concept of institution itself. In the name of 'Rationality'. This happened because the planners, rooted as they were in the ideology of order failed to provide a disordered site so essential for sustaining order around it. We cannot claim that this thwarted 'development' because we

have no a prior notion of development we can only say that this has produced a development which has substituted passive assent for active participation.

5. [VII Para 8] "The plan envisages expanded coverage under the various anti-poverty programmes. Every effort will be made to plug various loopholes in the operation of anti-poverty programmes and to integrate these and various sectoral and area development programmes into a comprehensive design of integrated development of each area."

1. [VII p. IX, para 3] Effective planning must be based on a vision of the future. We need a long-term perspective to translate the vision into reality and make it operational. The seventh plan is therefore, set within a 15 year-perspective. The aim is to create by the year 2000 the conditions necessary for self sustaining growth and to provide the basic mutual requisites of well-being of people. This means that we have to sustain and accelerate the momentum of economic growth. Agriculture, industry, the infrastructure and social services will have to function at progressively higher levels of efficiency".

Vision is defined as a vivid mental image

produced by imagination.

2. [VII Para14, p. XV] "The measure of plan is not intention but achievement, not allocation but benefit. Thus the impact of the seventh plan will depend on the earnestness and determination with which it is implemented performance if we are to realize the objectives and goals of the plan".

Notice two binary oppositions - intention/achievement, allocation /benefit. These are followed by {Earnestness/insincere} {Determination/vacillation}. In turn followed by a mention of "several areas where we must improve"

The order of the sentences and the turn of phrases suggests that text has used "earnestness" and "determination" as a substitute for planning of difficult and problem - ridden areas.

3. [VII p. XIV; para 20] "The standard of living is a matter of a high productivity, and there are no short cuts to it. Hard decision will be necessary to mobilize the needed resources and to sustain the tempo of modernization

structural transformation of our economy. Simultaneously, measures designed to raise the productivity and incomes of the poorer sections of society and poorer regions must be pursued with greater vigour".

[VII 2.12] The most important structural change to be brought about in the perspective period will be the accelerated growth of industry and its much greater relative contribution to national output and employment. Indian industry would have to grow at 8-9 per cent per annum during this period".

4. [VII p. 20; para XIV (a)] "Recent experience suggests that by harnessing the forces of modern science and technology, it is possible, as never before to ensure that chronic poverty need not be the inevitable lot of a majority of human kind. Poverty eradication is an attainable goal.

5. [VII Para 1.26] "Information on the incidence of poverty is available from the quinquennial survey conducted by the National sample survey organization and the relevant estimates". (The percentage of population below poverty line is calculated to be 48.3 in 1977-78 and 37.4 in 1983-84)

"Thus, there has been a decline in the incidence of poverty

and social development ... financing of seventh plan would require determined and more intense efforts for resource mobilization. The ratio of taxation to GDP will have to increase ... The success of the plans crucially dependent on the achievement of this target. Subsidies and other non-plan expenditure will have to be firmly contained... the public sector enterprises will have to generate larger resources if the requirements of additional investment are to be financed in a non-inflationary manner".

"Simultaneously we must evolve new structures, new attitudes, a new moral code, a new work ethic, a sort of cultural revolution, if you wish, which lays emphasis on dedication, commitment to national goals and pursuit of excellence so that we can make the best possible use of scarce national resources."

Notice the use of 'structural transformation' in the following extracts, also notice that 'measures to increase productivity and efficiency' is simply juxtaposed with former without identifying the connections implied.

[VII p. IX para 3] "Full advantage must be taken of advances in science and technology to bring about the needed

in this period the main reasons for this welcome trend one the higher rate of economic growth and the increases in agriculture production". Notice that unlike the earlier plans, there is no discussion of accuracy of th estimates provided. These are used to support the asserton about decline in poverty which is linked to the higher rate of economic growth and the increases in agricultural production. The causal chain is not however demonstrated.

6. pp. xi-xii, para 10] The plan pays considerable attention to meeting the energy needs of rural areas. It seeks to extend the benefit of electricity fo 1.18 lakh villages and to energise 23.9 lakh pumpsets for irrigation. The supply of fuel food has been included as an additional component of the minimum needs programme. The porogramme for the development and utilization of biogas and for the installation of new smokeless 'chulas will be expanded very substantially."

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