Welfare Pluralism: A Post Modern Rationale[1] in Policy Making[*]

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Abstract

The present study is a crucial section of my thesis on welfare policies as a panacea for development ills. Essentially the study seeks to question the etiquette of eternity of welfare interventions. Public provisioning reflecting the responsibility of the state to the poor need to take into consideration the long term development requisites, the conspicuous absence of which results in policy disjuncture. Counting on the interventions that have had a long stay for decades together like EGS, MDM, PDS in India, the discussion proposes re-looking of the policy premises, the policy process and the policy outcomes. The policy preamble led by mainstream axiom makes concoctive additions – objectives and techniques –plan after plan ensuring socio-economic change in the lives of the poor. The arithmetic success of the pro-poor interventions is a grim indicator of the transformative tenets of the concoctions. Further, in response to the query of the paper, 'Does policy success connote development failure?', the study attempts to map political / economic rationalities that underpin [welfare] policy interventions. Stemming from the debate on political palliatives to tackle ill-fare, there is a review of policy interventions pinning down upon the attendant evils of technocracy. The elucidation thus purports to place on score the vitality of content appraisal of welfare policies, aside conventional impact assessment.

Introduction

"In those countries actively seeking development - and this is almost the whole of the under developed world - government tends to be the principal agent of development. Not only is the share of government in total investment large, but public action tends to impinge on the development process at many points. But finally, we would do well to recognize that there is frequently a large gap between what government is trying to do and what in fact gets done" – Grindle and Thomas (pg.49, 1991).

The grim extent of marginalisation and the resultant deprivation in the third world has drawn solicitous measures from the political bureaucracy for the vulnerable. The measures pragmatically referred to as policy interventions, have become the backbone of such economics, that a detailed exploration on the process of its formulation and implementation seem crucial. Welfare Statism, as a deprivation - dispensing mechanism, paves way for social engineering when and where the players exhibit ebullience in

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transcending - verbal voluntarism and bureaucratic iconisation [as policy critics like Schaffer (1984) contend it] - the mainstream mandates - to address the malaise of social exclusion.

In consonance with our stated quest towards a post-modern understanding of welfare developmentalism[2], a critical look at the quotidian connotations of policy semantics is mandated. A reflexive mode of analysis[3] [beyond the instrumental and critical projections] – the mission of the present exploration – is to question the etiquette of eternity of welfare programmes. In pursuit of response for the raised query "Does policy success connote development failure?" an assertive case for the prolonged presence and extension of welfare schemes is neatly presented by policy formulators and implementers, obviously, adding a couple of objectives plan after plan. A classic example of the case is the Public Distribution System (PDS) the empirical counterpart of the present study on social policy as a panacea for development ills. The palpable demand for extending its scope [in terms of people and areas covered] may, *interalia*, be attributed to an array of objectives, the system had to fulfill. As an **anti-war, anti-famine, anti-poverty, anti-inflation and anti-malnourishment**, the system caught in a complex web of goals, saw subsequent extension. Impressive figures connoting the success of the policy intervention has hardly reflected itself in the real paradigm of development; in other words the policy disjuncture in the absence of its forward and backward linkages with agriculture, and its non-concomitance with employment openings, to mention a few, scales its distance from real development.

The success of policy interventions, being ritzy, its impact on ameliorating the living conditions of the poor is fragile. A *ceteris Paribus*[4], that shaped the policy verities is responsible for such prescriptions. Hence, there is an ardent need to cast a relook upon the policy postulations with tenuous tenets for development.

Cognizant of the fact that the primary goal of welfare [policy] interventions is to treat the malaise of **social exclusion,** a re-thinking on the concept itself seems inviting. As already mentioned, policy analysis, aside the conventional impact analysis and the emerging content analysis, should include policy discourse, an engagement that would shed light on the whole process of its conceptualization and institutionalisation. Part – 1 of the Section deals with an explication on social exclusion – a conceptual re-thinking. Part – 2 is a contemporary perspective on systems of welfare for the vulnerable, keeping in mind the populist demand for welfare statism. Part – 3 of the section renders a critical summary on policy response to development malaise, capturing the encounters that take place between the state and the poor in the policy paradigm. It concludes with a plea for pragmatic participation, in lieu of, technocratic postulation in addressing issues of ill-fare.

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[2] This connotes policy interventions that assure enhancing the capability of the people along side provisioning of material benefits for the satisfaction of immediate needs.

[3] It is a conscious reflection and self learning process that attempts to capture the policy disjuncture viz., the gap between the theoretical postulation and empirical findings.

[4] Ceteris paribus means "others things remaining constant" - An assumption in support of theories in micro economics, taking for granted the constancy of dynamic factors.

Part – 1

Social Exclusion: Questioning its sacrosanctity

Drawing inspiration from the works of Du Toit [2004], a critical engagement with the concept seems a eye-opener on the **semantic precincts**[5] in a discourse on welfare policy; connoting its futility, in exhibiting the crudeness of marginalization, the concept has significant disadvantages as the author opines. To, quote the author, "Although it has the potential to focus attention on the disabling effects of poverty, its most common usage often fails to capture how poverty can flow not only from exclusion but also from processes of integration into broader economic and social networks"[Du Toit, 2004:987]. The concept that had its modest origin in early 1970s in France in social policy debates, is now an opulent bureaucratic slogan in all the welfare initiatives replacing the concept of poverty. A theoretical exploration of the concept [backed by empirical evidences] by Du Toit, generated prolific findings. The term, *perse*, it is argued, was lending itself better to poverty studies in rich economies where people with specific disabilities were regarded the **excluded lot.** Though a long list of persons are included in the category, it comprises of only a small minority; whilst a vast majority of population in UDCs/developing economies suffer from proverbial poverty, which is beyond the estimations of exclusion.

The multi-dimensionality of poverty, in refutation of the conventional monolithic argument based on the sole criterian of income, paved the way for the concept to be widely used across economies, shedding its exclusiveness in the context of UDCs. Counting on the feasibility of its usage, Du Toit's advocacy on the relevance of the concept is confined to an interactive-interconnection between poverty, power and agency i.e. the income and the attendant material deprivation sees its perpetuation in social context impeaching upon their social status and self dignity. The impasse in which the poor land themselves in, is, undue subjudication in all frontiers – economic, social and political.

Tautologically, a policy parlance, its ambivalence in the political domain needs no exaggeration. By deploying the same in the policy agenda, the institutional authorities echo the need for including the excluded lot into the mainstream paradigm. However, pinning down upon "integration/incorporation/inclusion" as mandates for pro-poor development, invites cognition. Naïve to the actual needs of the poor, such top-down prescriptions, can hardly, generate trickle-down. Thus, "It cannot be assumed that integration, incorporation and inclusion are necessary panaceas for chronic poverty. Exactly how they will affect poor people depends very largely on just what poor people are integrated or inserted into and the exact ways in which economic and social relations actually work. Facile and sweeping policy prescriptions can easily miss these details…"[DuToit,2004:1001].

Further, the exclusion discourse precludes macro analysis of endemic problems of the society mainly poverty and inequality. The supra-system [the macro environment] within which such discriminatory happenings occur, need to be examined, as a host of exogenous factors, is responsible for the chronic situation. Citing the work of Raymond Apthrope on exclusion, DuToit, emphasises its economic determinism. In all fineness, the social tag of distribution and the economic profile of growth seems an accepted formula in the development domain. To quote Apthrope, "this is crude economism: an approach that

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[5] The boundary set by the term in itself determines its usage in policy parlance.

assigns "distribution" only to "social" and "growth" only to "economic" , denoting "exclusion" as "social" only and then making just "social exclusion" responsible for poverty" [DuToit, 2004:1002].

It is interesting to note from DuToit's articulation that deprivation stems from inclusion rather than exclusion. That sort of inclusion where the tone of the voiceless is kept feeble, creating a sound environment for the powerful to fit in the socially excluded into the bourgeois framework, is despicable. History has ample evidences to offer, where in the name of transfiguration and trans-dimensional perspective, the exercise of inclusion had been attempted, be it the feudal patron-client relationship or the modern global-local partnership, with gauzy tenets.

The cursory attempt to understand the roots of social exclusion in policy paradigm, is to drive home the point that a conceptual clarification and if need be, a reconstruction, is verily mandated, in a thematic discussion on policies that address social exclusion. Demonstrably, it is the **notional understandings** that structure the policy verities and thereby the policy trajectory. Hence, theoretical attrition of notions of poverty, marginality, inequality etc., is a crucial part of policy analysis. A re-looking on the concept brought to limelight its questionable underpinnings:

- Following colonial patterns of administration in the name of **paternalism**

- Adopting modern systems of livelihood in the name of **globalisation**

- Tuning the felt needs of the masses to normative definitions in the name of **homogenization** - thus reflecting the **incompatibility between policy rationale and development rationale**. While policy rationality pins down upon schematic handling of the problems of deprivation through numerical estimations and technocratic prescriptions to mitigate the same, the development rationale demands an altruistic appraisal of the issue [with the victims themselves voicing out their actual needs and requisites] and pragmatic perusal [wherein the voiceless not merely spell out their needs, but necessarily design the solutions] of alternatives to correct the malafide.

The briefing on the exercise of deconstruction, a post modernist requisite, seems to enlighten us on the roots of policy dichotomy, if not, bridge the promise-performance divide in the policy paradigm. Continuing the reflexive mode of analysis, the subsequent parts of the section proceed with a thematic discourse on the welfare doctrinaire with the emphasis on the following[6]:

1. Welfare systems for the vulnerable - the changing paradigms - A profile.

2. Policy response to development outcries - A critique

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[6] The discussion may seem replete with statements which may leave the reader to go by the stance or refute not yielding to contentions or debatable stances. Here I would like to clarify that the paper is not judgmental, though critical. The observations stem from a content reading of policy literature and official documents.

Part - 2

Welfare systems for the vulnerable - the changing paradigms - A profile:
Part – 2 reads in brief the meaning of needs as surmised in the political arena. Threading out the nuances of the same the present part with supportive evidences from the literature concludes with a critical reflection: Need fulfillment seems, as a matter of fact, a political task of tall order starting from - tagging a malleable meaning to the concept, facilitating its translucent transfiguration and determining its tussle-free translation in a paternalistic manner - upholding at the same time welfarism of the highest order.

Thus needs [identified and projected] are accorded primacy and policy measures to fulfill the same gain vibrancy; interventions to address insecurities are injected; arithmetic additions to targets widens the scope of the intervention, all this connoting policy success. However, in the entire discourse on welfarism, the crucial element that is missing is not needs, but the needy. The normative definition of needs waives off the needed community from the discourse. With this introduction on institutional approach to address ill-fare, we hint upon the reasons for inconsistencies in rationalities – policy and development. Part - 2 has four sub-parts. Sub-part A, throws light on the convention of the political bureaucracy in stratifying and satisfying needs. Sub-part B, a corollary of the earlier part is an empirical elucidation on the vacuity of normative definition of needs – a patrimonial political order. Sub-part C is a thematic explanation on welfarism in practice – donative tone vs self help stance. Sub-part D is an articulation on types of developmental welfare states – the Bismarckian vs Scandinavian; albeit, the models date back to the pre-independence period, the current day interventionism has much to owe them. Specifically the Scandinavian model, seemed to have gained currency among the East Asian Countries after the Great economic crisis of late 90s.

A) Need Satisfaction: A Political Convention

A study of the doctrine of welfare is unduly complicated, albeit highly essential, for the reason that it finds its roots in human needs that are dictated by physiological and emotional interests, subjected to temporal and spatial changes and determined by political bureaucracies and institutional authorities. From the development perspective and policy conjecture, a typical classification (of human needs) needs mention. Categorising the needs as normative, felt, expressed and comparative, Bradshaw's reflection [Ouoted in Pinch, 1997:6] seem to hint a cue to the policy makers. The normative needs, as those that are determined by the authorities of the welfare state are accorded priority over the needs actually felt by the people and explicitly revealed, amicably or even otherwise. Comparative needs, indicating the characteristics of the targeted, too receive tepid response from the authorities. In fact, the comparative needs shed light on the grim status of the targeted vis-à-vis the well-offs.

Likewise, not all needs are continuously demanded even though it is the government which fixes the tenure; demographic factors like age, sex etc, too have a say in the indentification of need. Needs can be both-tangible and intangible. It is not difficult to infer from the above arguments that provisioning the needy has 'n' number of considerations and the matrix of **donative discourse** or **universal populism** of the public institutions, as Jos Mooij [2002] defines them, would not generate satisfaction of the needs. It is worthy to note that "Needs are not just economic in nature. The poor nations have recognized the need for an intensive program for self-help, a need for social progress which is an indispensable condition for growth, not a substitute for economic

development…. Without social development the great majority of the people remain in poverty, while the privileged few reap the benefits of rising abundance" [Wolfgang Sachs, 1997:124].

Albeit the need for social progress and development was not taken seriously by the welfare government, the self help slogan (an alternative discourse) gained currency. The move towards self-help discourse, it must be understood is again a normative need and not the felt need as has been portrayed. So, I would like to place on record here that, need is a reflection of penury and misery, an urge driven by multiplicity of factors, the complexity of which is palpable; why then, and how could schematic fall-outs, spurious in nature and political in motive, satisfy the need and generate welfare. Normative methods of determination and provisioning viz., needs identified and provided for by the "administrators, managers and professionals" [Pinch, 1997:6] seems a primary step in public provisioning.

In an interesting case examined by Marion Glaser [1985] the author spells out the stark reality that official methods of provisioning for the poor has a historical legacy with attendant bureaucratic philosophies underpinning the same; consequently, opulent fall-outs by plutocrats have negligible impact in fulfilling the felt needs of the people. Citing the empirical case of 'Housing Programme for the Urban Poor', at Bogota, Colombia, Glaser critically looks at the process of need fulfillment – the official categorization that shaped the policy conjecture to bring forth the politically ordained time-bound outcome. The influence of the powered class in the policy paradigm is well established by Glaser.

The official categorization, as the author points out, in tandem with the macro economic requisite [mainstream mandate] defined house, for the purpose of provisioning, in two ways – as a consumer good , as a public good – which in turn determined its subsidy ratios. Declaring housing as a lucrative asset for investment, the Colombian government attempted to contain the inflationary bias against long term savings. The sector sensexed the peak with the aid of government stimulation on the score. The intervention was hailed as successful with the household savings reaching a record figure of 46% - the mission of the programme. However, what went unnoticed in the process was the impact of the scheme on the shelterless urban poor. As a cabriolet to contain the "housing deficit of the urban poor" [Glaser,1985:411], the intervention failed. It was expected, though not explicated in the policy agenda, that the intervention would propel extensive investment by middle class people in houses, thereby "filtering down vacant middle class dwellings to the poor" [Glaser, 1985:411]. The expected trickle down did not happen and Bogota's poor found it a remote dream under the contemporary conditions, with soaring land and construction costs. It is evidenced from the Bogota case that the scientific rationale behind the intervention [investment multiplier mechanism] did not guarantee altruistic expectations [shelter for the poor] from the welfare measures.

While the aforementioned analysis questions the scientific [anti-poor] rationality of the mainstream model of welfarism, the following discussion, based on Glaser's work 'Low cost housing for the shelterless', invites a re-thinking on paternalism as the base of policy interventionism.

B)   Paternalism: A Patrimonial Political Order?

The argument presented here, as already outlined, is the institutional dictation of welfare requisites for the masses. In planning for the poor, the **big brother** attitude of the

institutional authorities, seem a colonial legacy; albeit the imperial voice for the suppressed echoed in the policy paradigm, their vested calculation though not explicit in the development agenda, was, indeed tractable. Albeit the etiquette viz., official methods of need determination and fulfillment seems to be a thematic assessment of problems and prescriptions, is nothing more than a political dogma. Foraying into another world viz., the world of wearisome warrants humanism and not paternalism. It is understandable that the voice for the poor is clearly not the voice of the poor. The non-concordance results in policy disjuncture. Paternalism, then, seems to me a **patrimonial political disorder rather than a public policy order**. To quote, "By controlling both the definition of the policy object and the measurement of the 'need' for it, policy makers hold the key to the eventual determination of the problem solving approach" [Glaser, 1985:412].

The analysis by Glaser on housing for the Bogota's poor, sheds light on the **technocratic suppositions, labeled rational reasoning, that rule over the factual snippets**.

Having discussed at length the nature of needs, it is pellucid that needs are subjective and subjected to spatial and temporal variations. However, the technocrats – the policy designers, seem allured by sophistications, to the utter neglect of local demands and supplies. The apparent valorization inhibits in many ways, the adoption or even adaption of countryside models i.e. the local/indigenous models beholding many advantages – pecuniary and otherwise.

In Bogota, the policy pronouncements by the official heads on quality inputs for quality houses sidelined indigenous ingredients vis-à-vis the expensive importable that seemed no less in generating quality houses. Coffee, [the primary item in the export market of the Columbians], whose residual waste and pebbles were used as materials for house building by charity homes. These were jettisoned on the grounds of sub-standard quality by housing sector authorities. Thus, policy as a need-fulfilling mechanism faultered and failed; yet as officially declared goals were satisfied - dwellings were provided to the targeted though not at optimum rates - it commanded populism and extension. In Bogota's case, the myth of standard house for the shelterless was far from happening; yet the eulogy made its dent on the masses, if not on their well-being.

Investigating the case further, Glaser unearths nuances that explain [welfare] **needs – [welfare] policy nexus**. In other words, the framing of welfare policies by the well-off for the deprived was done in a fashion congenial and compatible to their interests. Further, it also led to certain interpretations of the society, that became the backbone of welfare postulations. The growing North-South divide in Bogota, for instance owed much to the official system of housing that centered the Upper income brackets at the hub of the city in compact, public/private apartments and placed the lower income brackets at peripheries in congested tenements. While the northern part of the city symbolized the resourceful and the powerful, the south comprised of members who were not merely paupers and penniless, but "the most ill-reputed groups of urban dwellers" [Glaser, 1985], the dacoits and the criminals.

Applying O.Lewis coinage – culture of poverty to the Columbian divide, the author condemns the political culture that relentlessly fosters it. What was more disquietening is that the poor internalized the attributes and modeled themselves accordingly. Mutual distrust and lack of concern for each other was found not only with the members of the

north, but within themselves. Thus any form of organized representation to voice their grievances became a distant reality. Thanks to the culture of poverty, the politicians came forward with magnificent hand-outs that seemed to appease their basic requirements on daily basis. The saviors [political heads] in Bogota drew huge crowds whose members were badged as loyal patrons of the benefactor and their community as organized crew in permanent need of support from the government for their survival.

Every section of the community had its own calculation and vested interest in maintaining the endemic order – the upper class, the commercial and industrial units and the political units. The rich class enjoyed comfortable access to amenities with absolutely no interference from the lower income groups, who were denied entry into the privileged areas of the propertied class. As far as the industrial and commercial entities were concerned they evinced not scenes of pressure while undertaking the task of clearing slums in the central areas of the city. The politician had lot of scope to work out a lucrative pro-poor project for the slum dweller. The money sanctioned by the central government for welfare programmes was poured by the political leader into model projects. The continued demand for the same for generations is an index of the prolonged deprivation of the poor – illegal, congested tenements, abysmal economic conditions and low social profile.

There was no dearth of pro-poor proposals and bountiful schemes to please the poor. However, the welfare initiatives by the government bureaucracy to supply the demands of the locale continued at the backdrop of the inegalitarian socio-economic frame work. No attempts were made to restructure the same. Gaining accommodation in a congested dwelling at the city outskirts far from access to basic services, Bogota's poor seemed a satisfied community. Efforts by the government bureaucracy to change the bleak socio-economic order that was thrust upon them – law breaking immoral pauper - were grim. **Who would?** And how could the authorities come forward with pragmatic initiatives, for once the poor are out of the pejorative conditions, the charismatic fall-outs loses colour and the donative tone of the political philanthropist attracts meek response. "Until the poor gain the power of self-definition and the capacity to analyse and deal with their problems independently, they will not break out of the vicious circle…"[Glaser, 1985:417].

This seems a universal commandment [not only for Bogota's poor] towards the realization of development pragmatism.

It is essential to question the romantic models of welfare on the grounds of tenuous verities that demand schematic maneuvering with niggardly interest in setting right the structural malaise. In fact the **first step** in the restructuring exercise is sifting out the plutocratic underpinnings that the mainstream model absorbs without a bone of contention. Comprehensive Development Framework [CDF] of the post liberal development decade is a classic example of the sort. A model with pro-development vision – synchronization of social and economic criterian in determining the growth package -   has jettisoned crucial elements like gender equity. Further in its exhaustive list of institutions comprising international financial agencies and civil society organizations, the exclusion of the government as a player is striking. Though the bureaucracy has its attendant evils, including corruption and red-tapism, privatization is not the panacea. Its suitability in designing social packages of development is questionable on the score of its commercial tenets.

Thus, the crux of the whole argument is that the welfare schemes with pro-poor tags and rhetoric slogans, admittedly, command populism and extension. An impact analysis[as an arithmetic exercise] of the same may also show promising performance; yet its continued presence for decades together sheds light on the fundamental lapses that need re-orientation. As in the case of Bogota, the structure *perse* [social, political and economic] was modeled with a preferred bias towards the rich at the expense of the poor. The political bureaucracy untiringly patronised the disorder, which it had implanted; in a crude environment where the system itself seems anti-poor, the victims helplessly look upon the political benefactor, who, according to their notion, are ever ready to render yeomen service to the community at large. Thus emerge exemplary models which bring no change in the hard life of the poor. **Popular Development,** as Jan Nederveen Peterise [1998] would term, people's participation in development process, is needed to initiate structural changes in tandem with the community needs.

Musing over the arguments placed by the proponents of participation machinery, it is understandable that given the opportunity and substantive incentive, it can render effective, community development works for the benefit of the marginalized sections of the society. However, the regression of the approach is a reflection of stereotype suppositions of the approach. The conspicuous absence of a strong theoretical base coupled with apolitical stance made participation, logistically speaking, a technical hand-out. Replete with rhetoric claims like initiating bottom-up practices of development planning, need oriented development projects, and rights- based initiatives to address social exclusion, the participatory approach seemed an addition to the existing load of pro-development strategum like EcoSoc synchronization. The critical factor to be taken note of is the plausible attempts towards realization of these claims.

Admittedly participatory method as a vision of the post-liberal era to discipline social and economic upheavals had not evinced the desired impact. However that does not propose its exclusion from development politics. What is currently needed, as already mentioned above, is tracing out the doctrine of participation about which less is often discussed followed by a meaningful content analysis and a vibrant discourse. Further, a systematic linkage with the political sphere, negotiating power structures to see through the advantages of the approach, can by and large smoothen the road to participatory forms.

It would be interesting to include here, in our discussion on participation, a theoretical construct by Sam Hickey and Giles Mohan] tracing its trajectory since World War II till the present day[7].

Essentially a move towards transformative paradigm, the space that particiapatory paradigm offers for the marginalized in (re) conceptualizing development vis-à-vis main-stream model and rejuvenating mechanisms for grass root involvement, measures the degree of success.

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[7] See annexure 1

Chart-1: Participation as a palliative: a historical profile[•]

PERIOD	POSTULATION	PROPONENTS	STATE MENT OF INTENTION	TECHNIQUE OF APPLICATION
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1940s – 1950s	Community development	Colonial Government Imprints	Stable rural communities	Local development projects
1960s	Community development	Post-colonial Government	Development of state hegemony	Health and Education projects
1960s	Political participation	North American Political Science Influences	Legitimization of New States	Political patronage
1960s – 1970s	Emancipatory participation	Radical Southern thinking	Voice against structures of oppression	Peoples' Movements
1970s – 1990s	Alternative development	Development Dialogues of 1974-Dag Hammarskjold Conference	Critique of mainstream development models; plea for cultural pluralism and sustainability	Strengthening social movements and promoting self-help initiatives
1980s – present	Populist development	NGDOs and International Agencies	Critique of modernization; plea for direct involvement of community with limited engagement of state apparatus in development initiatives	Fostering Bottom-Up approaches to ensure sustainable development via effective interventions
Mid 1990s – present	Social capital	Agencies like World Bank and civil society groups; individuals including Putnam, Bourdieu, Narayan	Social capital as a base for economic growth	Promoting institutional networks and associations at local levels
Late 1990s – present	Participatory governance and citizenship claims	Research and Action Forums	Social democracy; Responsive state and strong civil society	'PPP' paradigm [Public-Private Partnerships]

Source: The table is constructed based on a study by Sam Hickey and Giles Mohan (2005) titled, 'Relocating Participation within a Radical Politics of Development', _Development and Change_ 36(2), pp.237-262.

Sam Hickey and Giles Mohan have made systematic initiation on the score. The quest towards its feasible operation in practice should categorically aim at imminent and immanent development they opine. The accordance of "participatory roles to the subjects of development at each stage of development interventions" [Hickey and Mohan,

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[•] From the above presentation it should be clear that participartory frame work has a historical legacy and been the main stay of development measures in the developing economies since the colonial times. However, it has been recommended as a new formula and a missing element time and again, during various development decades Further, the hegemonic clout of the postulation is ostensibly covered by the state apparatus in its explicitly spelt pro-poor agendas. Above all, the palliative has been used to silence peoples' move against the liberal initiatives of the political bureaucracy in pursuit of economic development at social cost. Thus the discussion seeks to shed light on the fact that the participatory/self-help framework as handled by the state machinery is not an effective bottom-up mechanism as claimed by the proponents. This triggers in a debate as to whether the postulation should take an apolitical route or it could be an integral of a radical political mission.

2005:241] is termed imminent, while injection o   f transformative tenets vis-à-vis the mainstream technocracy in the "underlying processes of development" is referred to as immanent.

Along side the attempts of theorizing participation the authors comment on role of participatory governance in initiating social transformation. Citing the case of West Bengal and Kerala in India, they argue, that Democratic Decentralisation as it is constitutionally referred, does provide space for the poor in the power-loaded State Structure. As an integral part of state reforms and well programmed   political initiation, participation sees feasible translation. Hence linking the concept with the radical political system invites positive cogitation.

The NGOs actively dealing with the locale in promoting development, works too reinforce social inequities by establishing Patron-Client relationship as it is critiqued of the political hierarchy. However the contention does not rule out the advocacy role of the NGOs. :"The participatory form of advocacy involves the grass roots in agenda setting through genuine partnerships and participatory methods, and opens up policy processes to a wider range of voices and stakeholders. NGO advocacy, then, involves the alignment of participatory approaches with a rights-based agenda, and brings together the key elements of citizenship-based approach that stresses political engagement at local, national and international levels" [Hickey and Mohan, 2005:246-247].

The discussion by Hickey and Mohan is comprehensive in the sense that in their proposal on participation as an emancipatory politics of difference for facilitating its practical realization, the study has explicated the role of supportive mechanisms – the NGOs and the Social Movements – with their attendant limitations. The examples of progressive social movements like Zapatistas Movement of Mexico or the Landless Rural Workers' Movement of Brazil stand testimony to their egalitarian notion of citizenship; the essential underpinning plugs the top-down approach in development planning. A transition in thinking from patron-client relationship to citizen-state partnership is emphasized. The rights based approach which the authors suggest is a widened contour of citizenship that exercises its franchise of participation to institute paradigmatic changes on the road to equitable development. To quote, "Here 'citizenship' constitutes not only a set of legal obligations and entitlements but also the practices through which individuals and groups formulate and claim new rights or struggle to expand and maintain existing rights. This participatory notion of citizenship is particularly 'attractive to women and other marginalized groups' as it offers the prospect that citizenship can be claimed 'from below' through their own efforts in organized struggles rather than waiting for it to be conferred 'from above' [Hickey and Mohan, 2005:254].

Grappling with the issue of public participation, Gent [1993] lays emphasis on the need for examination of the **carrot and stick (**incentive/disincentive) of an individual's role in programming for welfare. Acknowledging the minuscule space for participation and attributing the same to "Elite Domination and Political Patronage", Gent advocates optimistic consideration of what he calls the opportunity structure for public participation and the process of interest-representation. To quote, "The nature of interest representation is important because in virtually all cases there is no obvious public interest, but, rather, a discourse among competing actors, each striving to take advantage of opportunities to advance his own interests. Disproportionate control over economic, political and information resources privileges some actors in this discourse, but its nature is also shaped

by the opportunity structure for participation and the strategies that different actors employ" [Gent, 1993:128].

Gent's analysis of paradox of participation and the maneuvering move towards rectification of the same makes it clear that expression of need and an explication on the score, by the needy would make the pro-poor programmes meaningful. The analysis could be convincingly used to justify our critique of the normative method of need assessment, c referred to as Donative discourse by exponents including Mooij [2002] in policy making. Need fulfillment via schematic fall-outs is feasible if and only if the programmes for the marginalised, become programmes by the marginalised, with the interests of the poor having adequate representation i.e. it represents a call for policy pragmatism.

An elucidation on policy populism does not seem out of context, for it is the benevolent idealism that has shaped many of the existing (ever existing!) schemes in India like PDS (Public Distribution System), EGS (Employment Guarantee Scheme), MDM (Mid Day Meal Programme) etc. The following part summarises the politics of two such schemes[8] namely DWCRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas) and PDS in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

C) Donative discourse Vs Self-help discourse - A case of welfare desiccation
Jos Mooij [2002], in one of her eminent works, titled "Welfare Policies and Politics: A study of Three Government Interventions in Andhra Pradesh, India" has traced schematically the history of populism in Andhra Pradesh, which has underpinned major development interventions in the state. The two schemes namely - PDS and DWCRA - though apparently seem to champion the cause of downtrodden, were actually molded by discrete political calculations. Admittedly they have been responding positively to the needs of the vulnerable; however their signals suited optimally the political lobbies whose vested interests were not clearly pro-poor.

Under the auspicious banner of **Anna Varam** - big brother's gift or rice gift, the Two Rupees per kilo of Rice scheme, was launched by the then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh amidst pomp and populism. Mooj's exploration on the populist food programme has interesting findings, an understanding of which paves way for conscientisation.

The historical trajectory of the scheme, makes it obvious that Rs.2/- per kilo of rice was the vital agenda in the electoral manifesto of TDP (Telugu Desam Party) targeting the vote of the poor, specially the women. The sweeping successes and major come backs evinced by the TDP vis-a-vis the opposition (supported by entrepreneurial class) can, with no hesitation, be attributed to the Subsidized Food Intervention (SFI). Though a cross section of people including the rural poor and peasant cultivator were benefited, it was not without a heavy price in terms of long-term welfare. Aside, the fiscal pressure, the celebrity scheme, covered the gauzy tenets of TDP, which were anti-poor. To mention a few - non implementation of minimum wages act, enforcement of land ceiling measures

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[8] It would be interesting to note the details of the two schemes specifically for their claims in addressing vulnerability in the spelt out ways and enriching the lives of the marginalised sections of the society. Behind the rhetorics, we find the play of unhealthy logistics both political and economic streamlining the welfarist programmes. Thanks to these interventions, once they are there in place, their conceived success determines a host of other issues – political, economic and social and sets in operation the vicious circle of mal-development. The present study seeks to argue that disjuncture may arise at any stage in the policy process – conceptualization/institutionalisation and not necessarily in the implementation phase alone. The schemes were chose to lend weightage to the above argument.

etc., In fact, the tepid moves towards the realization of pro-poor measures had hidden motives: to keep the poor in the state of chronic penury so that the SFI, becomes the ever green requirement of the marginalised and that the government can don the paternalistic role with ease.

Welfare programmes as Rs.2/- per kilo of rice, fall under the category of universal populism covering every citizen of the state. In a blaze of excitement to render a helping-hand to the poor (who are in need) the government exhibited benevolence. Such initiatives reflecting the charitable disposition of the party leader towards the vulnerable, as Mooj denotes, have a donative tone, in theme and substance. However the scheme is conspicuous for its tone of power of the bureaucrats over the poor who are maintained as mute recipients of their magnanimous hand-outs.

Though the state of Andhra Pradesh stands distinct, as Mooj findings reveal, in the healthy political affiliation of PDS leadership, privileging it to cultivate a good rapport with the grass root beneficiaries, the power of the powerful in suppression of the voice of the voiceless is undoubtedly pejorative. To quote, "The presentation of food programmes has been referred to as a donative discourse because of the emphasis on charity and generosity of the government…. However, "various progressive laws which would help the poor were not implemented. Instead the TDP (Party in Power) administers and protects the system which thrives on the existence of unemployed workers who must accept low wages or starve. TDP brutally suppresses the efforts of workers to organise for land reform and higher wages. A case in point is the way TDP has given the police free rein to attack supposed naxalites whenever they suspect that villagers are organising against the land lords"[Mooj, 2002:28]. The investigation is a curtain - raiser towards the pro-poor rhetorics of the donative discourse where feel for the forlon is absolutely desiccated.

Nonetheless than this in rhetorism, is the alternative formula of Self-help discourse based on targeted populism. It can be drawn from Mooj's, exploration of DWCRA - the programme for upliftment of ultra poor namely, women and children in rural areas - that politics and policies are inextricably interwoven. DWCRA, one among the experimental tool is out and right a political venture to capture power. To win an edge over its opponents, as the political history of the state indicates, the DWCRA came out with ideals such as:

- o Improving the survival position and quality of life of young children and women.

- o Enabling women to increase their earning power and to participate in development programmes.

- o Increasing the impact of on-going existing development programmes by stimulating, supplementing, strengthening and integrating them.

- o Involving the community in planning and implementing the programme so that this need-based development activity will be carried on by the community even after outside assistance is with drawn [Mooij, 2002:35].

The programme saw rapid extensions in coverage and scope. As per the World Micro Credit Summit estimation (Washington, 1997) AP alone accounts for 40% of DWCRA groups that exist in India and 20% of those that exist in the world. Further, at present there are, 4,00,000 groups in AP, employing 5 million women members.

The transition from a donative slogan to that of a self-help pattern ostensibly accorded priority to empowerment of the targeted vulnerable for, "making a stakeholder of every citizen became one of the driving ideas behind many of the new schemes and policies, so, DWCRA can be seen as an example of a wider trend: away from universal populism towards a targeted populism and away from a donative discourse towards a self-help discourse" [Mooij, 2002:41].

As a development programme for women's empowerment, the vital gender issues it need to tackle, were not taken up at all. The scanty attention on strategic gender needs like questioning patriarchy implied its rhetorical, fragile construction. Further probing revealed that the very objective of the scheme was to silence the agitation against the on-going reforms by depoliticising development via local peoples' participation in similar schemes. The findings, from Mooij's analysis, bring to surface:

- o   The political power in policy making and implementation.
- o   The technical power in rationalizing policy process.
- o   The intellectual power in conceptualising policy.

What I mean by this is that power in various forms structures welfare, leaving little or no room for the expression of the powerless in the development agenda. Not surprisingly, policies reach high, though poor nauseate. Gaining insight from Mooij study, it is crucial to note that the labyrinthine of development can be traversed with success if one understands.

- a)   The power of politics
- b)   The politics of power

While the former is a positive cognition, the latter is regressive and throws a caveat. The power of politics connotes that in a democratic welfare state much is expected and can be done by the people in power for the poor if there is **political credibility** and **virtual integrity.** In fact, emulative development packages have been shaped and implemented with success by the political bureaucracies in welfare democracies. PDS, MDM, EGS are laudable examples to mention a few. But for them vast majority of the chronic poor would have gone without food, income, employment and the like that are needed to sustain life. The success of the interventions throws light on the political potency in championing the cause of the downtrodden.

At the same time, one has to be cognizant of the power struggle that is incessant amongst political parties, between policy planners and implementers, amidst intellectuals. This undoubtedly is a sign of bad politics, reflecting the institutional apathy for the marginalized. The politics of power connoting, power struggle, results in victimization of the vulnerable, ushering in pro-development slogans and anti-poor policies. NEW (New Economic Welfare) of the 90s is a case in point. Even the Post-Washington Consensus with a proposal for integration of economic and social dimensions is dubbed as a vacuity, as the promising prospect is the dictation of international agencies empowered by developed nations with vested interest, to mitigate the problems of developing economies. A discussion at length on Laurence Whitehead's analysis of the politics of policies seems crucial in this context. The articulation questions the etiquette that seems dominating the development domain: the political rationality of policy optimization. Presenting the systemic political interference and the contributory causative factors, the author draws our

attention to reflect on the flip side of the etiquette: [economic] policy constraints on the achievement of fundamental political goals.

At the outset, there are at least eight factors that have been offered as political explanations for specific choice of policies. They are as Whitehead sums them up:

- o "Historical traditions

- o Socio-structural determinants

- o Self-interest of politically powerful sectors

- o Entrenched characteristics of the political system

- o Formal properties of the political institutions

- o Influence of particular economic ideologies or schools of thought

- o Logic of particular sequential processes of the "vicious circle/virtuous circle" variety

- o Variety of adhoc or conjectural considerations" [Whitehead, 1990:1133].

It is interesting and important to study the set of political factors to understand the reconstruction proposed by the author. Citing the case of Germany, where the catastrophe of hyper-inflation under Weimer rule left a deep scar on its citizens, the author records the hostile reaction of the Germans against the policies with inflationary bias and more so against political leaders proposing them. Albeit, the tradition cast a major influence in shaping the policies of the German economy, Whitehead puts forth assertively, that the impression of the tradition continued unabatedly [only] with supportive arrangements – both politically and economically. For eg, the German bank, a centralized agency, was set up to arrest such casualties in the monetary frontiers. In other words, the plausibility of historical continuities is contingent upon its tuning with the contemporary political interests and institutional settings. Moreover, UDCs and developing economies which had been subjected to imperial rule for long had little to think in terms of **national traditions** for **historical enfetterings** to happen.

Coming to the politics of social structure pre-conditioning macro policies, a convincing example of contemporary Israel is cited. In the larger interests of the nation, two important mandates were thrust upon in the economic frontiers namely

- o Allocation of exorbitant percentage to the defense sector

- o Preclusion of resorting to recession as a tool of economic stability.

The peculiarity of the social structure in Israel mandated the policy design. The apparent tension amongst the people [Jews and Arabs] on the grounds of ethnic diversity and the uncertainty on account of geo-political conditions necessitated the macro-economic design. In fact, the tied-loans from The Fund have been deliberately avoided fearing any move by The Fund, leading to the freezing of defense expenditure. Prescriptions by international agencies that would float recessionary tendencies and subsequently unemployment condition registered a sordid response as it might eventually lead to mass exodus, Israel being a highly mobile society. Emigration would at no cost be tolerated as the nation required more hands [Jews] to safeguard itself from the alien intervention.

Thus, social-structural determinism does impact the policy settings. However, it should be kept in mind, that conditions in Israel are not common, to make a universal postulation based on situation thereof. Even the label social structure is a loose definition unconfining to limits of social class factors.

The third and one of the most vital factor that sides the argument of political determinism in policy paradigm is Kleptocracy viz., sultanistic regimes with its inherent axiom of dictatorship. The vested motives of the heads of power seem to be in sharp contradiction to the real requisites of the masses. A plethora of examples can be cited in support of the stance. The Chilean example as elaborated by Whitehead [1990] provides an interesting profile to the raised query viz., political constraints on economic policy optimization. That Chile's economic system was disciplined under the despotic rule of Pinochet is a dimension which brings to limelight our earlier thrust on the power of politics. Undoubtedly democracy is at stake under authoritative politics. Yet in Chile's case it was demonstrated that a corrupt-free regime could perpetuate to a larger extent disciplined economic system, necessarily not a healthy one. A switch from democracy [prior to Pinochet's rule dated back to pre 1970s] to autocracy [under the dictatorship of Pinochet since 1973], the turn, appeared disquietening, blocking the voice of the people. However, under the democratic regime, Chile's lackadaisical performance in the economic sphere coupled with spurious attacks on the propertied class drove them to heights of insecurity. To put the economy back in track, a **dominant regime** seemed the recipe of the right kind. Palpably, the discourse on economic imperativeness of political autocracy is not a pro-development matrix, to be stereotyped.

It is a clear case where **political conjecture** was accepted to condition the economy on the path of growth. Nonetheless, the capitalist order had its own repercussions in the development domain. Pinochet's politics, to put it candidly, was crude economics, naïve to societal outcries, with utter disregard to the long-term development impact.

Cognizant of the tradition – be it historical or social – of the political grafting in policy making, the rumination on its salience seems significant. It is worthy to note that the political system endowed with "entrenched characteristics" [Whitehead, 1990] sees a virtual stay. In Colombia for instance, the bi-party politics is an established pattern of federalism. The landmark period 1946-1957 phased out the pattern whose determinism spanned nearly twenty years. The characteristic feature of the pattern was alternate regime of two major parties – the liberals and the conservatives – which till date persists in the Colombian government.

Espiritdecorps, the overarching ideal of the political legacy ensured consensus in the choice of policies to be implemented. To quote, "Policies are more likely to be sectoral than global, with medium term goals [reflecting the four year cycles of public office] much in view. A substantial range of interests must be consulted and may be entitled to claim some compensation if public policies hurt them. Individual ministers are subject to judgment and dismissal according to the acceptability of their specific policies, rather than on the basis of any strong ideological or group loyalties. These are all fairly deeply entrenched characteristics of the present Colombian political system" [Whitehead, 1990:1137].The explication on the issue of political entrenchment in Columbia is undoubtedly a case of the sort but without being precise or substantive about the verities discussed thereof.

History has numerous examples to offer on the score of timely [policy] decisions mandated by political properties, i.e., the formal properties of the political institutions could influence to a larger extent the macro economy. Citing the case of Brazil, Whitehead illustrates the "pattern of political pressures shaping macro economic decision making [Whitehead, 1990:1139]. The reputed rise of Sarney, a civilian collaborator, under the military regime in Brazil, to the first citizen of the country viz., the president in Brazil, was palpably due to his benevolent policy that reshaped the economic history of the country. To explicate the issue further, Sarney earlier was the vice-presidential candidate at the time when Neves a pure democrat was chosen as the president. His untimely death [even before he could resume office] created a vacuum in the political arena, where, Sarney, "democratic legitimacy" [Whitehead, 1990] was a debatable standpoint. Coupled with this, was his insecurity with regard to his official tenure. An election to constituent assembly was verily mandated to define legally Sarney's political term. The formal characteristics of the system namely - electoral mandates, federal structure – all of these contributed to the policy overhauling attempted by Sarney to stabilize his political position. Named, the **Cruzado Plan**, it was a strategy to free the economy from the threat of external debt through a interest waive off. Thus, to quote, "The argument is not that either the rigidity of the Mexican presidential time or the indeterminacy of Brazil's democratic calendar made gross economic mismanagement inevitable. But these formal characteristics of the two political systems do require full and systematic attention in order to understand the strength and pattern of the political pressures shaping macro economic decision making" [Whitehead, 1990:1139].

Cogitating over the impact of the institutional thinking [political/economic] on policy making, it is not difficult to understand the ideological underpinnings at their backdrop. The telling influence of schools of thought on policy-making, in the name of economic rationality can hardly be dismissed. Just as Pinochet's postulation is said to have been premised upon Friedman's philosophy, Sarney's Cruzado Plan was worked out with Brazilian economic pool.

In fact, the World Bank with its pool of economists and advisory bodies has stimulated new policies in the UDCs and the developing economies. The persistence of the "Treasury Viewpoint" [Whitehead, 1990:1141] i.e. the decision of the government authorities, as the rationale, makes policy making a **pure political stratagem**.

At times, the logic of political effort in streamlining policy measures may be considered as dynamic fall-outs, to save the economy from a near-crisis situation. The political plan could well generate positive economics though it may fail to impact the much needed structural overhauling in social terms. Brazil's Cruzado Plan, as discussed earlier, is a case of the sort, where the political authorities reframed the economic structure to arrest the vicious circle of developments and lay the road towards a virtuous turn of events. The crucial point born out of the analysis is that the structural change in political frontiers does initiate economic dynamism, which is not only ineluctable, but simultaneous as well. Herein, lies the integrity of the political administration, which, in a non-hermitic fashion [without compartmentalizing] should accord equal priority to both the spheres. Thinking aloud on its practicability, Whitehead, contends that even if the politico-economic optimum is identified, there is no surety that it would be cushioned by resourceful support. The synchronized rationality which he terms as the **"critical path"** – that will keep up the momentum on both the terms, would, as I evince, to a larger extent, plug the **growth-development divide**. Taking a reflexive stance, the process takes its own time in

identifying the critical path, which is beset with pressures from national and international opponents.

Last, though not the least, is the contingencies like war, coups and riots that warrant a political intervention angularly different from the peacetime bureaucracy. To this list of conjectural explanations, we may add strange beliefs and erratic practices, personal convictions and vested calculations, along with idiosyncrasies of the leaders.

The above discussion is taken to reflect on the issue of policy making as a rational political game. Exponents like Streeton, Barbara Harris, Thomas and Grindle, to mention a few, have questioned the heightened focus on **political will** in implementing policies as lack of political will is seen as a dogmatic reply for serious lapses on the part of the government in addressing development issues. On the other side, we see liberalists doubting the political skill in performing effectively and efficiently. Political dexterity, according to them, is scarce; however non-performance or underperformance of the political actor, cannot be attributed to their low spirit or caliber. A **will-skill** model that underscores political rationality in development sphere is not a sufficient one. Along with ebullience and dexterity, there is an ardent need for **integrity**, a rudimentary requisite.

Measures, welfare in nature, demands selfless solutions beyond rhetoric slogans and cardinal considerations. Generation of such solutions bring about the desired synchronization between policy rationality and development rationality. An eclectic understanding of the political rationality in the policy domain, would, in all possibility, help in identifying the "critical path"; further, it is high time that the "treasury view-point" in rationalizing political intervention gives way to **popular view-point,** ringing the deathknell to technical/scientific underpinnings of political rationality.

The political explanations as elaborated above bring to surface the entrenched properties and imperialistic ideologies that dominate the rational move of the bureaucrat. Further, the will-skill model to examine political rationality in policy analysis is an institutional kit, with an array of treasons to substantiate the political move. Reading more than a score of explanations of policy choice, it is clear that **political integrity** is solicited in policy making aside will and skill. Thus a transition from will-skill model to integrity-dexterity approach would render possible, a reasonably rational move towards real development.

Musing over the arguments on power and politics in shaping policy interventions, I, conclude this part on donative vs self-help initiative, with an emphasis that it is not the need felt or expressed by the poor which is taken up for policy considerations, but those defined by the people in power viz. professionals and bureaucrats. This, I term as Normative Inundation. Once the defined needs are met i.e., targets reached, the policy is deemed successful, despite the fact that people are in meek existence. **The defined needs seldom contain long term requisites of the reserved sections of the society that would signal imperceptible changes in their lives; rather it focuses on the tangible needs that are immediate.**

Maithreyi KrishnaRaj, in her article on EGS of Maharashtra, hinting the need for and significance of long term vision in the formulation of development intervention, aside considerations of immediate aspirations, opines thus; "The long term component, which has in fact the ultimate potential for poverty alleviation, works through the building of

productive assets.... The long term impact of EGS on poverty thus depends strongly on the quantity and quality of assets created and the effectiveness of these assets in generating mainstream employment opportunities by proper integration with development plan of the state". Identifying the *raison d'etre* for development slag, despite its pro-poor aura, she observes, "Apart from the weaknesses inherent in its administrative mechanism, all the limitations of EGS, can, in fact be traced to the origin of the scheme as a relief programme and its incomplete transformation as a poverty alleviation tool" [2004:1599].

To make explicit the **welfare systems for the vulnerable** with its prospects and pitfalls, demands a generic over view of the sorts of welfare paradigm across the globe. Thus, a discussion on typologies of the welfare state is more authentic than a piece - meal analysis, to understand the equation of successful policy and sustainable development.

D)   Welfare States: A Contemporary Coherence
The rumination over the thematic models of welfare states in the recent times crystallises the fact that not all models are **welfarian** in the true sense of the term, as they are market driven. The caveat to be assimilated is that welfare regimes founded on market logistics generate tenuous response to development ills.

Undoubtedly, state interventionism is taken recourse to, for tackling issues of ill-being in all economies be it capitalist or socialist. Even World Bank and the other international agencies have come up with social prescriptions to battle under- development and mal development. It must be understood that the grammar of welfare statism is beyond market stipulations and if subjected to the same, it is prone to be anti-poor. The tenets of emerging paradigms are identified thus:

- o   Focus on welfare institutions as a separate wing of the economy, necessarily not as a primary one.

- o   Thrust on social impact of macro policy, derisively not on its social content.

- o   Need for soft (social) entitlements, evidently not a generic one.

- o   Emphasis on a synchronised (social + economic criterian) market sponsored welfare paradigm, primarily not state stimulated.

An insightful study by Huck-ju-kwon, is worth mentioning at this juncture. Reflecting upon the neo-liberal prescriptions of growth-propelled development policies, that accords primacy to economic measures vis-à-vis social means, to foster the growth of a country, Kwon, advocates social strategies to combat economic ills too. The **heretical stance** [role of social policy in economic development] that the author takes in his recommendations is based on the contemporary development in the East Asian Economies like Korea and Taiwan. The re-looking exercise is pragmatic, in the sense, that it paves the way for development teleologies to come out from the critique of rhetorism.

Embedded upon technical rationalities, the economics of development, seem not a formula favouring the poor. If on the other hand, social underpinnings determine welfare policies, they promote economic development as well. Outlining the features of welfare developmentalism, Kwon, explains how institutions of social policies facilitated the overall development in the east asian economies. Tracing the "developmental use of social policy", Kwon arrives at two kinds of welfare developmentalism, which he labels as **strands of welfare developmetalism**; one where the orientation of social policies is

essentially to address asocial issues [economic and political in nature] rather than issues of well-being and social justice – resembling the **Bismarckian**[9] **School** of thought, dating back to 1880s. The other strand, the **Scandinavian School**[10], dating back to the period of Great Depression, where social policy was seen primarily as a vehicle of social equity at the same time fostering long term economic dynamism.

The basic difference between the two strands of welfare developmentalism, as we could understand, lies in the priority accorded to social policies in the development context; while in the former, social policies are **instrumental** in facilitating economic development, the latter makes it **deterministic** in postulating measures for social welfare and economic progress.

The philosophy of social determinism [as against economic determinism] of development policies saw subsequent expansion with the support of international agencies like UN ECOSOC that stressed upon "the interrelated character of economic and social factor – and the importance of incorporating social development into economic development in order to achieve a better standard of living" [Kwon, 2005:481].

It is interesting to observe that these two strands fit well the categorization, by Elson and Cagatay[2000] with respect to social policies: the **adding on approach,** adjuncting social policies to economic policies, implies the first strand of welfare developmentalism, while the **transformatory approach**, signifying mainstreaming of social policies in the macro economic policy paradigm, reflects the latter strand of developmentalism.

The Myrdalian[11] mandate viz., social policy as a primary mechanism for economic development, not an auxiliary means, laid the foundation for "inclusive welfare developmentalim", with its dynamic thrust on "productivism, universal social investment and democratic governance". The human development models of UNDP [1990] and UNRISD [2000] owe their origin to the Scandinavian Inclusion formula of 1930s. Albeit the HDA, has been critiqued for its corporate usage [the way it is now deployed by MNCs and NCs of the globalised era], the laudable feature of it is its focus on social vis-à-vis economic measures for development. The neo-liberal postulation: "the role of social policy in economic development is minor" resembles the Bismarckian alternative, with its emphasis on "productivism, selective social investment and authoritarianism" [Kwon, 2005:477].

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[9] Bismarck introduced social [insurance] programmes to facilitate rapid industrialization and simultaneously to strengthen the roots of his political regime that was threatened by social movements.

[10] During the Great Depression of 1930s, the repercussions on economic frontiers were devastating. To set right the economies across globe, that were apparently affected by the negative spill-over, new policy measures, obviously, with economic rationalities were conceived to end the malaise; however, the Scandinavian economies as an exception embanked upon social strategies to face the crises, connoting the importance of social policy in ameliorating the economic conditions.

[11] Gunnar Myrdal, whose pioneering efforts towards effective synchronization of social and economic dimensions in structuring development policies, as a chairman of Expert Group on Social Policy, is worth mentioning. It would not be an exaggeration to claim that mydralism seems the most effective strand of welfare developmentalism. It resembles the Scandinavian formula bringing into forefront the parity of development in social and economic spheres and taking a social route for economic development. Kwon in his article on strands of Welfare Developmentalism has explained the postulations of Myrdal,s Expert Team in prioritizing social equity for long term economic efficiency.

Reflecting over the two models – **selective Vs inclusive**, the author argues that the developmental state, by definition, bears the onus of grooming its stature economically with the aid of political machinery to motivate the process. Consequently, the economic objectives gain priority over the social requisites and that national advantage is placed over sectoral advantage. Citing the case of Korea and Taiwan, **the East Asian countries**, Kwon, captures the transformation that heralded the development sphere. Initially the welfare strand of both Korea and Taiwan, was selective in nature implying the subordination of social development to overall economic development. The state played a major role in conceiving measures for rapid economic progress and controlling the private monopolies that threatened the national interests; further yardsticks to scale the performance of private firms was state determined and supportive inputs for disciplined entities was state supplied. However, welfare measures like insurance and pension programmes were confined to defined segments of industrial workers.

The success stories of East Asian countries for three decades since early 1970s was recorded in the development history of every economy, many of which went in for, technically speaking, the Bismarckian model. With its emphasis on economic development and an ancillary focus on social axioms, development strand of East Asian countries seemed to have its roots in the model. Likewise, the consensus approach [an alternative strand which they had to adopt as the earlier one was threatened by the 1990 crisis] of the development decade 2000 attempted by the post liberalists and postulated by UN, seemed to have taken cue from the Scandinavian model. Championing the cause of the down-trodden, the earnest exercise by Gunar Myrdal, as the chairperson of the expert group on the integrated approach, would, render possible the happening of altruistic development. The East Asian case had demonstrated to economies across globe the serenity of the myrdalian mandate – social inputting of economic acceleration – and its pre-eminence in the egalitarian development matrix. Thus, countries soliciting welfare developmentalism of egalitarian order, may well be in the making of **myrdalism.**

Tracing the happening since mid 1990s, Kwon, in his articulation, attempts to expose the weakness of the selective model viz., the conventional fête of economic definition of development, with social policies co-existing as safety nets. The Great Asian crisis of late 1990s that devastated the East Asian economies including Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong warranted a critical inquiry into the existing strategies to address the development malaise.

While Singapore and Hong Kong went ahead with the selective measures of welfare, Korea and Taiwan, evinced the need for structural overhauling in response to economic upheavals. Notwithstanding the global competition, the Korean government, for instance, had to rely on commensurate technology and thus emerged the "Seven – Year Development Plan", for high technology industry, the implementation of which was contingent upon social measures of adjustment. In other words, the induction of sophisticated technology would at any cost deprive the labourers of social security, specifically in sectors that suffer from lags in performance. Subsequently, the Employees Insurance Programme [comprising of unemployment benefits and employment oriented programmes] had to be incorporated.

The flow of benefits to the unemployed was totally new as such assurances were previously unheard off under the system of fragile organization of the labours. It must be borne in mind that social policy was deployed as a tool facilitating economic policy.

Obviously, however, it was clear that the existing policy model would give way to a comprehensive framework. A step towards the same was observed when efforts to legislate labour market conditions [favouring employers] facilitating smooth lay off, faced setbacks. Under the condition of mounting pressure, the political bureaucracy in Korea, found it difficult to implement the anti-labour proposals.

It is crucial to note that the practical feasibility of a developmental welfare state was conditioned by an **elaborate political process** it had to pass through. In Korea, for instance, during 1997, the ruling party attempted a structuring in favour of the labour market reform bill, facilitating smooth lay-off, apparently indifferent to the growing dissonance. However, the proceedings on the score was suspended by it [ruling party] for a tenure of two years. Needless to mention that democracy was seen as an ineffective machinery to initiate changes in economic frontiers. The economic crisis in Korea towards the end of 1997 had brought with it a political turn as well. It marked the beginning of a new regime under the presidential rule of Mr. Jung, the opposition leader for long. For the first time a broad-based social consensus for economic reform was sought with Korean Confederation of Trade Unions effectively participating in the tripartite committee [employers-employees-government].

The labour market reform gained support with an assurance of a social package for the affected segments. The **Master Plan for Tackling Unemployment** had components including insurance coverage for the unemployed and community development works as alternative employment source. In a nut shell, "the policy emphasis shifted from job security to job capability of workers, according to their recipient – centered analysis of labour market policy" [Kwon, 2005:490].

Thinking aloud on the phased momentum of developmental welfare state, perpetuated by economic crisis in Korea, with its thrust on inclusive social investment, one could not undermine the advocacy groups that prioritized the inclusion in the policy agenda. Albeit, the coalition failed in its previous attempts to establish inclusive health care system, bottlenecked by political autocracy [1960-1980], the serenity on the score continued during the late 80s with efforts to integrate peasants and self-employed persons under the National Health Insurance. Their repeated failures made the advocates think of widening their coalition. Teaming up with the government and non-government agencies, the International Charter – the Citizen's Coalition of 1994 made a grand foray into the policy agenda. With the support of the democratic government of Mr. Jung [1998], the charter was implemented in the millennium 2000.

The salience of an inclusive social programme was further seen in the reformation of the public assistance programme in Korea, successfully perpetuated by the coalitionists. In lieu of the means-based assistance, standard-based [living conditions], assistance was recommended. The Minimum Living Standard Guarantee laid emphasis on individuals' social right to a reasonable norm; provisioning included "a range of workfare" [Kwon, 2005], aside training and pecuniary benefits.

Thus a developmental welfare state pursuing **inclusive social policy** has emulative elements viz., productivism, democratic governance and an enlarged social investment as against the **selective strand** with inhibitive tenets of poly-archaic order of production and a discriminating welfare package.

A classic case of policy pseudonym – discriminating welfare initiative - was the strategy arrived at to promote agriculture in the era of neo - liberal orthodoxy in India. Sponsored by FAO, the conference on "Agricultural Policy in the New Economic Environment, held at New Delhi in 1993, echoed the need for deregulation and decontrol to liberate the sector and the economy from the recurrent distortions. The lackadaisical performance of the agriculture sector, the liberalists, attribute to the rigid and closed structure of the sector, thereby prescribing privatisation *in toto.* "For India, this was an agenda for the deregulation of commodity and factor markets. It involved the elimination of movement restrictions, the unbiased operation of freight transport, the privatization of storage, the deregulation of agro-processing from its special status as a 'small scale industry', the dismantling of subsides on fertiliser and electricity, with increased exports compensating for the production disincentives resulting from the price squeeze from raised costs of production. It involved either dismantling or privatising most of the activities of the PDS the liberalization of the land market…. and permission for corporate investment in wasteland and degraded forest. [Babara Harriss-White, 2002:7].

Labelled as **fast track policy**, for agricultural development, the agenda was no more than a technical plan to make the farmers and agricultural laborers party to the on-going reforms. Some of the hard-to-digest norms of the GATT were pushed through sandwiched between the cause and concern for the poverty of the small peasants on one hand and usurious nature of government bureaucracy on the other. State minimalism and agriculture liberalism were discoursed as the imperatives for attaining efficiency and profitability - free market formulae for development.

Rooted in the pro-development rhetorics, are the nuances, which if unattended to, may spell irreversible damages in the long run on the farming community in specific, and economy at large.

The agricultural restructuring, it should be noted was prescribed by "migrant global technocrats" and "national economic policy elites" [Barbara Harriss-White, 2002] based on cost-benefit calculations and efficiency-profitability considerations. Needless to point out, that in the economic negotiation, the poor must bear inescapably a prohibitive social cost. Further, the recommended peasant package mandated infrastructural facilities that demanded continued state patronage. With a blanket-ban on state intervention in the agriculture sector, the implementation of the package is infeasible. To quote, Barbara Harriss-White, "The fast track agenda was far from being a policy for whole sale privatisation. The conception of public goods and services embodied in fast trade policy required investment in port infrastructure for agricultural exports and imports, irrigation infrastructure in the deprived regions of the north-east and east, research and development for the crops of these regions, universal safety nets for the poor, who would get food stamps, a much reduced buffer stock of food grains, and more controversially, the protection of targeted and subsidized credit for small - scale agricultural production" [Barbara Harriss-White, 2002:7].

It should further be noted that the impact of paradigmatic agro-changes on the ecology are safely kept out of the discussion on new agricultural economy. Even the much to be thought of institutional adjustments seem to have absorbed the taken for granted tone in the neo-liberal agenda. The institutional mechanisms do have a larger stake in successful formulation and implementation of any development initiative. Thus, "the discourse was (macro) economic, with the consequence that institutional charge was conceived as

engineerable - and indeed friction-free... There is practically no concern for the agro - ecological environment and the only concern expressed concerning the mass of small producers and labourers in agriculture is that they are a threat to the smooth running of the new policies, and to be assuaged with a safety net. Markets are assumed to operate neutrally with respect to society" [Barbara Harriss-White, 2002:8].

Counting on the fallibilities of the fast track policy (that supposed the development of the agriculture sector and welfare of small farmers), it is not hard to guess that, it is an unsustainable one. A telling revelation from the analysis of similar policies (fast track development policy or the DWCRA or Ration scheme of A.P., discussed earlier) is that development initiatives are edificed upon tenous tenets that are responsible for policy disjuncture, and its meek response to development outcries. Thematic explorations on policy rudiments seem to unearth the questionable features that cast gloom on development sustainability. A succinct explanation on each of these that clout the spirit of development in practice follows:

a)   In pedagogic terms, (welfare) policies are pullulating response to the needs of the neglected in welfare democracies. However, if the needs are determined by authorities in power it cannot be client-fulfilling. The overwhelming bureaucratisation / professionalisation of need determination results in policies that are far from being pragmatic and altruistic. Thus, normative inundation makes policy, in the words of Barbara Harriss-White "a thickly tangled skein of power through which indirect, externalised and unintended activity influence each labelled sector" [Barbara Harriss-White, 2002:13].

b)   Construed for the social security of the vulnerable, the welfare interventions seem to have a metaphysical / mythological connotation that makes them eternal. The romanticisation of the scheme begets loyal patrons, who exhibit interest in making them a part of the scheme and work for scheme's success (populism) rather than mission's success. The beneficiaries and the grass-root organisers, akin, become the promoters of the scheme, admittedly blind to the discrepancies in its functioning. Paying a standing ovation to its originator and his charitable disposition towards the marginalized, there is complete vacuity on the actual fall-out of the scheme. The underlying (hidden) mythical construct creates an ambience of poignant excitement and its very existence, seems satisfying. The relentless support and the resultant populism attract larger financial flows thus paving the way for its extension in scope and coverage of people and areas. PTMGR NMP of TN [Brindavan Moses, 1983] and Two Rupees Per Kilo ration scheme of AP [Mooij, 2002] are classic examples where its proponents are worshipped as the peerless benefactors of the poor.

Brindavan Moses [1983] in his interesting exploration on the MDM programme of TN sees through the strategical political move of the **annam itta kai**. Though the scheme has by and large been benefiting the children from the downtrodden sections, both in terms of wholesome food and primary education, there are fundamental issues like gender component that warrant a re-examination of the scheme. Sporadic changes in menu and annual budgetary sanctions seem to appease the appetite of the locale. The modifications are futile attempts in the absence of concomitant considerations of related issues like water and sanitation, health and hygiene, and larger issues like fund dispersal, grass root democracy and the like. The knitty grittys of the scheme portrays its functional impairment, whilst the complex array of objectives - improvement in the nutritional status of children, escalation in primary school enrollment and a curb on (female) dropouts,

employment opening for destitutes and windows - has resulted in inadequacies vis-a-vis its touted mission.

c)   Development initiatives are need -based and thus programming for them depends on the environment contingency. In reality, policy pronouncements have become annual announcements inconsiderate of environment requisites. In fact, the planners and implementers are working in isolation and as per their understanding, with primacy accorded to their self interests (they) condition the environment and tune it to suit the needs of the scheme. For instance, schemes like PDS are conceived as tailored-made solutions to address major evils like food insecurity that need multi – dimensional focus. Development Assistance committee (DAC) of OECD [pg.541, Maxwell and Slater,2003] lays thrust on 5 important criteria's which merit attention while planning an intervention for the well-being of the poor[12]. The core argument of the DAC, as we see, is that the environmental emergencies - be it social/ economic/political need be considered for development initiative to be responsive.

Gent [1993], in his extensive articulation, on environmental perspective of policy implementation, has gone a step further reinstating the need for a synchronisation between the policy players and members of the environment[13]. The members who are the supposed beneficiaries of the scheme are undoubtedly the vital actors in planning and implementation of welfare programmes. Along with the planning and implementing bureaucracies, it is the environmental actors, according to Gent who facilitate development pragmatism. They are the stakeholders, whose participation is a must in programming for welfare. To quote Gent, "Three points of exchange appear to be strategically important to an understanding of policy implementation:

   o Exchanges between policy-formulating authorities and implementing agencies.

   o Exchange between implementing agencies and actors in their environment.

   o Exchanges between environmental actors and policy makers" [Gent, 1993:28].

Coming to our reference case PDS, the major food intervention, empirical evidences prove that, on the grounds of political and economic expediency, the intervention is licensed to display numbness towards situational contingencies at the cost of buyer hassle.

U.K. Singh (1991) in his study on the working of the PDS in India, with specific reference to Bihar, predominantly a BHIMARU (backward) state, and totally dependent on Poverty Alleviation Programmes [PAPs] and State Interventions [SIs] finds it highly discripant. As per his account, the very location of the Fair Price shops (FPS) and the quotas allocated are not tuned to the demands; subsequently they get over loaded either with customers or stocks. Absence of incorrupt and efficient dealers for rendering convenient and effective services of retailing viz., right quantities at stipulated administrative prices, to the consumers, defeats the integrity of the system. Accessibility to goods and affordability to make purchases- taking into consideration the physical and financial convenience of the consumers- the touted objective of the system, is seldom possible as the FPS operating system - the hours and the days - depends on the dealers discretions. From the dealers point of view, the shops are opened only when there is a safe

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[12] See annexure 2
[13] For the chart see annexure 3

stock position. Ruminating on the spelt weaknesses in the functioning of the PDS network, this is no exaggeration that the beneficiaries (i.e.,) the vital environment actors, in policy parlance, have to condition themselves to fit into the intervention. P.S. George in his article entitled "Logic of PDS" (Quoted in U.K.Singh, 1991) gives a long list of malafides that hamper the system from being consumer-friendly.

Reflecting on Dowler's words "in the general pubilc's mind, food is more than a bundle of nutrients, it represents an expression of who a person is, where they belong and what they are worth and is a focus for social exchange" [Maxwell and Slater, 2003:541], it is crucial to note that Development Interventions - be it food, income or employment - need be environment cognizant and customer conscious.

It is indeed pejorative that welfare schemes like EGS or PDS, commanding a larger than life image are prescribed as ready made recipes to tackle ill-fare. In fact, in the absence of forward and backward linkages, they become environment in- sensitive and unjustly place demand on need adjustments and a score of manipulation for their feasible operation. PDS is a case in point.

d)   The mainstream model / theory of policy is embedded upon axioms that apparently emphasise policy as a rational response to development needs. It further demands fulfillment of stipulated criterian to be scientific and objective. It is thus crucial to note that policy maneuvers nurture technical standards to ensure their credibility and validity. It is not out of context to present here an **evaluation model** [Maxwell and Slater, 2003: 539] for analyzing development assistance in the context of food policy evolved by Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1993. What needs mention here is that the over emphasis on scientific rationale. The scientific and technical underpinnings of the model are depicted in the chart 2.

Chart – 2: **The Food Policy Evaluation Model**

Sustainability	:	The long-term viability of the Project.
Relevance	:	The direction and usefulness of the Project
Impact	:	Other effects of the Projects
Effectiveness	:	Achievement of Objectives
Efficiency	:	Achievement of Results

Evaluation components

Inputs outputs Purpose Goal

Goal hierarchy

⟵――――――――――――⟶

Source: Maxwell, Simon and Rachel Slater (2003)'Food Policy Old and New', Development Policy Review
          21(5-6), pp.539

Interactive argument are shown in chart 3

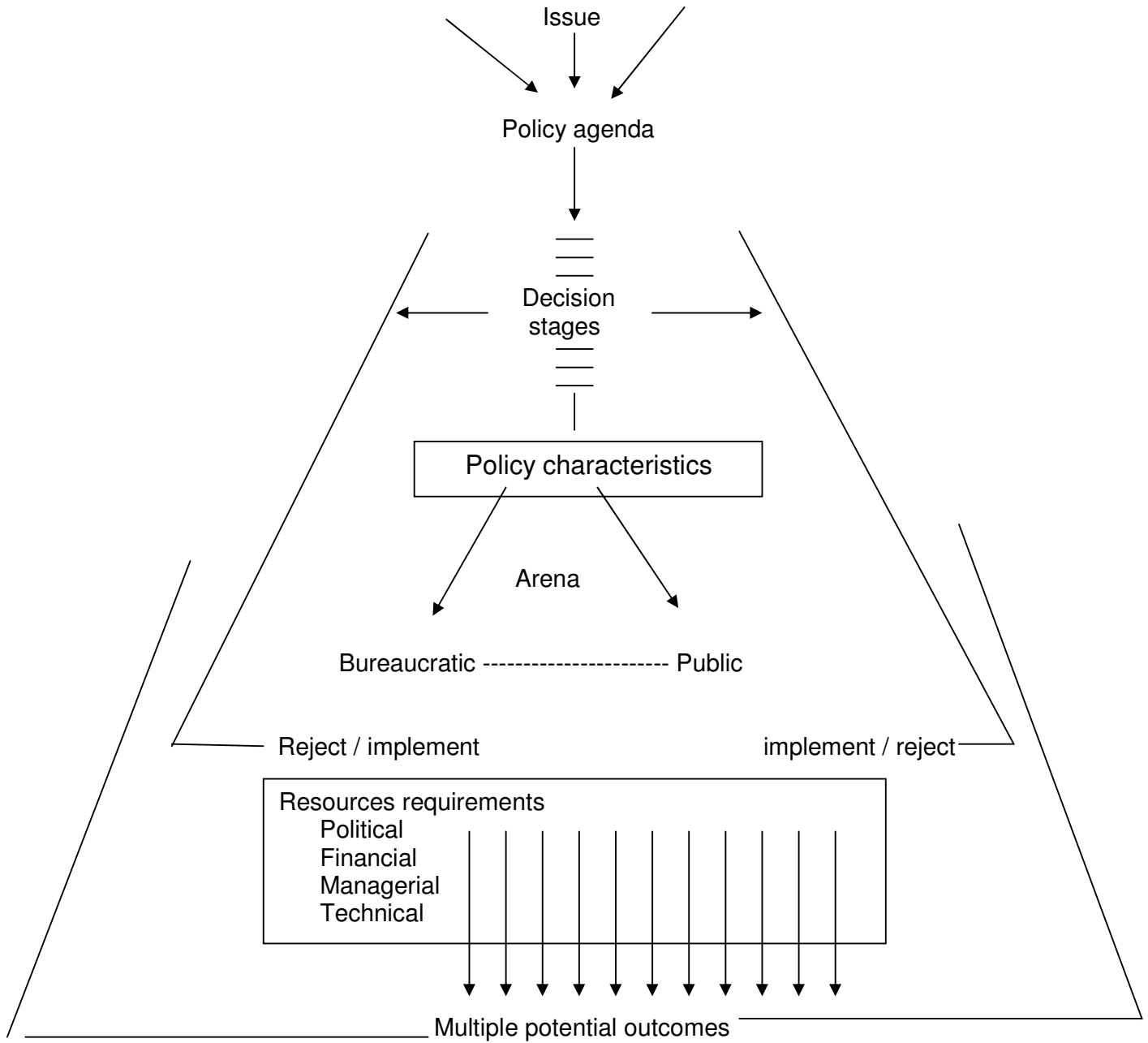### *Chart-3*: Conventional Process of Policy Making

The linear decision tree [pg.1165, Thomas and Grindle, 1990] exhibits the conventional trend in policy process of which Schaffer is highly critical. As per the frame work, the 1st step in the process is about the inclusion of the proposed issue in the agenda. Once its inclusion is fixed, the currency for the proposal has to be determined, which comes under the decision phase (II Phase). The likelihood of successful implementation depends on the strength of the institution; an unsuccessful attempt calls for sound institutional capacity and political commitment.

As against the linear process, Thomas and Grindle have evolved an **interactive framework** [1990:1167]   to understand policy making. With their example on the reform initiative of new economic policy of 90s, the interactive argument is presented in chart 4.

To quote Thomas and Grindle, "The agenda always contains many more issues than will be acted upon as well as issues that have been acted upon but not implemented" [1990:1166]. Then comes the decision stage, in which unlike the linear process, finalizations may be subjected to changes at the higher level or at the implementation levels. The stage has many modules - formal and informal - with a crew of players. Thus the solitude slogan of decision phase (single point, single decision maker) loses validity in the interactive model. The verbal voluntarism (or the process of decision making) is flexible and non-linear in its functioning. Having cracked the dichotomy, implementation becomes an integral part of policy process.

The policy rhetorics and the inherent ruck-ups have been surfaced out by Thomas and Grindle through their "interactive framework". They question the linear process on the ground that it negates the stipulation of implementation being, as crucial as, decision making, on policy choices. Hence the requisites of a sound policy as understood from Thomas and Grindle framework (similar to Schaffer's narrative) is given below.

***Chart-4*: The interactive framework**

Issue

Policy agenda

Decision
stages

Policy characteristics

Arena

Bureaucratic ---------------------- Public

Reject / implement   implement / reject

Resources requirements
   Political
   Financial
   Managerial
   Technical

Multiple potential outcomes

Source: Thomas, W. John and Grindle, S. Merilee (1990) 'After the Decision: Implementing Policy Reforms in
        Developing Countries', *World Development*, Vol.18 No.8, pp.1167.

- o Implementation, an integral part of the policy initiative demands a simultaneous thrust on its practical feasibility.
- o Policy dichotomy is an unrealistic notion.
- o Policy initiative can be subjected to reversals at any stage in the life cycle.
- o Understanding the location, strength and stakes involved in the attempts to promote alter or reverse policy reform initiatives is central to understanding the outcomes.

Interestingly, two (more) observations that seem inviting are:

1stly the thrust placed on vital resources required for policies to fructify, where in **political capital** tops the list followed by the financial, managerial and technical mandatories. The use of escape routes like lack of political will is an unhealthy response to policy lag and has been critiqued by policy exponents. Its ostracisation from the policy discourse has even been suggested. A transition in thinking towards strong political base as an ingredient of sound policy (from policy as an outcome of political will) is mandatory. Political capital is as vital an ingredient for generating social capital

2ndly the thrust placed on salience of policy; the policy *perse* exhibits traits that clues (determines) the acceptance/rejection probability. In other words, healthy policies inherently command enthusiastic response and implementation feasibilities. To put it in the words of Thomas and Grindle, "In the process, the characteristics of the policy will have an important influence on the nature of the reaction or response to change. In fact, the characteristics of a reformist initiative have a powerful influence on whether it will be implemented as intended or whether the outcome will be significantly different. Moreover, the distribution of the costs and benefits of a policy or institutional change, its technical complexity, its administrative intensity, its short or long-term impact, and the degree to which it encourages participation determine whether the reaction or response to the initiative will occur primarily in a public or bureaucratic area" [1990:1166].

Taking cue from the exploration of Thomas and Grindle, we may argue that the process of policy making sheds light *interalia*, on tenets of policy that would make it a palatable panacea or otherwise. The process spells more on institutional mandatories and participation requisites that are flexible and command free-rein. This is in contradiction to the dominant paradigm grooming a process that is too rigid and scientific to consider flexible administrative mechanisms or long-term development impact of the policy.

As a "committed structure of important resources" [Schaffer, 1985] policy, demands creative destruction of technocratic illusion. The esoteric version of welfarist policies may sound optimalist and utopian, incapable of feasible implementation unless the ground realities of the forlorn citizens are accorded priority. Mahendra Dev [2002] in his eminent work on impact of reforms on socio - economic development of the country, echoes the feeble participation of the masses in PAPs. He questions the technocratic and top - down approach in implementing these programmes, proposing active participation of the Panchayats, NGOs, SHGs, CDOs in development programmes. The technocracy of the authorities and the docility of the vulnerable cast gloom over the development initiatives. The most reprehensible reality in policy regime is that the institutional actors - planner, implementors, funding agencies - seem alien. They neither have an idea as to the real call of the situation nor are interested in seeking solutions for them. Thus they continue to remain as outsiders unmindful of the outbursts. As Geoffrey Lamb puts it aptly, "The trick

however is to define the need and design the institutional output so that the problem is constantly tackled, but never quite solved. Institutions need policy problems even more than they need policy solutions" [Geoffrey Lamb, 1985:516].

Sectoralising and Labeling, as a part of technocratic scheming results in stereotypes. Foucault's dictum [Wood, 1985:351] that - we are governed not by right but by technique, not by law but by normatisation, not by punishment but by control - seems valid in the policy regime. Policy does however involve a particular kind of discourse which relies upon the appearance of rationality, technique and efficiency [Wood, 1985:350]. Mention must be made about the hazards of labelling - the culprit of technocracy and stereotyping. Label, is admittedly a description of an individual or a group that is apparent, it denotes its status - formal / informal; it also reflects its condition. In fact the process of targeting (in policy domain) is facilitated by labelling. It is a process of constraining the mind (thought) and the behaviour (action) of the subject to function within the categorization. It is therefore, as Wheeler [1985] remarks, "an act of politics involving conflict and authority" and "a relationship of power". The common labels in the policy arena are mother, women, destitute, labourer, refugee and so on.

To understand the imbecility of labeling, let us study the case of Project Poshak, as analysed by Wheeler [1985]. Project Poshak had been a popular nutrition intervention for pre-school children in the state of MP. An initial screening of the children in the pilot districts (4) of the state identified 2900 children as eligible for the supplement. Aside this, pregnant and lactating mothers were also targeted for the 'free-take home food supplement'. The target-group comprising of mother - child pairs underscores the mother's role as the care - taker of the child. Thus, **feed the child and teach the mother** rationale of nutrition interventions are widely celebrated in the patriarchal societies of the developing economies. The programme seemed unsuccessful due to leakages of food to untargeted members of the family, intermittent uptake of the food and so on. However, the clarion call at present, to the policy makers is not counting the wastages but contemplating on the weak fundamentals of the intervention. The vital issues that need rumination are summarized below:
- o The need for deployment of the label 'mother' where 'parent' could well fit; pinning the responsibility of child - rearing to 'female parent' is obviously a mainstream parochial dictation.
- o The practice of guising the profile of women under the tag of mother. They may be traders, employees, artisans. It is observed that, their functional capabilities are discounted on identification as the mother of malnourished children.
- o Last, but not the least the label of 'ignorant mother'- admittedly a cruel pronouncement of the might over the meek. It is crucial to understand that an enlightened mother as well, may not be in a position to provide nutritive intakes to her children due to varied factors - economic and non economic.

Erica Wheeler [1985] in an interesting work on Targeted nutrition interventions reports (on fallacies of nutrition interventions including project poshak) thus: "The mother child system of targeting while physiologically correct, avoids confrontation with all (economic) factors and ignores the fact that in many cultures, women have little authority with regard to food until it comes into their hands for cooking. It cannot, either, be assumed that women, especially young women have control over their own labour or can decide for themselves what time to allot to child care in competition with other tasks"[1985:477]. She further adds that" the rhetoric of mother blaming had swept away

any consideration of the fathers' role or of the wider norms of the society in question. Family dynamics in many societies enable the older women in a family to express their power over the younger by this means. This is not a simple question of male domination; it is more a means by which the most vulnerable and least articulate member of any society (younger, poor women) bear the blame for a condition of themselves and their children which they are probably the least able to combat, and which is to a considerable extent a result of the power structure of that society"[1985:482].

Wheeler's analysis sheds light on the policy rudiments that need re - invention. The technocratic underpinnings of public policies seem incompatible with the altruistic demands of development requisites. Thus, a prolonged desideratum on the score is obvious.

E)   The index of Welfare Statism
Elucidating the need for re-thinking the verities upon which welfare policies are premised upon, the present study critically looks at the policy process as shaped by institutional authorities. Discourse analysis, a vibrant part of policy studies, is an engagement that questions the policy making etiquette – conceptualization and institutionalization – in the so-called welfare states.
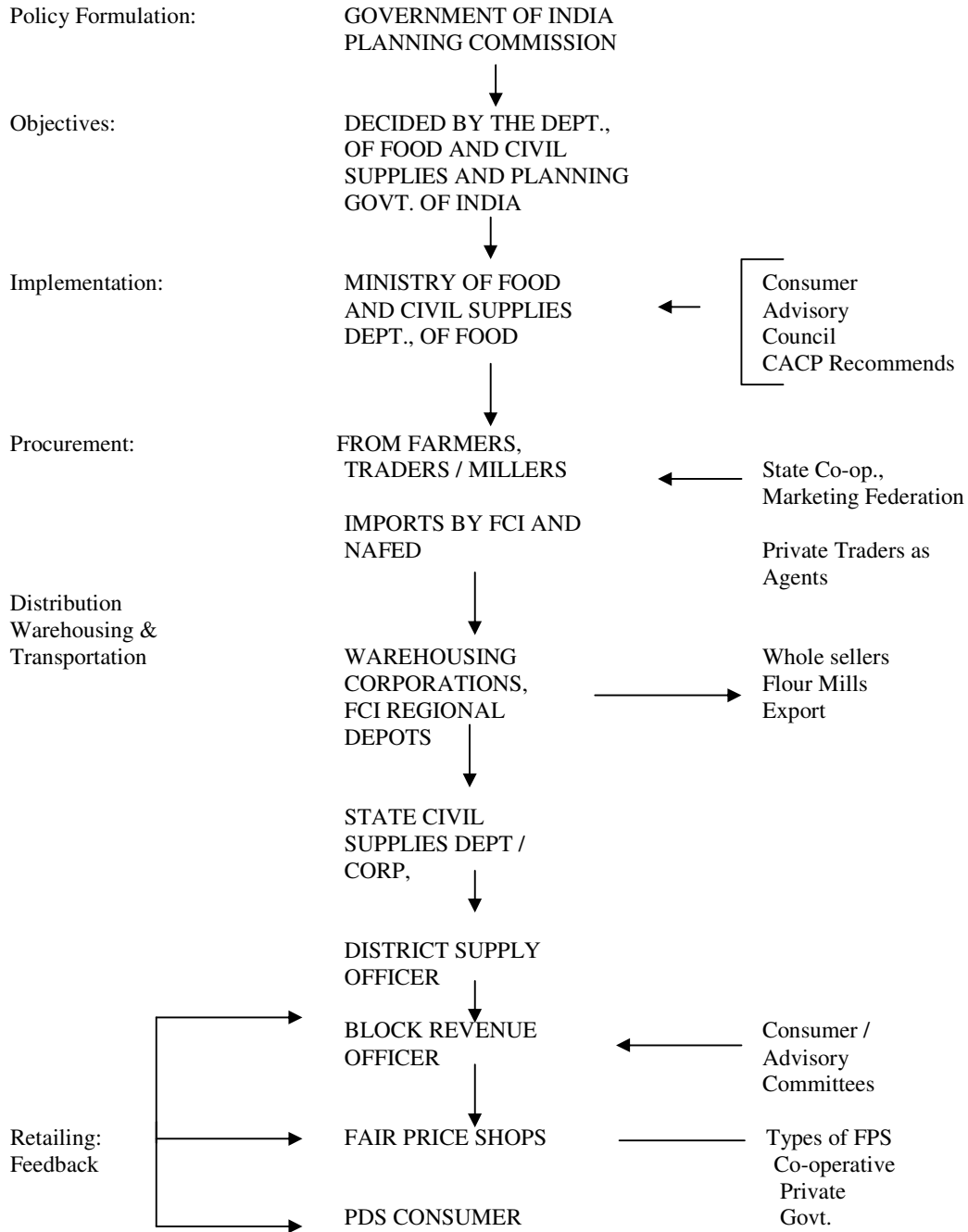
The organizational wing i.e. the three tier system – the central – the state and the local – that determines the policy process is, visibly, the home of technocrats and the policy making a formal drill. The bureaucratic process, strictly, segmented into stages of policy making, laid the path for planning-implementation dichotomy. The bureaucratic flow viz., the hierarchical government machinery, denoting the division of responsibility and devolution of authority among heads at different levels breeds rigidity. The **flow chart** depicting organizational structure is presented in chart 5.

   In welfare states the mechanism – the process and the personnel – to initiate policy measures seem dogmatic and not dynamic, deterministic and not dedicated. Welfarism thus, implies political munificence in attending the mundanities [basic necessities] of the marginalized through rhetoric formulations and ostentatious implementation.   This reference on welfarism has inherent tenets worthy of mentioning at this juncture. They are:
   o   The intervention template seem to be governed by bureucratic rules and regulations than by needs and cries of the poor.

   o   The milieu of the state mechanism with in-built rigidities constraints citizen's participation in programming for welfare.

   o   The devolution matrix - the flow formula – seems to be an official exercise, which in no way guarantees benefit percolation to the grassroots.

Counting on its rigidities in addressing issues of ill-fare, **interventionism,** with its bureaucratic adjuncts, offers little or no scope for **dynamism** that is verily needed in welfare postulations.   Hence the welfare exercise in developmental states have not gone beyond technocratic proclamations in pursuance of the drafted statement of intentions, the fulfillment of which, in statistical terms, is a reflection of welfarism in practice. The [conjectured] indices of welfare bear testimony to the efficacy of the state intervention and lays road for its extension in future.

Chart- 5: Organisational structure of pds in India

Policy Formulation:　　　　　　GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　PLANNING COMMISSION

Objectives:　　　　　　　　　DECIDED BY THE DEPT.,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　OF FOOD AND CIVIL
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SUPPLIES AND PLANNING
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　GOVT. OF INDIA

Implementation:　　　　　　　MINISTRY OF FOOD　　　　　　Consumer
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　AND CIVIL SUPPLIES　　　　　Advisory
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　DEPT., OF FOOD　　　　　　　Council
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　CACP Recommends

Procurement:　　　　　　　　FROM FARMERS,　　　　　　　State Co-op.,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　TRADERS / MILLERS　　　　　Marketing Federation

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　IMPORTS BY FCI AND　　　　　Private Traders as
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　NAFED　　　　　　　　　　　Agents

Distribution
Warehousing &
Transportation　　　　　　　WAREHOUSING　　　　　　　　Whole sellers
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　CORPORATIONS,　　　　　　　Flour Mills
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　FCI REGIONAL　　　　　　　　Export
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　DEPOTS

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　STATE CIVIL
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　SUPPLIES DEPT /
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　CORP,

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　DISTRICT SUPPLY
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　OFFICER

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　BLOCK REVENUE　　　　　　　Consumer /
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　OFFICER　　　　　　　　　　Advisory
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Committees

Retailing:　　　　　　　　　FAIR PRICE SHOPS　　　　　Types of FPS
Feedback　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Co-operative
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Private
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　PDS CONSUMER　　　　　　　Govt.

Source:　　Swaminathan, Madhura (2000) Weakening Welfare: Public Distribution of Food in India, pp.8

Yet the grimness perpetuates on score of growing **poor-non poor divide** amidst plethora of measures in the name of welfare statism. With the aforementioned features, the ceremonial methods of provisioning for the poor, can hardly be pluralistic in stance and invigorative in orientation. Nonetheless, it's telling impact, a revelation, based on its arithmetical march, is connoted as policy [success] spill over in pursuit of real development. The grammar of welfarism is undoubtedly beyond the index of statism; a maneuvering move in pursuit of which demands eclectic negotiation between the state and the poor, free from the **lord-serf** etiquette.

In one of his interesting works, titled "Don't give them my telephone mumber" – applicants and clients: limits to public responsibility', Geof Wood [1986] reflects upon the **encounters** that take place between the people and the political bureaucracy, while examining the role of welfare institutions in provisioning for the poor. Succinctly put in, it sifts out the features of the bureaucratic process – technical and scientific- and that which seem responsible for the **divide** between planning and implementation [structural dichotomy] and the **division** between resourceful and resourceless [welfare dessication]. It has already been mentioned that the policy studies should include a discourse on policy, along with impact analysis and content analysis. The analysis by Wood categorically fits into the former – a discourse analysis.

Wood points out in this interesting discourse that the recipient of welfare provision is well regarded as an **'applicant'** in the official arena [a Schafferian understanding[14]], in keeping with the existing bureaucratic model where the beneficiary is isolated, labeled and individuated. While Wood's choice[15] is **'client'**, he is no way contending Schaffer's argument on the plight of the poor as the voiceless object of social engineering. He preferred the term client, as according to his notion, it also connoted a form of superior – subordinate relationship that was prevalent in the pre-capitalist days. Whether called an applicant or a client, it admittedly is a symbol of their powerlessness – a point where Wood is in agreement with Schaffer. His dissonance on the term applicant is due to its thrust on interstitial relationship between the state and the poor. Schaffer on one side stridently argues that the relationship is momentary and passing, while Wood opines that it is most often long permanent. To quote Wood, "The tendency in this direction is strongest under the widespread conditions of long-term welfare distribution and development interventions which are increasingly characterized by long-term, preferential credit distribution, subsidies, price support, extension, schemes for employment generation and so on" [Wood, 1986:481]. It must be observed that from both angle – Schaffer's notion of temporary tie-up with the state or Wood's argument of long term dependency on the State – the point that is brought to forefront is the **lack of concern for the vulnerable**. Institutional apathy in addressing issues of vulnerability is visible from its dogmatic schemes and stereo type fall-outs, neither hearing their say in the issue nor making way for their participation in the programme.

Further it also points to the comfortable agenda of the state machinery, in making them the passive recipients of their magnanimous hand-outs. Labeled safety net, the munificence of the state persists, as we could evince, to suppress any organized

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[14] The use of the term client was rejected by Schaffer, for in his opinion, it seems loaded with ideological connotations, aside organizational and professional interpretations. He felt the need for making a concrete distinction between service delivery in political sphere as against that in professional sphere.

[15] It is worthy to note that albeit Wood opted for client, an apprehension on their 'exclusive positions' was entertained by him that justifies 'and' instead of 'or' in the title of his work.

representation against the on-going reforms in the name of economic development. One of the aims of the present work by Wood is to portray the play of power in state-society negotiations. To quote, " These processes of isolation, individuation and labeling are of course crucial reflections of power in the relationship between the state and the society, supported by an array of ideology and institutional materiality around such authoritative activities as policy formulation, planning and implementation"[Wood, 1986:477].
Implicit in Wood's analysis on state-society relationship in the domain of public service delivery, is the institutional process in provisioning for the poor. The welfare [policy] process, similar to Schaffer's contention, is scientific and deterministic. The steps in policy making, as I understand, are as follows:

- o Identification of the problem – that would facilitate its sectorization

- o Definition of the problem – that would determine the policy mission

- o Stipulation of goals – that would render feasible an impact study

- o Presentation of the alternatives – that would support the tailor-made solution

- o Evaluation of the alternatives – that would justify the official statement of intentions

- o Selection of the best alternative – that would arrest the identified problem

- o Implementation of the solution – that would claim the discharge of institutional responsibility.

Wood's [and Schaffer] contention on the policy process is apparently grounded on the passive role of the beneficiaries. Targeting and labeling, the institutional onus ends with translation of verbal bids into official statements, pronouncing technically sound goals to ameliorate the conditions of the labeled targets. It is important to note that Wood, while admitting the institutional lapses in policy making, advocates, as I understand, reflexive investigation on the score. He argues that labeling and targeting, the primary step in institutional approach to address ill-fare, **aggregates people just as it disaggregates them,** thus creating barriers to the bureaucratic rule. "It is this contradiction of structural imperatives which sets limits to hegemony implicit in the presentation of policy process as technical and rational" [pg478, Wood, 1986].

The articulation on fallacies in policy - making signals a caveat: lapses - that defeat the development demands of the initiative - could occur at any level in the hierarchy and at any stage in the policy process while planning or processing or implementing. A telling point is that such discrepancies produce lackadaisical outcomes that endanger development perspective. They are undoubtedly a reflection of deleterious fundamentals that tenuously guarantee sustainable development. Cognizance on the score would not suffice; the realisation is futile if complacency is unshed. Hence, a paradigmatic quest towards effective policies demands **lingua franca** etiquette, meaning a system of mutual understanding and effort - that paves the way for pragmatic development. **EGS** is a classic case which has commanded the support of development theorists and practitioners alike. It is impressive and important to note that it is the only intervention which has evinced the generic support of all groups in the state: the urban, population, the rural rich, the rural poor and politicians in the state of Maharashtra.

The periodic fine tuning of the programme

Viz.,   - Changes in the composition of workers.

        - Revisions in wage rates.

        - Emphasis on cognitive projects (like Horticulture program)

had a commanding impact on the fructification of EGS goal - assurance of guarantee of work on demand.

Mitigation, if not total elimination, of under-employment and poverty, evidence the success of the intervention. The social benefits of the scheme, as Mahendra Dev's findings [1995] reveal are indeed praise worthy.

Despite, its emulative tenets, it suffers from massive employment leakages, financial discrepancies, corruption, red- tapism and inordinate delays in project finalization and execution. The crucial point to ponder is that - it still focuses only on unskilled manual labour, throwing light on the consummation inadequacies of the scheme. As a massive employment intervention, why not consider the contemporary requisites in the employment sector. With the attitude of the work force changing, it is high time for the EGS - true to its avowed mission - to shift towards semi-skilled and technical works. Thus the donative discourse of the development intervention makes it believable that the virus of technocracy has not spared EGS.

Ruminating over the hypothesis of the paper - Does policy success connote development failure - we can thus, opine that welfare policies premised on faulty foundations (that seemingly appear valid and scientific) generate success in statistical terms; however, in the absence of forward and backward linkages, they undoubtedly cannot satisfy the long term development needs.

Thus, the plea for, pragmatic development that rings the death knell of rhetorics and top-down approach in the policy paradigm. The twin requisites of the new development paradigm are: vibrant institutional collaboration and vigorous community participation that would foster a vociferous link between the two. The practical feasibility of the lingua franca approach to development in the policy arena is depicted below:

Step	Policy Process	Pre-requisites [16] [as I evince]
I	Agenda formulation	Non - hermitic approach
II	Proceduralisation	Transparency dictum
III	Resource Mobilization	Espirit de Corps
IV	Accessibility	Participatory Paradigm

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[16]   In an interesting work on development policies with specific reference to agricultural performance in the state of Tamil Nadu, Barbarra Harris – White, opens up a discourse on repoliticising development in which the author critically reviews the politics of policy making in each and every stage of its formulation. From the critical comments of the author, I attempted to trace the alternative underpinnings that seem a pragmatic way of policy-making. Supportive literature have been consulted to justify their arena in policy paradigm.

The aforementioned pre requisites of new development efforts (as I evince) are admittedly hard to realise though definitely not impossible and never too late. Thus, "Development policy" to put in the words of Irma Andelman, "requires a more complex understanding of social systems which combines economic, social, cultural and political institutions and their changing interactions over time; that interventions may have to be multiprogned; that development process may be bad for the next phase, that there are certain irreversibilities in the development process which create path dependence and hence that policy prescriptions for a given country at a given point in time must be anchored in an understanding of its situation at that point in time as well as how it got there, not only recently, but on a historical time scale. Thus while there are regularities and preferred time sequences in the development process, universal, institutional and policy prescriptions are likely to be incorrect" [1999:3]

Conclusion

An archival attempt to understand the **principle of welfarism**, point towards the fact that policy interventions to address social exclusion in the so-called welfare states have been premised upon hegemonic moulds – a colonial order – that is largely responsible for the policy-development incompatibility. The **colonial code** with its attendant trait of technocracy has resulted in rhetoric models with alluring tenets.

Examining the **political convention** in need stratification and satisfaction, its connosance with the mainstream order is visibly not an assurance of social order, as was evident from the Columbian case; instead there had been a reinforcement of the divide [poor – non poor] following the mainstream frame in shaping welfarism. To cite another example is the neo-liberal prescription of welfare intervention as safety net, which is hard to digest; the concrescence of the development inequities with welfare initiatives questions the dent of social policies on long term well-being of the poor. However, it is with the aid of the political bureaucracy that such initiatives are undertaken in welfare states. Hence, **political integrity** is a virtual necessity in structuring them in an egalitarian fashion.

In developmental welfare states, admittedly, social policy is regarded as a panacea for development ills. PDS, EGS, Project POHAK, NFP, are laudable initiatives to mention a few. However, its prolonged presence for decades together is debatable. The success of an intervention depends on its redundancy in the long run on a realization that the fundamental reasons that gave rise to it have been addressed to a larger extent. Pursuing a critical path towards real [equitable] development thus warrants a rational transcendence from monolithic stance to a **pluralistic order** [as was visible from the DAC postulation]. Interventions conceptualized on pluralistic stance would address ill-fare in a holistic manner. For instance welfare initiatives of myrdalian order pave the way for social restructuring alongside economic overhauling.

Such interventions are **instrumental** in gearing the economy in the path of real development. They are needed to initiate a face-lift to economies sagging in development frontiers; they **energise** the vulnerable, **address the threats** that emerge in the inceptive stages of development; as safety nets they are pro-poor. Despite their vitality in combating the woes of the marginalized, their expansion may not be warranted. Persistent demand for its extension is insignia of perpetuation of the malaise rather than its mitigation.

Social policy is indeed a cabriolet for development pragmatism; but only with successful institutional management and creative destruction of the technocratic illusion.   Hence the present study attempts to understand the mechanism viz.,the institutional flow of PDS – a successful food intervention in the state of Tamil Nadu. The mis-chemistry between successful intervention and social [sustainable] development is evidenced from the paradoxical situation of [food] poverty in the midst of plenty in the state. The concept of food security needs revisioning on the grounds of the pluralistic stance, it has assumed, under the contemporary conditions viz.,

- o   from the perspective of nutrition

- o   from the perspective of economics

- o   from the perspective of power

Jos Mooij [1999] has made an elaborate study on multidimensionality of the concept; PDS as a mechanism to address food insecurity is demonstrably insufficient, bearing in mind the multidimensionality of the phenomenon.   The system seems conspicuous for its **linear focus** in tackling the problem – as understood from the works of Thomas and Grindle [1990]. Subsidised food to the targeted vulnerable – not a bad prozac- to battle ill-fare but **is it the best way of provisioning the poor.** Further, caught in a complex array of objectives, the system saw subsequent expansion plan after plan, which is taken to connote the success of the initiative – a dimension, undoubted to be questioned. The efficacy of the system need be examined in terms of its accessibility and utility to the food insecure masses.   As U.K. Singh's study[1991] exploring its *modus operandi* points out, the PDS is not user friendly, The institutional structure is apparently rigid, following bureaucratic decrees and naïve to people's requisites. On these grounds, a **re-examination** of the verities of policy intervention - a crucial component of the present exploration, is attempted.

Taking cue from the works of Wheeler [1985], on **feed the child; teach the mother** – a mi nutrition intervention, the mission of the programme, on politically determined lines is just enumerative; on the contrary the **institution and administrative rupture** that invite attention, are scarcely considered. By institution and administrative rupture, I make reference to implicit proceedings that shape policy intervention, a study of which brings to limelight its serenity on the following score:
- o   A trans-dimensional move in attending the issue

- o   Institutional/Departmental collaboration

- o   Political integrity

- o   Grass root participation

The pre-requisites of welfarism sound normative and utopian, as critics opine; yet implicit adherence to them in practice is remunerative and the plausible way towards development pragmatism.   Apparent from the works of development exponents like Schaffer [1984], Barbara Harriss [2002], Streeton [1995]to name a few, is the need for re-visiting notional underpinnings behind the welfarist policies. Thomas and Grindle [1990] critique of the making of public policies takes a similar tone. The FPEM [The Food Policy Evaluation Model] of Slater and Maxwell [2003], a cardinal exercise [not a subjective analysis], that spells out **pilots** for successful intervention is undoubtedly not to be discounted; however our core concern is: **who spells them and for whom it is spelt.** **C**larity on the score is ardently required as more often than not the pilots have been fixed

on the grounds of political/economic mandates of mainstream explanations. The **treasury view point,** as Whitehead terms the technocratic explanations, never takes into account the **popular view point.**

A study on PDS capturing the **institutional encounters** is attempted in search of a response for the raised query: Does policy success connote development failure? As we have already seen from the studies of Wood, the relationship of the mass with the machinery as an **applicant** [isolated and individuated, labeled and segmented] or as a **client** [an actor's language connoting a form of superior subordinate relationship] is virtually powerless.

Cues from the literature have thus motivated me towards an empirical examination of PDS in the state of Tamil Nadu with respect to issues raised. There is no second opinion on the need for state interventions in championing the cause of downtrodden. However, I argue that the success of an intervention rests in its progressive redundancy in the long run on an understanding that the fundamental reasons for which it came into vogue have been mitigated to a larger extent, if not totally eliminated. Hence, I make a plea for dynamism and holism in the administration of the welfare package. A holistic intervention guaranteeing an environment of security for the marginalized would subvert any need for the relentless expansion of the welfare initiatives over the decades.

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Annexure-1: Participation in Development Theory and Practice: Selective History

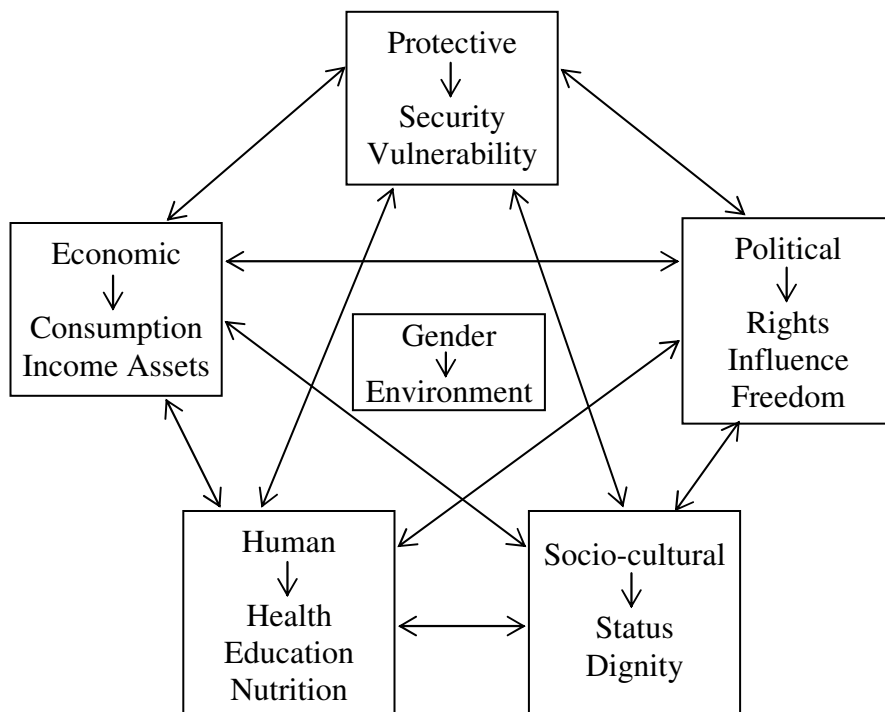| Era	Approach	Institutional and Intellectual influence	Development theory: approach to immanent processes and imminent interventions	Approach to citizenship	Locus/level of engagement
1940s 1950s	Community Development (colonial)	United Kingdom Colonial office 1944 Report on Mass Education in Africa	Immanent (Re)produce stable rural communities to counteract processes of urbanization and socio-political change, including radical nationalist and leftist movements. Imminent Development requires participation and self-reliance; cost-sharing. Animation rural, adult literacy and extension education, institution building, leadership training, local development projects.	Participation as obligation of citizenship, citizenship formed in homogenous Communities	Community
I 960s-I 970	Community Development (Post-colonial)	Post-colonial governments (Social Welfare or specialized departments)	Immanent As above; also development of state hegemony, Moral economy of state penetration Imminent As above, also health, education		

Era	Approach	Institutional and Intellectual influence	Development theory: approach to immanent processes and imminent interventions	Approach to citizenship	Locus/level of of engagement
1960s	Political Participation	North American Political Science	Immanent Political development dimension of modernization theory. Participation as securing stability, legitimacy for new states and strengthening the political system Imminent Voter education, support for political parties	Participation (e.g. voting, campaigning political party membership) as a right and an obligation of citizenship	Political system and constituent parts: citizens
1960s	Emancipatory participation Liberation Theology	Radical 'southern' educationlists. Friere, Fals Borda, Rahman 2nd Vatican. Council Latin American Catholic priests Guittierez Sobrino	Immanent Analyse and comfront 'structures of opperssion' Within existing forms of economic development, state formation, political rule and social differentiation Imminent EP: Participatory action research (PAR), conscient-ization, popular education, support for popular organizations. I.T. Form base Christian communities, training for transformation, popular education.	Participation as a right of citizenship participatory citizen-ship as a means of challenging subor-dination and marginalization	Economic and civic spheres; communities, citizens.

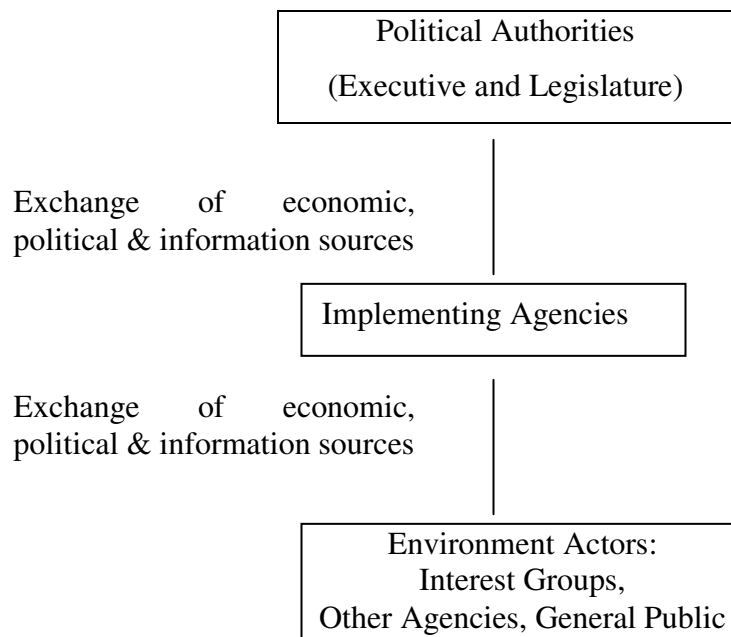| Era	Approach	Institutional and Intellectual influence	Development theory: approach to immanent processes and imminent interventions	Approach to citizenship	Locus/level of engagement
1970s - 1990s	'Alternative development	Dag Hammarksjold Conference 1974. Development Dialogue, IFAD Dossier Nerfin Friedmann	Immanent Critique of 'mainstream' development as exclusionary, improverishing and homogenizing, proposal of alternatives based around territorilism, cultural pluralism and sustainability Imminent Popular education; strengthen social movements And self-help groups	Participation as a right of citizenship: citizenship as a key objective of alternative development, to be realized in multileveled political communities	Initially focused on communities and civic society; latterly the state through 'inclusive governance'
1980s-present	Populist/ Participation in development	Development professionals, NGOs (e.g MYRADA, IIED) World Bank participPation Learning Group, NGDOs, UN Agencies Chambers	Immanent Little direct engangement; implicit critique of modernization Imminent Failure of top-down projects and planning: participation required to empower people, capture indigenous people's knowledge, ensure sustainability and efficiency of interventions Participatory: Rural /urban appraisal, learning and action, monitoring and evaluation: NGO projects	Focus on participation in projects rather than in broader political communities	Development professionals and agencies; local participants

Era	Approach	Institutional and Intellectual influence	Development theory: approach to immanent processes and imminent interventions	Approach to citizenship	Locus/level of engagement
Mid-1990s-present	Social Capital	World Bank Social Capital and Civil Society Working Group, Putnam, Bourdieu Narayan	Immanent Social capital promoted as a basis for economic growth and democratization Imminent Local institution building, support participation networks and associations	Participation as a right and obligation of citizenship	Civic associations
Late 1990s Present	Participatory governance and citizenship participation	Participatory Research and Action (Delhi) Institute for Development studies, Brighton (participation Group)	Immanent Development requires liberal or social democracy, with a responsive state and strong civil society. Some focus on social justice Imminent Convergence of 'social' and 'political' participation sealing-up of participatory methods, state civic partnerships, decentralization, participatory budgeting, citizens hearings, participatory poverty assessments PRSP consultations	Participation as primarily a right of citizenship	Citizens, civil society, state agencies and institutions

Annexure-2: Interactive Dimensions of Poverty and Well-being

Source: Maxwell, Simon and Rachel Slater (2003) 'Food Policy Old and New', Development Policy Review 21(5-6), pp.541.

Annexure-3: The stakeholders of welfare interventions

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            ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
            │      Political Authorities       │
            │   (Executive and Legislature)    │
            └─────────────────────────────────┘
                              │
Exchange     of    economic,  │
political & information sources│
                              │
                ┌─────────────────────────┐
                │  Implementing Agencies   │
                └─────────────────────────┘
                              │
Exchange     of    economic,  │
political & information sources│
                              │
            ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
            │      Environment Actors:         │
            │         Interest Groups,         │
            │   Other Agencies, General Public │
            └─────────────────────────────────┘
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Source: John Echeverrri Gent (1993) The State and the Poor: Public Policy and Political Development in India and United States, pp28