



**Ready For Boards**  
10th & 12th Exam Prep

## CHAPTER 2

# Indian Economy 1950-1990

*CBSE Class 12 · Indian Economic Development ·  
Chapter 2*

CBSE · Indian Economic Development · Class 12

### WHAT THIS CHAPTER DOES

*Boards prep that builds confidence, not anxiety.*

**TODAY'S MISSION**

---

# Today's mission

## WHY THIS MATTERS

---

# Why this chapter matters

TOPIC

**A**

# Planning Commission + Five- Year Plans

**THEOREM · LOAD-BEARING RESULT**

# The Planning Commission and the Planning Approach



*The Planning Commission was established by a Government resolution in March 1950, chaired by the Prime Minister and headed by a Deputy Chairman (first: Gulzarilal Nanda; later Mahalanobis). Its mandate was to formulate Five-Year Plans for the planned development of the Indian economy.*

## STATEMENT

**Constitutional basis: Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSPs), particularly Articles 38 and 39, which mandate the state to secure adequate means of livelihood, ensure equitable distribution of resources, and prevent**

## WHY THIS MATTERS

- Planning was the operational expression of Nehru's vision of a mixed economy with the state taking the commanding heights of investment in heavy industry, infrastructure, and social sectors — while private enterprise operated in less strategic areas.

## WATCH OUT FOR

**NOTE** Planning Commission was established by Cabinet resolution, NOT by a constitutional provision. Its replacement by NITI Aayog (also by Cabinet resolution) in 2015 reflected the post-1991 reality where state directive planning had less role.

TOPIC

# The four goals of planning

## GROWTH

Steady increase in REAL GDP, year on year. Successive Five-Year Plans set GDP growth targets (5-7% pa). Necessary because the population was growing at ~2.5% pa — without higher growth, per-capita income would not rise. India's actual growth 1950-1990 averaged 3.5-4% pa (the so-called 'Hindu rate of growth')

## MODERNISATION

Adoption of new TECHNOLOGY and changing SOCIAL ATTITUDES. Technological modernisation: shift from animal-drawn ploughs to tractors + electric pumps; from hand-loom to power-loom; from traditional banking to modern commercial banking. Social modernisation: acceptance of female workforce

## SELF-RELIANCE

Reducing dependence on imports — especially for FOOD (Green Revolution achieved this by 1980s) and CAPITAL GOODS (heavy industry built under Mahalanobis Model). Motivated by humiliating PL-480 food aid dependence on the US in the 1960s + foreign-exchange-shortage crises. Self-reliance did NOT mean

## EQUITY

FAIR DISTRIBUTION of benefits of growth across regions, classes, castes, and gender. Constitutional basis: DPSPs (Articles 38, 39). Operational mechanisms: progressive taxation, ceiling on land holdings, public-sector employment, reservation policies, regional development boards. Equity has been the LEAST

TOPIC

# First and Second Plans — the foundational decade

## FIRST PLAN (1951-56)

Focus on AGRICULTURE + IRRIGATION + COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT. Major projects: Bhakra Nangal Dam (Punjab), Hirakud Dam (Odisha), Damodar Valley Corporation (West Bengal/Jharkhand). Followed the Harrod-Domar growth model. Actual growth 3.6% pa — exceeded the 2.1% target. Set in a context of partition refugees + food

## SECOND PLAN (1956-61)

Mahalanobis Model — priority to HEAVY MACHINE-BUILDING INDUSTRIES. Built three integrated steel plants: BHILAI (with USSR collaboration), ROURKELA (with West Germany), DURGAPUR (with UK). Argued that capital goods would produce both more capital goods and more consumer goods over time

## THIRD PLAN (1961-66) + PLAN HOLIDAY

Third Plan aimed at SELF-RELIANT economy. Disrupted by the 1962 China war, the 1965 Pakistan war, and the 1965-67 droughts. Major foreign-exchange crisis 1966. Followed by PLAN HOLIDAY (1966-69) of three annual plans before resuming Five-Year Plans with the Fourth Plan

## PLANS IV-VIII (1969-92) — DIVERSE PRIORITIES

Fourth Plan focused on growth WITH stability. Fifth Plan emphasised POVERTY REMOVAL (Garibi Hatao slogan, 1971). Sixth Plan (1980-85) introduced economic LIBERALISATION foreshadowing 1991 reforms. Seventh Plan (1985-90) emphasised technology + productivity. Each plan responded to the

TOPIC

**B**

# Agriculture — Land Reforms

**THEOREM · LOAD-BEARING RESULT**

# Land Reforms in India 1950-1990



*Land Reforms were a set of policies aimed at restructuring the agrarian economy inherited from British rule — removing intermediary landlords (Zamindars), securing tenancy rights for cultivators, and capping the maximum land any single family could hold.*

## STATEMENT

Three components: (a) **ABOLITION OF INTERMEDIARIES** — state acquired land from Zamindars (paid compensation) and made the actual tiller the owner; (b) **TENANCY REFORMS** — security of tenure for tenants, regulation of

## WHY THIS MATTERS

- Constitutional commitment under DPSPs (Articles 39(b) and 39(c)) — equitable distribution of material resources + preventing concentration of wealth
- Practical reason: agrarian distress, tenant exploitation, and rural poverty were the most visible economic problems of newly-independent India.

## WATCH OUT FOR

**NOTE** Land Reforms were **UNEVENLY IMPLEMENTED** across states. Zamindari Abolition was largely completed by mid-1950s. Tenancy Reforms were strongest in West Bengal (Operation Barga 1978+) and Kerala. Land Ceiling was **WEAKLY** enforced — most large landholders made **BENAMI** transfers to family/farm workers on paper to evade

TOPIC

# Three components in detail

## ZAMINDARI ABOLITION

Zamindari Abolition Acts were passed by all major states between 1948 and 1955. The state acquired land from Zamindars (paid compensation, mostly in long-term government bonds), and the actual TILLER became the owner. This was the most successful land reform measure — by mid-1950s, the Zamindari system was

## TENANCY REFORMS

Tenancy Reforms aimed at three goals: (1) SECURITY OF TENURE — protecting tenants from arbitrary eviction; (2) FAIR RENT — capping rent at a reasonable share of produce (typically 1/4 to 1/6); (3) RIGHT TO PURCHASE — giving tenants the right to buy the land they tilled at a regulated price. Effective

## LAND CEILING

Land Ceiling Acts set the MAXIMUM permitted holding per family (varied by state and crop — typically 10-20 hectares for irrigated land). Surplus land was to be acquired by the state and redistributed to landless agricultural labourers. IMPLEMENTATION FAILURE: large landholders made BENAMI (in others'

## WHY LAND REFORMS STRUGGLED

Three structural reasons: (1) POLITICAL ECONOMY — large landlords held significant political power at the state level, slowing legislation and enforcement; (2) BUREAUCRATIC CAPACITY — rural land records were poor; identification of surplus required local administrative effort; (3)

TOPIC

C

# Agriculture — Green Revolution

THEOREM · LOAD-BEARING RESULT

# The Green Revolution (1965-66 onwards)



*The Green Revolution was the package of agricultural improvements introduced in India from 1965-66, centred on High-Yielding Varieties (HYV) of seeds. It transformed India from a food-deficit economy importing PL-480 wheat from the US into a foodgrain-self-sufficient economy by the early 1980s.*

## STATEMENT

The full package consisted of **FIVE INTERLOCKING INPUTS: (1) HYV SEEDS** — dwarf varieties of wheat (Norman Borlaug's Mexican wheat, IR-8 rice from IRRI Philippines) requiring shorter growing time + responsive to

## WHY THIS MATTERS

- Triggered by the mid-1960s food crisis — successive monsoon failures (1965, 1966), depletion of foreign exchange, and humiliating reliance on US PL-480 food aid
- C
- Subramaniam (Agriculture Minister) and M.S

## WATCH OUT FOR

**NOTE** Green Revolution was REGIONALLY UNEVEN — Punjab, Haryana, Western UP benefited massively; Eastern India (Bengal, Bihar, Odisha) and dryland regions (Rajasthan, Maharashtra Vidarbha) were largely bypassed. It was also CROP-UNEVEN — wheat first (1965-72), rice (1970s), but pulses + oilseeds + coarse grains neglected. CBSE

TOPIC

# Achievements and criticisms

## ACHIEVEMENT 1 — FOODGRAIN SELF- SUFFICIENCY

India transformed from a food-deficit economy importing PL-480 wheat from the US (10 million tonnes in 1966) to a foodgrain-self-sufficient economy by the early 1980s. Total foodgrain production rose from ~74 million tonnes (1965-66) to ~176 million tonnes

## ACHIEVEMENT 2 — YIELD + FARM INCOME GAINS

Wheat yields doubled from ~850 kg/hectare (1965) to ~1850 kg/hectare (1985); similar gains in rice. Farm incomes in beneficiary regions (Punjab, Haryana) rose substantially — Punjab's per capita income overtook the national average. MSP + assured procurement reduced price risk for farmers. The

## CRITICISM 1 — REGIONAL + CROP INEQUALITY

Geographic concentration: Punjab, Haryana, and Western UP captured most of the productivity gains (irrigated, capable institutions, large farms). Eastern India, dryland regions, and tribal areas were bypassed. Crop concentration: wheat + rice gained; pulses, oilseeds, coarse grains (jowar, bajra,

## CRITICISM 2 — ENVIRONMENTAL + SUSTAINABILITY

Heavy reliance on subsidised chemical fertilisers + pesticides caused soil degradation, water pollution, and pesticide poisoning. Tubewell-based irrigation depleted groundwater in Punjab + Haryana to crisis levels by the 1990s. The fixed-price MSP fiscal

TOPIC

**D**

# Industry — Policy + Public Sector

TOPIC

# Three foundational policy documents

## INDUSTRIAL POLICY RESOLUTION 1948

The first IPR (April 1948) established the MIXED ECONOMY framework. It identified three categories of industry: (1) state monopoly (arms, atomic energy, railways), (2) state-and-private mixed (coal, steel, aircraft), (3) entirely private (consumer goods, light industry). It was a pragmatic, accommodating

## INDUSTRIAL POLICY RESOLUTION 1956

IPR 1956 was the operational blueprint of Nehru's planning vision and dramatically EXPANDED the public sector. It identified three SCHEDULES: Schedule A (17 industries reserved for the public sector — arms, atomic, heavy machinery, steel, oil, coal, electricity); Schedule B (12 industries mixed);

## IDR ACT 1951 — THE LICENSING SYSTEM

The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act 1951 created the INDUSTRIAL LICENSING regime. Anyone wishing to start or substantially expand a factory in a scheduled industry needed a LICENCE from the central government, specifying the type, location, scale, and

## SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRY RESERVATION

Between the IPR documents, India reserved hundreds of products for production ONLY by small-scale enterprises (employment-led logic). At the peak in the 1980s, ~800 products were so reserved. Large firms could not enter these markets. The reservation list was gradually de-listed after

TOPIC

# Why public sector dominated 1950-1990

## HEAVY INDUSTRY NEEDS VAST CAPITAL

Steel plants, oil refineries, fertiliser plants, ports, railways require enormous fixed-capital investment with long gestation periods (10-15 years to break even). The Indian private sector in the 1950s simply LACKED THE CAPITAL to make such investments. The state had to step in to build the foundational heavy-industry

## SOCIAL OBJECTIVES OVERRIDE PROFIT

Public sector pursued objectives — balanced regional development, employment generation, technology absorption, training of skilled workforce — that the private sector would not pursue because they reduce profit. Setting up a steel plant in remote Bhilai (Madhya Pradesh) rather than coastal Mumbai

## IPR 1956 RESERVATION

Industrial Policy Resolution 1956's Schedule A reserved 17 industries (arms, atomic, heavy machinery, steel, oil, coal, electricity, communications) for the public sector exclusively. Private firms were LEGALLY BARRED from entering. This legal reservation, combined with licensing, created a de facto public sector monopoly in strategic

## PREVENTION OF MONOPOLY

By keeping strategic industries in the public sector, India prevented private monopolies from controlling essential inputs. Tata, Birla, and other large business houses had grown powerful by 1947; an unregulated private sector would have likely consolidated them into oligopolies. Public-sector dominance in steel

TOPIC

**E**

# Trade — Import Substitution

**THEOREM · LOAD-BEARING RESULT**

# Import Substitution as the Trade Strategy



*Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) was India's trade strategy between 1950 and 1991. It meant **SUBSTITUTING DOMESTIC PRODUCTION** for goods previously imported, using **PROTECTIVE TARIFFS, QUANTITATIVE QUOTAS, and INDUSTRIAL LICENSING** to make imports relatively expensive and to nurture domestic capacity.*

## STATEMENT

**Tools: (1) HIGH IMPORT TARIFFS (often 100-300% for consumer goods); (2) QUANTITATIVE QUOTAS (numerical caps on imports of specific items); (3) IMPORT LICENSING (requirement to obtain government permission)**

## WHY THIS MATTERS

- Three rationales: (1) **FOREIGN-EXCHANGE SHORTAGE** — India had limited forex earnings from exports and needed to preserve forex for essential imports (capital goods, oil)
- (2) **INFANT INDUSTRY ARGUMENT** — domestic industries needed protection until they could compete internationally

## WATCH OUT FOR

**NOTE** Import Substitution did NOT mean a complete ban on imports. India continued to import **CAPITAL GOODS, CRUDE OIL, EDIBLE OILS, FERTILISERS**, and selected industrial inputs throughout 1950-1990. ISI was **SELECTIVE** protection — heavy for consumer goods, low for capital goods and essential inputs. The 'autarky' framing is wrong.

## PYQ PATTERNS

---

# Top 5 PYQ patterns to drill

## MARKS DISTRIBUTION

---

# Where to spend revision time

TOPIC

# Goals of planning — order and content

TRAP → TRUTH

× **MISTAKE** The four goals of planning are growth + employment + literacy + health.

✓ **CORRECT** The FOUR goals as per NCERT Ch 2 are: (1) GROWTH — steady increase in GDP, (2) MODERNISATION — adoption of new technology + changing social attitudes, (3) SELF-RELIANCE — reduce import dependence, (4) EQUITY — fair distribution of benefits. Employment, literacy, health are sub-objectives within these. CBSE marking scheme penalises substitution of sub-objectives for the four headline goals.

TOPIC

# Land Reforms — zamindari abolition vs ceiling

TRAP → TRUTH

× **MISTAKE** Land ceiling laws were enforced uniformly across India and successfully redistributed land to the landless.

✓ **CORRECT** Land ceiling laws were enacted by ALL states but ENFORCED VERY UNEVENLY — most large landlords transferred land to relatives/farm workers on paper to evade ceilings (benami transfers). Successful in West Bengal (Operation Barga, 1978+) and Kerala; weakly enforced elsewhere. The implementation gap is a CBSE-standard 4-mark critique.

TOPIC

# Green Revolution — geography and scope

TRAP → TRUTH

× **MISTAKE** Green Revolution benefited all Indian farmers and all crops equally.

✓ **CORRECT** Green Revolution (1965-66 onwards) primarily benefited PUNJAB, HARYANA, and WESTERN UTTAR PRADESH (regions with assured irrigation + capable institutional support). It focused on WHEAT first (1965-72) and then RICE (1970s onwards). Eastern India, dryland regions, and pulses/oilseeds farmers were largely BYPASSED. This regional + crop inequality is a CBSE-favourite critique on 5-mark questions.

TOPIC

# Import Substitution — what it was, what it wasn't

TRAP → TRUTH

× **MISTAKE** Import Substitution meant India banned all imports.

✓ **CORRECT** Import Substitution meant SUBSTITUTING domestic production for goods that were previously imported — using PROTECTIVE TARIFFS, QUOTAS, and LICENSING to make imports relatively expensive while building domestic capacity. India did NOT ban imports — capital goods, oil, and essential raw materials continued to be imported. It was selective protection, not autarky.

TOPIC

# Public Sector role — was it dominant by choice or necessity?

TRAP → TRUTH

- × **MISTAKE** Public sector dominated because Indian leaders were socialist and disliked private enterprise.
- ✓ **CORRECT** The PUBLIC SECTOR dominated heavy/strategic industry (steel, machinery, defence, banking) because: (a) heavy industry required vast capital that Indian private sector lacked, (b) social objectives like balanced regional development required loss-tolerant investment, (c) Industrial Policy 1948/1956 reserved 17 industries for the state. It was NECESSITY + IDEOLOGY combined — not pure socialism. CBSE 4-mark answers expect this mixed framing.

TOPIC

# IDR Act 1951 — what is licensed?

TRAP → TRUTH

× **MISTAKE** Under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act 1951, anyone could start a factory.

✓ **CORRECT** The IDR Act 1951 required INDUSTRIAL LICENSING — anyone wishing to start or substantially expand a factory in a scheduled industry needed a LICENCE from the central government. The licensing system was the operational mechanism of the 'permit raj' that critics later termed 'License Raj'. It was abolished for most industries in 1991 reforms.

TOPIC

# Mahalanobis Model — what did it recommend?

TRAP → TRUTH

- × **MISTAKE** Mahalanobis recommended focusing on agriculture and small-scale industry in the Second Plan.
- ✓ **CORRECT** P.C. Mahalanobis's model (basis of the Second Five-Year Plan 1956-61) recommended priority to **HEAVY MACHINE-BUILDING INDUSTRIES** (capital goods sector) on the logic that capital goods would, in turn, produce more capital goods and consumer goods over the long run. He also valued small-scale and cottage industries for employment, but the headline emphasis was **HEAVY INDUSTRY**. CBSE 3-mark questions test this priority framing.

TOPPER TEMPLATE · MARK-BY-MARK

## 4-mark question: Explain the four goals of planning

- 1 NAME ALL FOUR GOALS UPFRONT**  
1 m  
The four goals of planning in India, as articulated in NCERT and successive Five-Year Plan documents, are: (1) GROWTH, (2) MODERNISATION, (3) SELF-RELIANCE, (4) EQUITY.
- 2 DEFINE EACH GOAL IN ONE LINE + ONE CONCRETE EXAMPLE**  
2 m  
(1) GROWTH: steady increase in real GDP. Target: 5-7% annual GDP growth set in successive plans. (2) MODERNISATION: adoption of new technology + changing social attitudes (e.g. acceptance of female workforce participation). (3) SELF-RELIANCE: reducing dependence on imports, especially for food and capital goods (Green Revolution's foodgrain self-sufficiency by 1980s). (4) EQUITY: fair distribution of benefits across regions, classes, and groups (DPSP-rooted commitment to reduce inequality).
- 3 TRADE-OFFS BETWEEN GOALS + CONCLUDING NOTE**  
1 m  
The four goals are sometimes in tension — rapid growth via heavy industry can worsen short-run equity; self-reliance through high tariffs can slow modernisation. Indian planning has tried to balance them across successive Five-Year Plans with varying success.

TOPPER TEMPLATE · MARK-BY-MARK

# 6-mark question: Explain land reforms in India 1950-1990 + critical evaluation

- 1 DEFINE LAND REFORMS + THREE COMPONENTS UPFRONT**  
1 m  
Land reforms in India aimed to restructure the agrarian economy left by the colonial Zamindari system. They had three main components: (a) ABOLITION of intermediaries (Zamindars), (b) TENANCY REFORMS (security of tenure + fair rent), and (c) CEILING on agricultural land holdings.
- 2 EXPLAIN EACH COMPONENT WITH MECHANISM**  
2 m  
(a) ZAMINDARI ABOLITION: state acquired land from Zamindars and made the tiller the owner. Largely successful by mid-1950s across most states. (b) TENANCY REFORMS: security of tenure for tenants + regulation of fair rent + right to purchase land. Uneven — effective in West Bengal (Operation Barga 1978+), Kerala, weak elsewhere. (c) LAND CEILING: maximum permitted holding per family. Surplus to be redistributed to landless.
- 3 CRITICAL EVALUATION — SUCCESSES + FAILURES**  
2 m  
SUCCESSES: Zamindari Abolition completed; some tenancy security; small Operation Barga gains in West Bengal. FAILURES: Land Ceiling weakly enforced — large landlords made BENAMI transfers to relatives to evade ceilings; redistribution to landless was minimal except in WB and Kerala. Most states saw cosmetic compliance.
- 4 FINAL ASSESSMENT + TRANSITION TO GREEN REVOLUTION**  
1 m  
Land Reforms were MIXED — Zamindari was abolished but the resulting agrarian structure remained unequal in most states. The disappointing equity outcome led planners to shift focus from land redistribution to PRODUCTIVITY GAINS through the Green Revolution (1965-66 onwards).

TOPPER TEMPLATE · MARK-BY-MARK

## 5-6 mark question: Green Revolution — strategy + achievements + criticisms

- 1** **DEFINE + STATE STRATEGY** **1 m**

The Green Revolution was the package of agricultural improvements introduced in India from 1965-66 onwards, centred on HIGH-YIELDING VARIETIES (HYV) of seeds, combined with assured IRRIGATION, CHEMICAL FERTILISERS, PESTICIDES, and MECHANISATION — with MSP (Minimum Support Price) procurement as the demand-side backing.
- 2** **ACHIEVEMENTS** **2 m**

(a) FOODGRAIN SELF-SUFFICIENCY — by 1980s India was no longer dependent on US PL-480 food aid imports. (b) RICE + WHEAT YIELDS DOUBLED — wheat from ~850 to 1850 kg/ha in two decades; similar gains in rice. (c) BUFFER STOCK BUILT — FCI procurement at MSP built a strategic food reserve that ended recurrent famine fears. (d) FARM INCOMES ROSE substantially in the benefitting regions.
- 3** **CRITICISMS** **2 m**

(a) REGIONAL INEQUALITY — Punjab, Haryana, Western UP benefited; Eastern India, dryland regions bypassed. (b) CROP INEQUALITY — focused on rice + wheat; pulses, oilseeds, coarse grains neglected (India still imports pulses + oilseeds). (c) INTRA-RURAL INEQUALITY — large/irrigated farmers gained more than small/dryland farmers. (d) ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE — groundwater depletion in Punjab, soil salinisation, fertiliser/pesticide runoff. (e) DEPENDENCE on subsidised inputs created fiscal burden.
- 4** **CONCLUDING ASSESSMENT** **1 m**

Green Revolution achieved the headline goal of foodgrain self-sufficiency but at significant equity + environmental costs. The post-1991 challenge has been to extend its benefits beyond the original belt while addressing its sustainability problems.

## PYQ PATTERNS

# Top PYQ patterns to drill

#1	Four goals of planning explained with examples (4 marks)	90%
#2	Land reforms (zamindari + tenancy + ceiling) explained (6 marks)	70%
#3	Green Revolution achievements + criticisms (6 marks)	80%
#4	Import Substitution policy + reasons (4 marks)	60%
#5	Role of public sector (3 marks)	55%

## MARKS DISTRIBUTION

# 10-year marks distribution

### 10-YEAR PYQ MARKS DISTRIBUTION

Five-Year Plans + goals of planning		30%
Land reforms (Zamindari abolition, tenancy, ceiling)		20%
Green Revolution + agricultural strategy		20%
Industrial Policy + IDR Act 1951 + Public Sector		15%
Trade Policy (import substitution + protection)		10%
Critical evaluation (achievements + limitations)		5%

RECAP · MEMORISE THESE

## 5-line revision

**1** 4 planning goals —  
Growth · Modernisation ·  
Self-reliance · Equity.  
Constitutional roots in  
DPSPs (Art 38, 39).

**2** Plans I & II — Plan I  
(1951-56): agriculture +  
irrigation (Bhakra  
Nangal). Plan II  
(1956-61): Mahalanobis  
— heavy industry (Bhilai,  
Rourkela, Durgapur).

**3** Land reforms — 3  
components: Zamindari  
Abolition (largely  
successful) + Tenancy  
Reforms (effective in W.  
Bengal, Kerala) + Land  
Ceiling (weakly enforced  
due to benami transfers).

**4** Green Revolution —  
1965-66 onwards. HYV  
seeds + irrigation +

**5** Industry policy — IPR  
1956 reserved 17  
industries for public

## WHAT'S NEXT

---

# Coming up next



- Chapter 3 — Economic Reforms since 1991: LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation) reforms. The critique of the 1950-1990 model that drove the reforms.
- Quick check: can you state all four planning goals + name the 1956 Mahalanobis Plan focus in 30 seconds?



**Ready For Boards**  
10th & 12th Exam Prep

# Practise — drill, board paper, CBT

*15-MCQ Drill (20 min) → 30-mark Board Paper (60 min) → 20-MCQ Chapter CBT. All on the Chapter Notes page.*

[readyforboards.com](https://www.readyforboards.com)

**Helpline: +91 70330 05444**

*Boards prep that builds confidence, not anxiety.*