CHAPTER - FOUR

TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN ADILABAD DISTRICT
OF
ERSTWHILE HYDERABAD STATE

The approach to tribal development has shifted from ameliorative to growth oriented since the initiation of Non Regulating Areas Regulation of 1833 to Integrated Tribal Development for identified areas of tribal concentration of V plan initiated since 1974-75. In between these two vastly varying approaches are
The various other approaches, namely the reformist, administrative, missionary and anthropological approaches as enunciated by different anthropologists. Mazumdar (1960) while identifying three distinct tribal zones with dissimilar associated problems finds two types of community welfare approaches viz., 1) Reform approach and 2) Administrative approach. S.C. Dube (1960) identifies four approaches with two underlying themes namely, aesthetic or political. The four approaches identified by S.C. Dube are i) 'the social service approach' ii) 'the political approach' iii) 'the religious approach' and iv) 'the anthropological approach'. Agreeing with Dube's classification, L.P. Vidyarthi (1957) gave the following four types of approaches i) 'anthropologists approach' ii) 'social workers' approach' iii) 'missionaries' approach', and iv) 'administrative machinery for tribal welfare'. Finally after a brief analysis of the content of the three types of classifications mentioned above Vidyarthi and Rai* discerned five approaches for the welfare of tribes in India. They are as follows i) 'Political Approach' ii) 'Administrative Approach', iii) 'Religious Approach' with specific reference to Missionary Approach' iv) 'Voluntary Approach' and v) 'Anthropological Approach'.

* Vidyarthi, L.P. and Rai Binay Kumar, The Tribal Culture of India, concept publishing co., 1977 PP.
Except that of Mazumdar's two fold classification there is little difference between Dube's and Vidyarthi's and the latest Vidyarthi & Rai's classification. A close examination of these approaches shows that except in the case of Anthropological Approach, the rest of approaches are identified on the basis of the agency that evolved and executed the programmes instead of the content nature of the programme. Moreover, projecting Missionary's approach as a development approach is a debatable point. The main objective of Missionary's approach is proselytisation and all their educational and health programmes are subservient to this main objective. Further, Missionary's approach cannot be separated from 'voluntary Approach' as it constitutes an aspect of 'Voluntary Approach' the agency being non-official and voluntarily committed to converting as many people as possible to Christianity. However, instead of mentioning missionary's approach under development it could at best be called as a process of religious, or in more broader terms cultural transformation or culture change.

In the same way 'Political approach' is not a major approach as it is one aspect of the whole gamut of tribal protection comprising of political, economic, educational services etc., concessions afforded to these weaker sections. It is therefore logical and more
appropriate to call it 'protective Approach' especially when it is extended and explained in the context of post independence approach of development.

'Administrative Approach' is a misnomer as there is no such approach. It could at best be called 'Government Approach' with the 'Protective Approach' forming a sub system of it along with 'Anthropological Approach' if the Government framed its development strategy on the basis of the advice rendered by anthropologists as it is human society or culture oriented rather than a series of statistical summations. Without any relevance to human society for whose benefit they are intended.

The discussion in the preceding pages detail the special approaches identified by some of the Anthropologists in the context of Indian tribal development situation. In this connection it is imperative to discuss Elwin's most controversial approach for tribal development as it is an anthropologist's approach. "The first necessity" Elwin (1939) advocated was "establishment of a sort of National Park in which not only the Baiga, but the thousands of simple Gond in their neighbourhood might take refuge. The administration was to be so adjusted as to allow the tribesmen to live their life with utmost possible happiness and freedom. The missionaries of any
sort were not to be allowed to break the tribal life".*

He suggested the creation of the post of Tribes Commissioner under whose direct control this special area should be kept. He further said that "Inside the area, the administration should be so adjusted as to allow the tribesmen to live their lives with utmost possible happiness and freedom. Courts and lawyers could be largely superseded and wide powers given to the old tribal panchayats. There is wide scope for economic betterment. Special arrangements might be made for the marketing of Baiga produce. If education is introduced it should be on the lines of what is known as 'the Wardha scheme' simplified and adopted to be use of simple people.** He also suggested a number of concommitant measures for preventing and insultation of the tribal societies from economic exploitation and cultural destruction.

His approach was the result of a series of studies and observations made by a number of Indian and foreign ethnographers who studied many of the Indian tribes in different parts of India. In addition to his own studies he mentioned similar observations by other anthropologists on the prevailing mood of tribal societies

** Ibid.
when he says that "Dr. Roy speaks of a loss of interest in life". Dr. Hutton of 'Psychical apathy and physical decline', Mr. Mills of 'the awful monotony of village life' of an 'unspeakable drabness'. It is this drabness and deadness that will destroy the tribesmen of India.*

Taking Elwin’s suggestion as the Anthropological approach to tribal problem all Anthropologists were branded as 'isolationists', 'revivalists' and 'no changers' by social workers. The idea of creating 'National Park' was criticised with the accusation that anthropologists wanted to retain tribals as museum pieces' so that they can continue their studies.

The foremost social worker of India who spent much of his life in the service of tribals, Sri A.V. Thakkar denounced Elwin’s approach in 1941 during his R.R. Kale Memorial Lecture entitled problems of Aboriginauls in India'. He branded the anthropological approach suggested by Elwin as 'Isolationism' and attributed it to selfish by motivated academic interest of Anthropologists.... "To keep these people confined to and isolated in their inaccessible hills and jungles is something like keeping them in glass cases of a museum for the curiority of purely academic persons.*

Elwin, however, gave strong rebuttal by saying that "The idea of a 'National Park' does not mean the same thing as an 'Anthropological Zoo'. Many people in India suffer from the curious and rather puerile belief that the anthropologist wishes to keep primitive people 'as they were' as materials for his research. But this is not so; the scientist is not interested in any particular grade of civilization: he is concerned with things as they are: the semi-civilised Gond is just as interesting and important as the wilder Baiga". *

However, Elwin's approach was to a large extent instrumental in moulding NEFA administration which formed part of the former larger Assam State as he was Adviser to Assam State Government on Tribal Affairs. His treatise entitled Philosophy for NEFA gives a detailed account of the variegated tribal culture of the region and lays down the modalities of tribal development. In his forward to the first edition of this book Pandit Nehru (1957 vi) rightly pointed out"........ that we should avoid two extreme courses: one was to treat them as anthropological specimens for study and the other was to allow them to be engulfed by the masses of Indian humanity".

The varied thinking of social workers, anthropologists, administrators and politicians gave rise to a

synthesized approach as crystallised into the 'Panchsheel' or five principles enunciated by late Jawaharlal Nehru (1958) in his foreword to the second edition of 'philosophy for NEFA' as given below:

1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing any thing on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

4) We should not over administrate these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

5) We should judge results, not statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

In the light of the approaches discussed Prof. Haimendorf's approach for the development of tribals of Adilabad district is detailed in the following pages.

Tribal Development which had its roots in the British ameliorative and welfare oriented isolationist policy of the first half of the 19th century took compre-
hensive shape with the initiation of V plan in the later half of the 20th century when a growth oriented approach was initiated. The history of tribal development in India is marked with periodic uprising followed by pacificatory measures. The uprisings of Paharias, Chaur or Paik and Kols between 1972 and 1831-32 resulted in the first British attempt at regulating the administration in tribal areas by passing the Regulation XIII of 1833 which declared that Chota-Nagpur tribal areas as non-regulating areas. This protective measure restricted the activities of outsiders with a view to prevent exploitation and help the tribals' lead unhampered life according to their own genius. The risings of Khond, Santhal etc., between 1846 and 1870 gave further impetus to the idea of distinct and special administration and the result was the enactment of Scheduled Districts Act in 1874 according to which the executive was given larger powers in administering the areas. Taking advantage of this Act many protective regulations were enacted in various states such as Madras Interest and Land Transfer Regulation of 1917 for saving tribals from exploitation of money lenders and land alienators in the agency tracts of Coastal Andhra region. Again a series of disturbances and movements took place such as Sardari agitation Birsa movement, Tana Bhagat movement etc., between 1887 and 1914 and in the then princely States, as the tribals were
dissatisfied with the rulers who wanted to protect themselves in the name of protecting tribals. This resulted in creating wholly excluded area and area of modified exclusion as part of Government of India Act 1919. Slowly the tribals were drawn into National Freedom Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi creating further problems for the rulers and the consequent creation of 'Excluded Areas' and 'Partially Excluded Areas' incorporated in 1935 Act as per the recommendations of the Simon Commission (1928). This was the first landmark in affording reservation to tribals and a few other sections of Indian population. Further, it was for the first time declared that no Act of the then Federal Legislature or the provincial legislatures would apply to these secluded areas. The Government of India (excluded and partially excluded areas) Order, 1936 contained the list of these areas.

The distinguishing features of 'Excluded' and 'Partially Excluded Areas' were as follows:

1) While the Governor was empowered to take independent decision in regard to 'Excluded Areas', he had to depend upon the advice of the Ministers in 'Partially Excluded Areas'.

2) The expenditure in regard to the former was non-votable and in the case of the latter the demand was to be invariably voted by the Legislature.
3) No matter pertaining to the 'Excluded Areas' could be raised in the Legislature without Governor's prior permission.

In spite of these measures indebtedness and land alienation continued unabated and took new forms like debt bondage and reducing the many tribals to virtual slavery to non-tribal immigrants. To mitigate this situation the Madras Debt Bondage Abolition Act was passed in 1940 for tribals living in the Agency tracts of the State.

This British policy of administration in isolation has been followed in the post independence period also but for the added purpose of promoting development of tribal areas and people while continuing protective measures with more stringent laws in order to plug loop holes in the previous legislation and preventing dilution of development effort due to garnering of most of the development benefits by more advanced sections from outside. The Acts of 1917, 1935, 1940 etc., mentioned earlier formed the base for the enactment of more stringent laws for the insulation of tribals against exploitation. Consequently Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulation of 1949, and Andhra P (Scheduled Areas) Land Transfer Regulation 1959, Andhra Pradesh Money Lenders Regulation (1960) and Debt Relief Regulation 1970 etc., were enacted.
The new approach envisaged declaring of the areas of tribal concentration as Scheduled besides scheduling certain groups as Scheduled Tribes thus adding the new dimension of scheduling on the basis of ethnic groups. This facilitated affording political, economic, educational and employment benefits to these sections of people through reservation of certain percentage of seats and introduction of special institutions of development over the plan periods viz., Tribal Development Blocks, Giri Jain Cooperative Corporation, Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Coop. Finance Corporation etc., with special and additive funds for helping tribals to take their rightful place in the society besides bringing them on par with other advanced sections through accelerated development.

As has already been mentioned, in former Nizam's dominions also Government's attention was for the first time drawn to the plight of the down trodden because of an uprising in the predominantly Gond area of Adilabad in the 1940's. Some of the British Officers occupying positions of authority and endowed with foresight could visualise the need for ameliorative action after careful study. It was Grigson the then Revenue Member of Nizams' Government who encouraged in 1940's Prof. Haimendorf, to study the tribes of the former Nizam's dominions and suggest programmes of development
so that backwardness, the root cause of all restiveness could be effectively tackled.

It is thus in India, the first attempt to develop tribals and other weaker sections with the help of an action plan, came into vogue in the Nizam's dominions.

While in British administered neighbouring Madras presidency protective legislations preceded positive steps for amelioration of tribals, in the Erstwhile Hyderabad State a comprehensive scheme of tribal development was the fore runner of comprehensive protective measures. As has been already discussed in Chapter III the immediate reason for evolving a concrete scheme of development in the tribal areas of Hyderabad was as usual the development of restiveness among the tribals of the State because of certain Government policies like expansion of reserve forest boundaries unwitting of its human implications on the one hand and the influx of advanced caste groups in search of land into the tribal areas on the other resulting in restricting the freedom of tribal cultivator who was accustomed to a life of shifting cultivation involving not only movement of individual families but also whole settlements as was their usual way of life. Further, the ethnographic studies of Prof. Haimendorf among the Chenchus of Mahabubnagar district Reddies of Bison Hills and Gonds of Adilabad Districts have also brought to light the primitive socio-economic situation and the abject
poverty of the tribal and the immediate need for concerted and concrete programme of action for the amelioration and development of these preliterate, primitive and undeveloped societies so as to wipe out prevalent socio-economic imbalances and nip the root cause of unrest among these weaker sections.

Realising the need for launching a programme of development, the then Nizam's Government appointed Prof. Von Furer Haimendorf as Advisor to Government on Welfare of Tribes and Backward Classes. The Government also felt in 1943 that the aboriginal problem in Adilabad mainly pertains to protection of tribals' interest in land and forest. To initiate action in this direction a Special Tribes Officer was appointed in 1943 for tribal areas of Adilabad District. A comprehensive programme was drawn up for the development of tribals and other weaker sections. The creation of a separate Social Services Department in 1946 gave new impetus to the programme planning and execution.

The strategy adopted for evolving schemes was not a stereotyped one and the independent programmes were evolved to suit the variegated local situations, ways of life, levels of development etc. Consequently, though 'holistic' development approach was the main theme, the stress on different sectors differed from region to region.
While educational programmes with tribal bias and agricultural development constituted the hub of all development programmes in Gond and Koya areas of Adilabad and Warangal Districts respectively, cooperative marketing and agro-horticultural and diarying activities formed the nucleus of all other development activities for the Hill-Reddies and Koyas of Godavari Valley and the Chénchus and Lambadas of Amarabad plateau. Similarly the once wandering and mercantile Muslim tribe, Multanis, of Boath in Adilabad District who were switching-on to settled cultivation due to changed politico-economic situation were put on a scheme of settled cultivation. However, care was taken not to give undue importance to one facet of development at the cost of others as is evident from the following general patterns of the schemes.

1. Settled cultivation through allotment of lands with patta under special 'Laoni Khan' Rules.

2. Loaning programme for agricultural inputs like seeds, well irrigation facilities, implements etc.

3. Provision of plough-bullocks under hire-purchase system.

4. Organisation of a net work of Cooperative Credit Societies, Rural Banks, Grain Banks, Cooperative Stores, Cooperative Marketing Societies, Collective agricultural farms, collective stock breeding farm, formation of Cooperative Forest Utilisation Societies etc.,
B. Promotion of Education:

1. Establishment of functional Training Centres for preparing tribals for the posts of 'Patels' and 'Patwaris' and Forest Guards.

2. Opening of a network of Primary Schools.

3. Preparation of primers, charts etc., in local tribal dialects for use in schools in Devanagari Script.

4. Production of literature on local mythology, customs and folklore.

5. Provision of reading and other school material free of cost.

6. Providing practical training in improved agricultural practices, starting of cottage industries, improved forestry etc.

7. Evolving syllabi with tribal bias.

C. HEALTH AND HYGIENE:

1. Establishment of dispensaries

2. Starting of Mobile Medical Units

3. Prevention of Communicable diseases through inoculation and vaccination

4. Special Treatment for certain endemic diseases like Yaws

5. Provision of first aid facilities

6. Disinfection of drinking water wells.

D. Insulation against Exploitation:

1. Enacting special protective measures

2. Redressing grievances and disputes through Panchayats and Mobile courts.
3. Enquiry into indebtedness and debt reconciliation

4. Special privileges and concessions for grazing and forest utilization.

E. Extension and Publicity:

1. Demonstrations of improved agricultural practices

2. Establishment of agricultural demonstration farms

3. Propagation of Health and Hygiene through audiovisual aids

4. Educating tribals about concessions and privileges available to them.

F. Organising Panchayats with tribal elders as members:

According to this general plan of development and protection the various schemes were implemented over a period of five years between 1943 and 1947. For the purpose of amelioration of the weaker sections eight different schemes were started of which six development schemes were mainly meant for tribals and the remaining two for depressed classes upliftment. The following are the six schemes implemented for the benefit of tribals.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Scheme</th>
<th>Year of starting</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gond Education Scheme, Adilabad Dist.</td>
<td>1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Amarabad Rural Welfare Scheme, M' Nagar</td>
<td>1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Koya Education Schemes, Warangal District</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Godavari Valley Rural Welfare Scheme</td>
<td>1947</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Multani Scheme, Boath, Adilabad District</td>
<td>1946-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Banjara Rural Welfare Scheme, Turur, Warangal District</td>
<td>1946</td>
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From the year of starting of all these six schemes it is clear that the policy was not to start too many schemes at a time without experimenting them in the field. Consequently, the Gond Education Scheme and the Amarabad Rural Welfare Scheme were started almost simultaneously for the benefit of the most backward tribes of Adilabad and Mahabubnagar districts. Further, with a view to prevent the exploitation of tribals from land alienation by outsiders protective measures were initiated by declaring the predominantly tribal areas as notified areas in Adilabad district in 1943 and creating a 'Chenchu Reserve' of about 75,000 acres in Amarabad plateau in 1942 besides appointing a special tribes
officer in 1944 to look after the interests of tribals of Adilabad in land and forests. This was followed by the promulgation of special Laoni Khas Rules for the purpose of assigning lands to tribals by excising vast areas of unproductive forest in the Adilabad area. The two schemes as discussed below constituted the model for other schemes which followed.

Gond Education Scheme:

The Gond Education Scheme which was initiated in 1943, centres round the Teachers Training Centre established at Marlavai, a centrally situated Gond tribal village in the Gondi speaking 'Pahad Patti' of Adilabad district tribal area. By requisitioning trained teachers from this centre, primary schools were opened in a phased programme to cater to the educational needs of the tribals. As many as 30 primary schools were opened with the teachers trained in the centre. Besides training school teachers, the centre also prepared literate Gonds and trained them for appointment as village officers and Forest Guards as it was recognised that appointing non-tribal village officers and forest guards was doing lot of harm to the interests of the tribal in forest and land. It was also realised in view of non-existence of any educational facilities prior to the

* Hill Tracts.
introduction of the scheme in the tribal areas and as
the Gonds did not have enough knowledge of Urdu, Telugu
or Marathi, that it was imperative to have Gondi dialect
as the medium of instruction. But as Gondi is a dialect
without script, simplified Devanagari script was adopted
by the exclusion of difficult consonant combination and
and attempt was made to build up Gondi literature by
drawing upon the rich Gond mythology and folk lore.
The following literature was published.

1. Gondi Reading Chart for Adults No.1, 2 & 3.
2. Gondi Primer
3. First Reader for Adults
4. First Reader for children
5. The Myth of Manko.

The curriculum of the training centre,
Marlawai included teaching of Marathi, Urdu and Hindi
besides elementary Geography and Arithmetic upto 7th
standard.

Besides class room lectures, 'Practice school'
was also conducted where the trainees practised and
perfected teaching techniques under the guidance of their
teachers. The attached demonstration Farm of 28 acres
was intended for giving practical training in improved
agricultural practices.
This residential centre was fully equipped with recreation and entertainment materials including a Radio set, games materials and an attached library.

Annual refresher course were also conducted for the already employed trainees so as to keep them abreast of the latest developments besides refreshing their knowledge and also develop continued association with the Alma Mater.

All the teachers were drawn from their respective Departments and continued to work in the centre subject to their satisfactory performance which was closely watched by the officers. It was not infrequent to surrender an inefficient teacher to the parent Department without any delay.

The popularity and progress of the centre can be gauged from the number of trainees that were not only trained but also absorbed into service. The centre which started with an initial strength of 5 literate Gonds in 1943 could produce 95 teachers, 5 village officers, 5 clerks and 7 Forest Guards by the end of 1951. By the end of 1951, the Departmental schools number was as many as 76, manned by 82 teachers and covering 197 out of 577 purely tribal villages of Adilabad, Kinwat, Utnoor, Boath, Rajura, Asifabad and Sirpur Taluks of the District.
In course of time Marlavai was organised into an important Rural Reconstruction Centre. The Teacher's Training Centre was housed in a building. The Marlavai buildings complex had four residential quarters, one rest house, 11 huts for boarders, one school building, one carpenter's work shop, two cattle sheds, one office hut for housing post office and a dispensary hut which was originally constructed by villagers and handed over to the department. However, the efforts to sink a well did not fructify due to the presence of sheet rock.

Encouraged by the success achieved by the Marlavai centre and realising local educational needs of the Gonds living in the Telugu speaking tribal belt, a sub-centre was organised on the lines of Marlavai with a strength of about 15 teacher candidates and six village schools were functioning under this centre by the end of 1951.

Another important aspect of the reconstruction programme was the initiation of cooperative movement in the tribal areas of the district. Starting of Rural Banks and Grain Banks was taken up in right earnest and the first Rural Bank was established in 1945 at Marlavai covering 45 villages and with in the next five years an amount of Rs. 9,953 was earned by the Bank as profit and by the end of 1951 a net work of 7 Rural Banks covering 192 villages were established. The popularity
of the Grain Banks can be gauged from the fact that in Utnoor taluq, alone 78 Banks were opened by 1950 with a total membership of 2,735, the tribal component being 2,000.

As Gonds and other tribal groups were mainly thriving on agriculture, it was rightly recognised that land assignment was prerequisite for providing a sound economic base. Consequently, the allotment of land under special Laoni Khas Rules by the Special Tribes Officer was begun in 1944. The pace of the programme can be assessed from the phenomenal increase in the number of pattedars from a meagre 600 in 1944 to 11,198 by 1949 with an assigned acreage of 1,60,000 benefitting about 50% of the aboriginal families.** This land assignment programme included regularisation of 'Sivai Jamabandi' occupations and assignment of 'pattas' for fresh lands specially excised from unproductive forest areas. Each 'pattedar' was assigned a maximum of 25 acres of dry land.

It was also concurrently recognised that the poverty stricken tribal cannot acquire the necessary agricultural inputs for making his land cultivable and raise crops. To meet the needs of these tribal

* Unauthorised cultivation of Government lands.

**'Gafoor', Khaja Abdul, Social Service Among the Tribes and Backward Classes in Hyderabad, Department of Social Services Publication No.1 Hyderabad (1950)P.29.
cultivators interest free 'taccavi' loans were advanced liberally through the cooperative credit societies, seeds were distributed through grain banks and implements were supplied through Rural Banks besides giving bullocks on hire-purchase system. The 'taccavi' loan advanced for the purchase of plough bullocks was recoverable in five annual instalments. An annual rent of Rs.15/- per pair of bullocks was charged to meet loss of bullocks due to casualities. A sum of Rs.50,000 sanctioned for the purpose was invested in acquiring 324 bullocks purchased at a cost of Rs.47,100 and distributed among 168 tribals of Utnoor Taluq.

Thus the Gond Education Scheme which was started as production and employment oriented programme had developed into a comprehensive programme of social and economic reconstruction for the tribals of Adilabad district. It gained strength from year to year with a corresponding increase in the amount sanctioned. Between 1943 and 1950-51 the sanctioned amount increased from Rs.45,267 to Rs.1,45,441/- showing a three fold increase.

* 1) Gafoor, Khaja Abdul Social Services Among the Tribes & Backward Classes in Hyderabad. Social Services Department, Publication No.1 P.28
   AND

Along with these economic development programmes, Panchayats were also organised so as to develop the leadership potentialities of the tribals and conduct the tribal courts in a systematic way and solve disputes arising out of social friction. The Panchayats were to meet on every full-moon day and an Officer of the Social Service Department used to assist members in the proper conducting of meetings. The tribal areas Regulation, 1359 F (1949 AD) gave a definite shape and statutory status to Panchayats so as to take advantage of the existing tribal institutions in the politico-social and economic development of these tribes.

Realising that development of these weakest sections of society without proper protective shield attracts exploiters from outside, the first protective regulation was enacted. In the light of the experience gained and enactments made in the neighbouring State of the former Madras Presidency for the protection of tribal's interest in land and forest such as Scheduled Districts Act XIV and XV of 1874 and the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act 1917, the then Advisor to Nizam's Government Professor Haimendorf evolved the first law on tribal protection entitled 'Hyderabad Tribal Area Dastur-Ul-Amal' which was finally modified and enacted as 'Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulation of 1949' as per the expert advice of the then Legal Advisor to the Military Governor of Hyderabad State.
The most noteworthy provision of the Act was declaring villages with tribal concentration as notified which were ultimately declared as Scheduled Villages in the Presidential Order, 1950. Both civil and criminal cases in respect of certain offences in which the tribal was a party, were removed from the purview of normal courts as the executive officers were not able to immediately redress the grievances of tribals as these were to be referred to distant courts of justice whose legal procedure the tribal never heard of besides being ignorant of the language of the Magistrate. The tribal was thus at a disadvantage on both counts.

The process of decentralisation of decision making activity with the involvement of the tribal at gross roots level was provided for the first time in the Act in dispensing justice. For this purpose Panchayats were constituted with nominated tribal elders for a group of villages. The agency was authorised to delegate certain powers to a Panchayat constituted under Rule 4 to try specified civil and criminal cases in which tribal was involved as a party. Even revenue cases in which tribal was a party were initially decided by these village panchayats. Appeal was from the decision of the Panchayat to the Assistant Agent, from an original decision of an Assistant Agent to Agent and from him to
the Minister in charge of the Social Service Department or to the Board of Revenue in case of revenue cases.

The tribals were also given certain concessions and privileges to safeguard their interests in forest. Tribals are permitted to cut grass, graze their cattle and collect Mohwa in reserve and unreserves under the control of Forest Department free of charge.*

Being the instrumentality of Protective Regulation and programme of development, the necessary administrative infrastructure was also built up starting with the appointment of a Special Tribes Officer for Adilabad in 1943 with the express purpose of safeguarding the interests of tribals in land. At the State level this was followed by the appointment of Furer Haimendorf as Advisor to Nizam's Government on welfare of Tribes and Backward Classes and creation of Social Services Department in 1946 for systematisation of Tribal and Backward Classes Welfare Administration. Further, to give tribal bias to the programmes Prof. Haimendorf was assigned the task of studying the socio-cultural and economic life of the tribals, and suggest programmes of amelioration and economic upliftment. Realising that knowledge of anthropology goes a long way in promoting tribals and backward classes development, government created a separate social

* The Hyderabad Forest Act.
service cadre and appointed young graduates in sociology or anthropology. For this purpose the department of sociology was started in Osmania University with Haimendorf as Professor. The District Social Services Officers were assisted by Social Service Inspectors who in turn were having organisers to assist them in the execution of programmes.

The Officers of Social Services Department were clothed with necessary administrative and judicial powers and the existing system was further modified after the enactment of Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulation of 1959 Fasli (1949). In place of the Special Tribes Officer, District Social Services Officer was appointed as Assistant Agent to Government in Adilabad District through a notification in Hyderabad Gazette dated 31st October, 1949. In 1949 the post of Advisor to Government, Welfare of Tribes and Backward Classes was abolished and a separate Directorate was created with a Director as Head of Social Services Department. In view of the ever-increasing volume of work a separate ministry was constituted in the State in the month of March, 1952.

The necessary administrative infrastructure was thus created while providing protective cover through the Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulation, 1949 for effective implementation of programmes of development and affording
protection to tribal from outside exploitation and safeguard his interest in land and forests.

Firm foundations were thus laid on which the edifice of tribal development was built in the subsequent planning era of post independence period. The main aim of this programme was to bring about a gradual change in the 'work ways and thought ways' of the tribals who were until then living in a preliterate and pretechnological society.

The Gond Education Scheme was conceived to produce a group of tribal elite who could propagate literacy among the tribal children as teachers of the newly started schools and introduce improved methods of cultivation among the primitive tribal cultivators besides training them to shoulder administrative responsibilities at grass roots level such as village officers i.e., 'Patels' and 'Patwaris', Forest Guards etc. Literacy was thus spread among adults and children and village level administration was gradually tribalised so that for administrative leadership, guidance and advice the tribal need no more depend upon non-tribal. Even to this day many of the tribals trained in Marlavai training centre have been continuing as village officers, teachers, Sarpanchs etc.
Case studies of tribals benefitted by Gond Education scheme collected during a survey conducted show the lasting impact of the programme in improving their economic, social and political status besides the capability acquired by them to adapt themselves to changing situations. The case studies are conducted to provide depth to the quantification of benefits accrued to tribals.

Atram Nagu, a Gond of Bhusimetta village was assigned land under Laoni Khas to the extent of 51 acres. He was a member of the Cooperative Grain Bank (defunct since 1966) from which he frequently borrowed improved seed and food grains which he used to repay the Bank in kind from the produce received from his lands. He was also a selected member of the Panchayat Organised under Tribal Areas Regulation, 1949 to settle inter-tribal and intra-tribal disputes of a social and religious nature besides petty land disputes and economic offences. This experience helped him to become a member of the Statutory Panchayat constituted in 1962 under Andhra Pradesh Gram Panchayat Act. Besides he was also coopted as a member of the Panchayat Samithi.*

* The 2nd tier of the 3 tier panchayat Raj system, the first and 3rd tiers being Gram Panchayat at grass roots level and Zilla Parishad at District level as per the A.P. Panchayat Samithis and Zilla Parishad Act, 1959.
The case study of Atram Bhim Rao, a Gond of Gadiguda village amply illustrates the success of an illiterate Gond as a village officer, traditional and elected leader besides being a successful agriculturist. He was trained in Marlavai training centre as a village officer and posted as 'Malipatel' (village officer for revenue collection) immediately after training. After sometime he was appointed as 'Patwari' (village accountant) also. He was a member of the former Panchayati. He resigned his village officer post in favour of his son to facilitate his election as 'Sarpanch' of Gadiguda Panchayat. He has been continuously elected as Sarpanch since the initiation of Gram Panchayat till today.

He was assigned 25 acres under Laoni Khas which he holds in tact to this day. However, he was not allowed to cultivate 'porampoke' land of 22 acres made cultivable by him in 1964 as it was declared illegal under Forest Conservancy law and the case is pending with the higher authorities in appeal.

He has been an active cooperator. As a member of the former Grain Bank and Cooperative Credit Society borrowed seed, food grains and cash which he repaid and continues to be a member of Zilla Kendriya Sahakari Bank (District Cooperative Central Bank) from which even today he borrows about Rs.1000-00 every year which is repaid very promptly.
The case of Kodappa Kasi of Jainoor is slightly different from that of Bhima Rao. Though not trained in Marlavai Training School and not holding any official position, he was a beneficiary of the Cooperative movement and Laoni Khas assignment. He used to borrow both in kind and cash from the Primary Cooperative Bank and continues to borrow in cash every year from the Zilla Kendriya Sahakari Bank.

He was a member of the former Panchayat and has been elected as a member of the present day Gram Panchayat of Jainoor. He secured about 90 acres under Laoni Khas but alienated about 2 acres of this to a non-tribal to clear of debts. He had unsuccessfully tried to cultivate about 4 acres of Reserve Forest land and was evicted.

The Samithi President of Utnoor, T.D. Block, Atram Lingu of Sirpur village was greatly benefited by the training he received at Marlavai Training Centre. After his training upto 4th standard he served as 'Patwari' for one year. He became Sarpanch of Sirpur Panchayat and finally Samithi President in 1967 which position held until all Panchayat Samithis in the State were supenseded two years back.

He secured about 18 acres under Laoni Khas.
Perhaps he is the only Gond who could get 'Patta' for the 5 acres of 'Beroon' land encroached and cultivated by him.

Given the opportunity and necessary guidance a tribal could adapt himself to any position of responsibility is revealed by the case study of Kotanak Bojju of Mankapur.

Bojju was assigned 71 acres under Laoni Khas and married 4 wives of whom one died and the other three are still living with him. He did not alienate his land.

He was Secretary of Multipurpose Cooperative Society Organised prior to 1957 with about 1000 membership and continued to be so until 1966 when it became defunct. As Secretary he could successfully maintained the accounts of both kind and cash transactions. The Society, though useful to the tribals met the fate of other societies due to the set back received in general by the Cooperative movement in tribal areas at that time.

Bojju served as 'Fatwari' for three years. He became 'Sarpanch' of Statutory Panchayat in 1952 which he held for 18 years. He was also a member of Zilla Parishad for 12 years staring from 1960.

He is one of the progressive farmers and availed the institutional finance facilities for digging 2 irrigation
wells by securing subsidy from both Block and Tahsil Offices besides borrowing cash and kind from the Multi-purpose cooperative society.

The case study of Dhrupa Jayawanta Rao, a tribal of Pochamloddi village shows how as illiterate taught upto V and VII standards in Urdu and Marathi with a simultaneous training as teacher could successfully avail new job opportunities and rise upto the Senior Inspector Grade in Cooperative Department.

After training, he started a school for tribal children in 1943 and served as teacher for 3 years. In 1946 he became a clerk in the Cooperative Department and after serving for 13 years secured promotion as Junior Inspector and subsequently as Senior Inspector within a span of 4 years.

Besides he has been a successful agriculturist owning about 40 acres of inherited land and 19 acres of regularised 'Forampoke' cultivation for which he could secure a 'Patta' between 1962 and 1966. He is also utilising institutional finance by borrowing from Zilla Kendra Sahakar Bank, Adilabad for agricultural purposes. Being a progressive farmer improved techniques of cultivation like use of improved paddy seed was adopted by him.
Araka Tukaram of Luxettipet studied up to 6th class and was concurrently trained as 'Patwari' in Marlavai training institute. He had undergone training in Survey training in Collectorate, Adilabad. He served as Patwari until 1967 and resigned in favour of his brother because of indifferent health. In 1973 he was elected as member of Shampur statutory Gram Panchayat.

About 23 acres of land was assigned to him under Laoni Khas and 'Porampoke' cultivation of another 5 acres of land was regularised by the issue of 'Patta' in 1972.

He is one of the progressive farmers among tribals who even attempted to cultivate sugar cane, a newly introduced commercial crop in the area. He regularly borrows from District Cooperative Central Bank, Adilabad. While the revenue Department gave him subsidy for irrigation well, the former Multipurpose Block authorities gave him an oil engine for facilitating lifting water for irrigation purpose some 20 years back (1956). Chemical Fertilizer is also frequently utilised by him.

The case of Araka Manik Rao of Luxettipet is typical in the sense that he is the only Marlavai training Institute trained 'Patwari' who was dismissed from service on charges of corruption.
Using improved seeds and fertiliser in agriculture are some of the progressive practices adopted by him. Land to the extent of 23 acres was assigned to him in 1944 under Laoni Khas besides assigning 'Fatta' for another 10 acres of 'Kharis Khata' land cultivated by him in 1962. He could also purchase another 6 acres of land from a tribal.

Kanaka Hannu of Marlavai is one of the earliest Gond Teachers trained at Marlavai training centre where he concurrently attained proficiency in Urdu, Marathi and Gondi upto III, V and III standards respectively. He was the first to start a school for tribal children immediately after his training in 1353F.(1944). He also belonged to the first batch of adult Gonds to learn reading and writing taught at Marlavai Training Centre before they were assigned the task of organising a new school for the spread of literacy among tribal children. As teacher he attended five refresher courses of one month's duration each. He served for 24 years as school teacher at the end of which opted for retirement because of failing eye sight.

He has been an active cooperator also. The Marlavai 'Dehi Bank' or Cooperative Bank was started by him in 1945-46 and continued as its secretary for 20 years. As elected Secretary of the Agricultural Credit Society, Jairtoor branch of Adilabad district Cooperative Central Bank, he served for 2 years.
Hannu is also one of the progressive farmers and secured Laoni Khas assignment of 25 acres in 1944 besides 20 acres of 'Kharij Khata' and 5 acres of 'Porampoke' cultivation was also regularised by issue of 'Patta' in his name in 1966. In addition his son, who is living with him also secured 5 acres of 'Khariji Khata' land on Patta in 1966.

He has been utilising institutional finance besides borrowing small amounts from non-tribal money lender every now and then. Being a progressive farmer, one irrigation well was sunk by him with the help of loan secured from Tribal Development Block Office in 1960 and has been using chemical fertiliser and improved seeds as and when available.

The case studies of tribals trained in Marlavai training centre show that the centre could equip the tribals with skills necessary for adopting to changing administrative, political and economic situations. Moreover none of them were rooted out from their native moorings in the process of the ever changing circumstances. This is especially significant that within a span of 5 years after the initiation of development programmes, both the State level and district level administrations underwent radical changes in the wake of police action.
in 1948 and the consequent merger of Nizam's dominions in the Indian Union. Later in 1952 new system of planning with more comprehensive programmes and larger outlays were initiated as part of national strategy of planned development. Again in 1956, a part of the areas of tribal concentration was brought under Multipurpose Project specially oriented towards tribal development. This multipurpose approach dovetailed into the Tribal Development Block with two blocks carved out to serve larger areas of tribal concentration in the III Five Year Plan period. As part of the programme of Democratic Decentralisation, the tribals' participation was ensured more realistically in programme evolving and implementation by the constitution of Statutory Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samithi and Zilla Parishad at village, Block and District level with election as the fundamental principle of manning the institutions throwing new responsibilities and requiring knowledge of complicated and complex rules and regulations in the discharge of their duties as non-official development functionaries. Further, the train of development brought in its trail, large number of non-tribals as official functionaries, non-official leaders and a host of common people in search of livelihood as traders, cultivators etc.
The cream of leadership developed at the grass roots level to face and participate in a smaller programme of development comprehending the Good Education Scheme, Cooperative movement, stabilisation of land for cultivation and introducing the tribal to administrative responsibilities at grass roots level has achieved its purpose in making them shoulder greater responsibilities and in preparing them to face keener competition successfully as village officers, members of Panchayat Raj Institutions and as land holders and cultivators.

As is evident from the case studies, except one all others could persist with their jobs. Even the one who was dismissed as 'Patwari' served for about two decades. One tribal who was originally trained as teacher could shift his job to cooperative Development and rise up to Senior Inspector cadre even though his educational qualification remained at upper primary level. Almost all the former members of Panchayats constituted under Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulation 1948 could successfully adopt the new system of Panchayati Raj based on the principle of adult franchise and election as demonstrated by their election to various bodies of the democratic institutions.

Further, the spirit of cooperative movement instilled in them through the organisation of Cooperative Credit Societies gave them the necessary grounding in the
utilisation of institutional finance. Eventhough the original institutions have been superceded by new sources of credit, the grounding received stood them in good stead in the utilisation of institutional credit i.e., loans from Block, Tahasil, District Cooperative, Central Bank etc., that too for productive purposes such as purchase of Oil Engines for lift irrigation, digging of irrigation wells etc.

It is also interesting to note that none of these tribal elite lost their lands to non-tribals except in one case who alienated only two acres of land even though all of them are holders of sizeable chunks of land. In many cases they secured extra pieces of land by successfully getting regularised their 'Porampoke' encroachments.

As part of their learning and job training they were also taught improved agricultural practices in the training centre. This training in improved agricultural practices must have helped many of them in adopting new techniques of agriculture such as use of chemical fertilisers, improved seeds, water engines etc.

In general it can be safely concluded that the initial development could fruitfully throw out a band of tribal elite. But its impact on larger masses of tribals may not be far reaching and sizeable as it was initiated
on a small scale that too on an experimental basis.
With this discussion on the initial phase of development,
the second phase of development of a larger magnitude
will be discussed in the next chapter.