The discussion in the preceding chapters shows that the planning processes for the development of tribal areas of Adilabad has so far passed through three broad stages. These three stages are given below:
1. Land Assignment
2. Education scheme with the teaching of the 3 R's and training of tribals as teachers, patels etc.
3. Initiating Co-operative movement through Grain Galas and providing institutional finance.
4. Protective shield

1944-51

1. Planning at three levels
   a) Macro
   b) Meso
   c) Micro
   2. Integration in programme formulation, administration, finances and area
   3. Determination of tribal level of development and formulation of schemes aimed at bridging the development gap between tribals and plains people
   4. Establishment of I.T.D.A. for identified areas in a district; Growth Centre approach with micro level planning.
   5. Fool proof protective shield

1966-73

1. Strengthening of existing education
2. Sectoral Planning
3. Emphasis on child education
4. Protective shield

1974 to date

HOLISTIC APPROACH

BLOCK APPROACH

INTEGRATED APPROACH
In the first stage the problems of tribals were tackled with a holistic approach, involving assignment of lands, preparing a tribal elite to man posts at village level through training and instilling in the tribal a sense of co-operation so as to provide the necessary support for future economic activities.

The next stage was the Community Development era during which the Block, as the line unit of development, was initiated with a schematic budget and sectoral planning as per the uniform all India model. Planning became highly centralised without ever trying to study the tribal social system as a distinct entity with contours of its own interacting within the limits of its own local ecology.

The third stage was the integrated and sub-plan approach period into which much intellectual thinking and methodological importation have gone. Planning from below with Block, Integrated Tribal Development Project Area and all identified areas of tribal concentration in State as micro, meso and macro level units of planning respectively was expected to result in accelerated tribal development. Christeller's Growth Centre concept was imported as the nucleus of micro level planning.

In its operational and functional aspects and in the tribal development context the Growth Centre Theory suffers from the following defects.
1) The diffusion of development benefits in the hinterland of a Growth Centre unleashes a series of growth impulses; the uniformity of which may be area bound rather than beneficiary bound and the intended benefits may be sapped by exploitative non-tribal elements. Moreover, the spread effects of Growth Centres are diluted more and more as they percolate from the centre to the tribal sub-stratum on the periphery and in so doing defeats the purpose for which the Growth Centre was established.

2) The Growth Centre, as originally conceived preserves a static socio-economic situation based on the services proposed to encourage accelerated development. But viewed from the point of existing development dynamics a new dynamism may, from the angle of area requirement and the people's receptive capacity give rise to two mutually contradictory situations. It may be too slow or inadequate from the former angle or too fast or too complex from latter, especially if the receipient population happens to be a primitive tribal group. As B.D. Sharma (1976) rightly observed "since the emphasis is very often on what is existing, without appreciating the socio-economic processes in the past the snap view at any particular point of time may result in promoting developmental activity in these points which may have ubiquitous distribution."*

3) The Growth Centre approach suffers from another fallacious assumption that indigenous socio-economic processes throw out Growth Centres as a natural consequence of a people's requirement and an area's demands. But the subsistence economy of the tribal in which individual wants and family demands are limited to and satisfied by what is available in the immediate neighbourhood does not rely on the flow of goods and services distributed at a far away centre. The situation may still continue to be fluid even after years of development programmes in the area, if the programme content is inadequate to generate new and higher level wants. This is evident from the results of the Growth Centre exercise undertaken in the Visakhapatnam I.T.D.P. No middle order or higher order centres could be identified in the region covered by Pedabayalu, Muchingput, and G. Madgula T.D. Block areas since no adequate level of policy functions were available for any of the tribal settlements in the region. In spite of about 20 years of planned development preceding the time of the Growth Centre exercise, these areas still constitute a pre-Growth Centre stage of socio-economic development.

4) Another extreme situation may also show up in the identification process of Growth Centres if the development preceding the exercise has not been rationally distributed as per the people's and the areas' natural
requirements. Because of considerations of executive convenience and/or of leadership pressures, policy functions are often established without relevance to their spread effect resulting in the springing up of artificial and purposeless Growth Centres. The I.T.D.P. exercises undertaken by the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad revealed many such artificial Growth Centres many of those either identified in the immediate vicinity of one another or are concentrated in one part of the region or sub-region so that modifications to the Growth Centre approach have had to be made.

5) The concept of Growth Centres assumes people's movement towards a static trade or service centre (where policy functions are established). But it fails to recognise a reverse process in which both traders and policy functions operate on the doorstep of the beneficiary; in such situations actual locations is of no consequence as people need not come to the service centre to satisfy their wants. In tribal areas the itinerant trader, carpenter, blacksmith etc., and the Government Medical Unit, Veterinary Dispensary, Post Office, D.R. Depot etc. do most of their business "on wheels", in dispersed settlements without any relevance to Growth Centres.
6) The small and isolated settlements, or sparse population inhabiting forested hills and valleys which are typical of tribal topography erect hurdles in the use of the sophisticated tools of the Growth Centre theory (Population threshold, range of goods, growth centre, hinterland etc.).

7) The Growth Centre is purely an economic concept devoid of sociological bearings. There is no built-in system whereby the human implications of the diffusion of innovations could be taken care of; this is especially so in the context of primitive tribes where to ensure smooth programme execution the cultural barriers and the carriers of development processes must be properly identified.

8) The Growth Centre theory fails to take cognizance of the different perception levels of the multiple recipient groups in the hinterland. Consequently, the spread effect will not be uniform; the more receptive groups corner the benefits to the detriment of the less receptive groups. Thus the presumption that uniform growth impulses will be generated by a Growth Centre only holds good in the case of correctly identified Growth Centres and in areas having homogenous populations of a more or less uniform level of development.
Nevertheless, the Growth Centre can be a useful tool in gauging the people's requirements in terms of services and for systematising the level of these services, the area of their operation and their functional aspects.

In general, the era of directed change shows that whether development is conducted according to the principles based on Community Development or Integrated Area Development (with the Growth Centres for micro level planning, Minimum Needs Programme or any other concept) individual case studies must preced the adoption of policies based on experiments carried and in alien environments without a full realisation of their suitability for the prevailing regional, local, human and ecological situation. It has been pointed out that "Many half-baked theories have been advanced, ad hoc projects or schemes conceived and implemented, sporadic and isolated attempts launched and landed but the problem continues to elude solution." Consequently, planning has failed to equip, arouse and motivate the innate local forces so that ideas on tribal development could generate from below and thus sustain the development effort.

The multi-purpose approach adopted throughout has resulted in dilution of human, developmental and financial effort. Consequently, no justice could be done

to any sector. The target sector approach that came into vogue with Community Development resulted in the definition of targets in terms of quantity but ignored the quality of human life. Development indicators have become simple quantitative averages without any reference to the qualitative level of day to day living.

To obviate these shortcomings it is essential to build a model according to local tribal bias having the following characteristics.

1) Planning with built-in flexibility to facilitate moulding to suit local conditions.
2) Setting clear cut objectives based on realistic estimates: (a) financial (b) physical and (c) manpower resources.
3) Stage setting for the building up of programmes aimed at laying a sound base, the structuring of a middle strata and stabilising the super structure.
4) Evolving a leadership based on the local power structure.
5) Comprehending inter-sectoral linkages so as to avoid a lopsided approach and thereby initiate balanced development.
6) Instilling a spirit of planning and development in the bureaucracy.
7) Arousing people's enthusiasm by making them plan conscious.
8) Emphasizing conscious investment and programme-pattern orientation so as to remove prevailing group and regional imbalances i.e., touching every section of population with heavier investments and special measures programmed for the lower strata of the population.

Bearing in mind these criteria, the following model is suggested. In broad outline, it is essentially a Five-tier structure with each rung indicating specific action.

I Exploratory work
II Infrastructure Building
III Productive Activity
IV Stabilising Activity
V Self Generating Activity

Stage I envisages the taking of a resource inventory, both natural and human together with a listing of available services and the areas they serve.

Based on this study the leadership, administrative and development infrastructure is to be built up as per the unit of development delineated in the study. The temporal aspect of the project is also to be decided on the basis of the study. This basic study is very important in the sense that it identifies the occupational status of the population, the inter-group variations of levels of living, the major problems to be tackled, the cultural contours of the region and the carriers of and barriers to development etc.
With these study results, the following three phased planning activities may be undertaken:

**Primary Planning Activity:**
1. Area group identification; preparing resource inventory
2. Collection of data on:
   a) Cultural Standards of living
   b) Indicators of economic development
3. Studying cultural barriers to and carriers of the development process.

**Secondary Planning Activity:**
4. Prevailing development situation analysis
5. Structuring macro-strategy on the basis of:
   a) resources endowment
   b) cultural and economic contours
   c) mobilisation of finances
7. Sectoral projections with inter-sectoral linkages.
8. Framing the administrative Structure.

**Tertiary Planning Activity:**
9. Formulation of action programmes
10. Implementation

The next stage has three distinct actions:
1. organising the necessary administrative infrastructure,
2. promoting suitable leadership to ensure the people's participation
3. laying of the necessary infrastructure
(roads, electricity, buildings etc.,) so that the infrastructure serves as a spring board for the productive activity planned for the next stage. The most important of the infrastructure segments is the political aspect.

It is increasingly argued that tribalisation is the only solution to build up a healthy and progressive type of leadership in the tribal areas of Adilabad. The Raj'Gonds being a princely tribe have a natural flair for leadership. Further, their four fold phratry organisation has a regional or area leadership implication. The successive Muslim, Maratha and even the latter Nizam's hegemony have perpetuated feudal institutions such as 'Rajah', 'Deshmukh', and 'Mokashi'. It goes without saying that these feudal lords as has been already explained in the 3rd chapter, enjoyed all pervasive powers similar to those of any other traditional leaders with hereditary rights ever the areas of their influence. The following diagram explains the taluqwise-phratraywise distribution of the traditional social divisions and associated power structure of the Gonds.
Belonging to a particular phratry.

Note: Figures in parenthesis indicate the number of traditional power centres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taluqs</th>
<th>Phratry</th>
<th>Figures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adilabad</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phratry</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asifabad</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phratry</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boath</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phratry</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanapur</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utnoor</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phratry</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athlabad</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ADILABAD TRIBAL AREA
Phratrywise Distribution of Traditional Power Among GONDS of ADILABAD

- 6 Brother Phratry
- 7 Brother Phratry
- 4 Brother Phratry
- 5 Brother Phratry
The traditional power structure centres on the 6 brother phratry (see the Pie diagram), with 18 out of the 26 seats of traditional power (Mokashis', 'Deshmukhs', 'Rajas' etc.) belonging to this phratry; within the phratry, the seats of power mostly belong to the Atram and Kotnaka clans.

In spatial distribution, about half of the centres of power are located in Utnoor (14 seats), which is the heart of tribal tract of Adilabad, followed by Asifabad (5 seats), Adilabad (3 seats), Boath (2 seats), Khanapur and Luxettipet (one seat each). This indicates the fairly wide distribution of the traditional power structure. In the panchayats constituted on the basis of nomination under Tribal Areas Regulation, 1949, most of the Panchayats were presided over by traditional leaders belonging to these power centres. It seems, therefore, that it would be advisable to use the traditional power structure to build up a political infrastructure for the implementation of the Development Programmes in the respective regions.

The third stage where the intervention agents (development personnel) activities will be widely spread and all pervasive, is the most crucial of all. It is here that programme formulation and execution are to be carefully
The productive activities centre mainly round the following aspects:

1. Development of Traditional Occupations
2. Development of Tribal Manpower
3. Development of Social Services
4. Development of Industrial potential

The traditional occupations of the tribes of Adilabad centered round agriculture and pastoralism, the latter assumes special significance in the case of the Banjaras as they are traditionally pastoralists who have only recently adopted settled agriculture as their main occupation.

Manpower Planning assumes special significance in two ways in the tribal areas of Adilabad. Firstly, the level of literacy is very low. Secondly, the traditional occupational base, agriculture, is of overwhelming importance. It is therefore imperative that efforts should be made to assist a diversification of the tribal occupational base and help them to improve and restructure the traditional occupational base according to modern principles of production. Quality of tribal manpower is to be improved and encouragement given to the acquisition of new skills.
The social services sector has a vital role to play in catalysing productive activity in the area. The other three segments, viz., traditional occupation, industrialisation and manpower development must depend heavily and in turn contribute to the success of the social services segment. The success of this sector actually determines the evolution of a satisfactory quality of human life.

In the future, industrialisation will determine the level of economic and commercial development in the area. The rich cotton growing lands and mineral deposits contained in the tribal belt provide for the extension of cottage and large scale industry.

The tribal areas of Adilabad are placed in a paradoxical situation. The agro-forest and mineral resources are located in the tribal areas and even today the few industries based on these raw materials are either located in the fringe or in the heart of the tribal areas. Thus modern industrialisation processes have come to stay in the tribal areas. However, the involvement and economic benefit derived by the tribals has remained at the barest minimum. According to a survey of Tribal Manpower Utilisation carried out in Adilabad district, no tribal

* Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute-- Study of Tribal Manpower Resources, Adilabad District, 1977.*
INDEX
I. EXPLORATORY
II. INFRASTRUCTURE
III. PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY
1. Industrialisation
   a. Major
   b. Small scale
   c. Cottage
2. Development of traditional livelihood
   a. Agriculture
   b. Irrigation
   1. Improved inputs
   2. Institutional finance
   3. Improved & sophisticated equipment
   c. Animal Husbandry
      1. Dairy Development
      2. Improved Breeding & Veterinary Aid
      3. Pasture Development
   d. Forestry & Fishing
      1. MFP Cashew Coffee plantation usufructright
      2. Fishing
      3. Marketing of agro-forest produce and daily requirement
3. Development of man power
   a. mineral agro forest based large scale industries
   b. To improve knowledge skill in improved methods of agriculture, animal husbandry etc.
   c. To promote cottage & small scale industry
   d. To utilise enlarged employment opportunities in Govt. schemes
4. Development of social facilities
   a. Education
   b. Health
   c. Communications
   d. Electricity
IV. STABILISING ACTIVITY
V. SELF-GENERATING ACTIVITY
   Intervention Agents Development personnel Activity
is employed in any responsible technical or administrative position in any of the industries located in the district. The tribal remains steeped in poverty amidst the plenty of developing industry. This also indicated the lopsided nature of a development in which industrialisation has outpaced tribal manpower development.

It is therefore imperative to recognise the functional inter-linkages of the four segments described and within the segments the various inter-sectoral linkages. The functional model depicting the various inter-segmental and inter-sectoral linkages is given on the opposite page.

The fourth stage is the consolidation stage during which certain development lags noticed or missing links observed are smoothed out and filled in so that by wiping out local area and group imbalances a reasonably uniform level of development is achieved. With this stabilising action tribal society becomes self reliant with minimal dependence upon outside agencies. Extension education will at this level reach saturation point.

The fifth stage is the ideal self-generating stage when plan formulation, financing and executive action all generate from within the society. The Society through community action becomes self reliant in skills, knowledge, resource mobilisation, programme formulation and execution.
Lastly, it is increasingly realised that human behaviour is conditioned by territorial considerations and that human perception, expression etc., all have an integrative relationship with the ecology. Consequently, the man-environment interaction complex gives rise to human territorial behaviour which according to Greverus* "refers to a defined territory which guarantees the experiencing subject security, activity, and identity, and which is regarded as an area of possession and defence."

Area bound human behaviour expresses itself in social control institutions, social unit distribution and a ritual performance zone. The politico-regional implication of the traditional power structure and the social structure of the Gond region of Adilabad District as already discussed demonstrates the need for keeping in view the socio-power factor in delienating the area of development. This could be further strengthened and rationalised by adding the ritual component so that it becomes a comprehensive politico-socio-religious unit of development.