Pre-independence approach to tribal development was ameliorative in the sense that, the various programmes and legislations that were implemented and enacted during this period were meant to mitigate tribals' suffering and prevent exploitation from outside, without however attempting to strengthen his economic base or promoting his economic status with systematic development approach. The years preceding the planning era witnessed the beginning of the welfare approach with programmes of development sporadically implemented in the absence of systematic and comprehensive programme of development both at State and National levels. The phrases
'welfare approach' and 'welfare administration' indicate the policy evolved and machinery established to implement the policy by the welfare state. However, no valid or standardised definition of a welfare state itself is forthcoming. Very broadly the welfare approach comprises of the whole gamut of policy and programme of action of a welfare state. According to S.P. Aiyar "the expression welfare state rings a different bell in the minds of different people." From the point of view 'average man' Heald gives the following minimum functions of a welfare state"**. "A civil community in which the instrumentalities and the authority of government are employed to establish, maintain and guarantee to its citizens certain specific conditions of physical and sociological protection, beneficial services and institutionalised opportunities that are considered to be essential to the general public welfare of the state and to the corresponding personal well-being of each citizen"**. Since India attained independence in 1947 it became a welfare state guaranteeing equal opportunities to all its citizens and took special steps to alleviate the suffering of the weaker sections besides promoting their well being through the opening of a number of educational, health and other institutions and the whole approach became a welfare approach. The welfare approach was systematised

* Aiyar, S.P. Ed. Perspectives on the welfare state, Bombay, Manaktala & Sons, 1966. preface P.V.
**Ibid P.133.
and the constructive and systematic stage of this welfare approach began with the initiation of community development programmes in 1952.

However in the tribal areas of Hyderabad, especially Adilabad district the approach initiated in 1944 by Prof. Haimendorf for the amelioration of exploitation and suffering of tribals with a positive development oriented programme of action was also continued between 1948 and 1952 as will be discussed in the succeeding chapters. It is since 1952 that planning as a tool for systematic development was first initiated in the country.

The era of planned development in the first four plan periods was development intensive, that is, the period was marked with various programmes of action intended for laying a sound economic and social infrastructure such as roads, developing land, opening hospitals and schools besides extending irrigation facilities for stabilizing agriculture and introducing improved practices of agriculture. The development approach however was not adequate to trigger off economic activity of an order that would result in a self supporting and self generating economic system. It was only from the beginning of Fifth Plan that a concrete growth oriented approach was adopted with the intention of promoting economic activity with investments intended for
systematic exploitation of natural resources and creating the necessary atmosphere so that within the next five or ten years the tribal areas would not only catch up with more advanced areas but also generate growth impulses in the area that have vital bearing on state and national economies. The whole process of development involved the enunciation and defining of a number of concepts and terminologies with the changing plan strategies from one plan to another. It is therefore found imperative to discuss these concepts and terminologies that are specific and relevant to the present study. These include from such general and all pervasive concepts like 'plan' to specific activity oriented concepts like 'Community Health Worker', 'Village Level Worker' or 'Village Development Officer' etc.

Now coming to the basic concept 'Plan' it is in the simplest meaning of the term a blueprint for achieving desired changes in a society within the shortest possible time with correct investments linked to specific programmes of development. In this context planning is both a micro level and macro level activity. From the digging of a simple irrigation or drinking water well to the construction of a gigantic irrigation project of national importance or a sophisticated system of protected water supply for a metropolitan city may be preceded by a series of independent plan formations at
micro level or smaller units of planning of a comprehensive and complex whole evolved and executed at national, state, regional, district, or Block level and each becoming a macro or micro unit with sometimes an intermediate unit at meso level depending upon the level at which macro planning unit or micro level planning unit is located.

The first blueprint of Indian planning, namely, the First Year Plan describes that "in practice an economy guided and directed by the State and operated partly through direct State action and partly through private initiative and effort" is what is meant by planning in the Indian context. It is thus clear that 'change is to be brought about by means of rationally coordinated State actions'. As Gunnar Myrdal says these actions are oriented towards modernization ideology and as the modernization ideology spreads changes in almost every respect beyond the purely 'economic' come to be regarded as themselves desirable goals for policy. The ultimate causation is circular in the sense that economic development would tend to improve the non economic conditions also. "Finally National Planning in India based on a Coordinated approach to economic and Social Problems—

1. India, Government of Planning Commission First Five Year Plan a Draft Outline, New Delhi 1951 PP 23 to 24.
the problem is not one of developing resources in a narrow technical sense but of improving the quality of human life and of building up an institutional frame work adequate to the wider ends in view.* As the tribal areas are brought within the fold of planned development this also holds good in the context of planning for tribal development in the country.

Apart from the area and financial aspect of the planning system, the directing and directed systems are also important adjuncts of any planning process. The directing system comprises the net work of administrative structure, the policies, the personnel manning the posts, the norms, the yard sticks etc., that have a positive role to play in evolving and executing plans. The directed system on the other hand consists of the identified recipient group and area that are the objects of development programmes. The community based cultural barriers and carriers play no less a role in the ultimate success or failure of the programme intended for the group.

Planning is meant for change. But the programmed change has a set direction, destination and duration. Thus the change proposed to be achieved during a plan period is controlled and directed to suit the larger

national goals and objectives of the prevailing political system. The change proposed may be at the level of the individual, the family, the neighbourhood, the village, the small group, the Block or any other group or area of development specifically identified for the purpose. Consequently, it may also be region bound. Further, the change envisaged through planning is linked to a system where group, regional and national interests are more prominent rather than individual's interest. Moreover, it is also directed from without. Consequently, it is called 'Directed Change'.

Change may occur in two ways - Change from within and without. If the change has been motivated and organised from within a group due to inter-play of internal factors and agents it is called change from within. When the motivation for change in a group is due to inter-play of external agents and factors it is called, change from without.

Again from the recipient attitude view change may be categorised into voluntary and involuntary. If the group is favourably motivated for change it is called voluntary, if not it is involuntary. Involuntary change is otherwise known as forced change which is characteristic of a totalitarian system where group and individual preferences are subservient to the interests of the ruling authority.
Different words and phrases have been coined in different countries and by different groups for indicating varied processes of change initiated through various systems. For example Meier describes the four aspects of 'Fomentarian Revolution' initiated through a remarkable institution called 'Fomento' in Puerto Rico.

The four aspects of the process highlight political consensus, human resource development, international bargaining capacity and ability to effect sufficient culture change as given below:

1) Some kind of political consensus in the society with widely shared vision of the future and an image of the way in which the society can move towards its future usually led by a charismatic leader for inspiring a large number of people sometimes followed by a succession of leaders. However, a new type of leadership may be necessary which is more sober, less dramatic and with a clearer and more realistic vision.

2) The stress that it lays on education and the development of human resources.

3) The skill to strike clever bargains with foreign capitalists.

4) The most difficult of all to establish is the ability to effect a sufficient culture change at the level of the individual, the family, the neighbourhood, and the small group so that the aims of development can be reasonably permanent and acceptable to society.

The strategy here is to attempt a 'drive to higher level of living, of national self respect and of greater freedom of choice in cultural affairs'.

While the 'Fomentarian Revolution' aims at mobilisation of available resources to reach fixed targets at the same time it makes "a calculated effort towards removing impediments to economic, social and cultural growth." ** But planning as originally conceived did not envisage removal of traditional constraints on resource mobilisation and utilisation. It is therefore to be construed as one aspect of plan function rather than as a comprehensive definition of planning.

It is generally agreed that it is difficult to define Planning activity as it covers a broad range of activities. To quote Meier * again it may refer (1) to a set of theoretical procedures that conform to the socialist ideologies, 2) to the practice of resource allocation and programming of production as typified in

* Ibid P.X.
the Soviet Union, 3) to the use of long range forecasting devices and administrative controls in large organisations, in order to avoid pitfalls and prevent substantial losses over the long run, and 4) to orderly exploration of alternative paths of action by Government, such as those undertaken specifically by military staffs who test proposed alternatives by laying out the logistics and making assessments of feasibility.

A critical examination of the above mentioned planning activities provides a deeper insight into the genesis and range and ideological ingredients of planning systems. The main objection to planning as originally conceived and successfully implemented in the Soviet Union is that it lacks incentives to motivate a poorly educated people to produce an increasing agricultural surplus i.e., commodities which can be exported to the urban sector. It is described as a totalitarian system that has little scope for individual initiative and consequently an adverse effect on output. In contrast, the Socialist contention against the Capitalist system is that it permits the rich to become richer and the down trodden more down trodden, ultimately resulting in a class conflict between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'.

The Indian system of planning on the other hand draws its inspiration both from Russian and Western
Systems with a tilt towards the former in tune with the avowed national objective of establishing an egalitarian society. But the political system that adopted the socialist ideology of the Soviet type is entirely different from that of the Soviet system as the Indian system is a democratic system and instrumentality of socialist pattern is adopted to achieve a peaceful transformation from a society ridden with social, economic and religious inequality to an egalitarian society where all citizens irrespective of caste, creed and religion are provided equal opportunities in the process of development. Further, to safeguard the interests of traditionally weaker sections special constitutional privileges and concessions are provided and legislations enacted besides affording development programmes for their uplift. True to the principles of socialist pattern of society, the interests of weaker sections have been promoted by providing a protective shield and the simultaneous initiation of development programmes. The protective and productive measures are expected to remove the traditional constraints on the economy and social life of these weaker sections while at the same time accelerating their growth through the implementation of a series of specially evolved development programmes so that within the shortest time and fastest pace possible the social and economic inequalities could be wiped out. The Indian system of socialist society is different from the Soviet
system in the sense that the Indian type is democratic socialism where people's participation and favourable motivation are pre-requisite for the success of the programme.

Since India opted for planned development with a Five Year period as the limit of time for programme implementation and financial allocation during which set physical and financial targets are to be achieved, a series of new concepts and strategies have been adopted for tribal development. The First Five Year Plan was rightly intended for starting exploratory and experimental community development blocks in selected areas and eight such Blocks were started in tribal areas of Assam along with other non-tribal areas in the country.

The concept of Community Development means the process by which a community adopts itself to change through the instrumentality of an outside agency (Community Development Block) which tries to help the process of change and to accelerate it. As the definition of the concept of Community Development indicates, peoples' participation and favourable motivation are pre-requisite. Otherwise it unleashes a process of community resistance instead of development. Peoples' participation was mooted as two-fold process of participation in programme formulation and implementation by way of discussions
through their representatives besides materially contributing for its execution. The initial step in tribal development, a priori, is thus intended for helping the tribals to adapt themselves to change through the process of diffusion of innovations for improving their life while preserving their native cultural forms. The community project was the first structural innovation in the shape of a pilot scheme intended to test the performance, suitability and receptivity of the C.D. programme implemented in an identified area. This was succeeded by National Extension Service (NES) which was mainly intended for preparing the people to receive the benefits of intensive development of its successor community development block with basic organisation, official and non official and minimum financial provision for development. "Extension Education" is the main tool of development and it aims at changing "the attitudes and practices of the people with whom the work is done".* Extension methods comprise, direct contact, result, demonstration, working with village leaders, village group action, audio-visual aids, tours, songs and drama, specimen models, exhibits and information centres.

In continuation of this Community Development approach which was implemented through N.E.S. Blocks, and to further experiment on the programme suitability for tribal way of life, native ecology etc., under varied conditions of ethnic and geophysical diversity, the Multipurpose Projects (M.P.P.) were introduced embodying a multifaceted development effort for all round development of tribals and in the process experiment in terms of response, receptivity and geoethnic and cultural factors of the tribals besides making the tribal plan conscious. The M.P.P. was an improvement upon its predecessor National Extension Service Block, in area coverage, larger allocations and programme content, the population content being reduced from 66,000 to 25,000 with an area of about 200 sq. miles.

On the basis of the experience gained and recommendations of the renowned anthropologist Verrier Elwin the concept of Multipurpose Project was further expanded into the Tribal Development Block concept of the III Five Year Plan. Retaining the staff pattern, schematic budget and sectoral approach besides the Tribal Development Grant from Ministry of Home and Community Development Ministry, the Tribal Development Block approach envisaged more number of Tribal Development Blocks, covering all areas of tribal concentration.
Another innovative feature of the III plan, as part of the overall strategy of increasing food production, was the introduction of village and farm production plans. "The village production plan will include programmes categorised as those that could be executed by the individual farmer in his own farm, as for example, improved agricultural practices, multi-cropping, better management of land etc., and those that could be undertaken by groups of farmers or the village community as a whole like maintenance of field channels, soil conservation etc."

As a necessary corollary of village agriculture production plan, individual Farm Crop Production Plans (F.C.P.P.) were proposed. The F.C.P.P. is a package of recommendations for each crop specifying the variety of improved seed to be used, the kind and quantity of fertiliser and how it should be applied, the type of insecticide recommended including amount and time of application besides specifying the method of tillage and improved agricultural implements to be utilized. In short "it is a combination of practices-seeds, fertilizers, cultural practices, improved implements and use of insecticides and water that makes up a package of recommendations." To provide the necessary element of people's active participation, the Multipurpose Projects were having

* Ibid P.93
** Ibid P.96
a Project Advisory Committee comprising the sarpanchs of the existing Gram Panchayats and nominated representatives of the people. It was succeeded by the Panchayat Samithi a statutory body at the apex of the Tribal Development Block organisation.

The financial allocations of Multipurpose Projects were governed by a 'schematic pattern' according to which the range of schemes and the corresponding financial allocations were fixed.

In the fourth plan period there was loud thinking on the need for adopting an area or regional approach as corrective to the following two identified weaknesses of the Block approach.

The average tribal development block with a population of about 25,000 is much too small for providing several of the services which are essential for the fuller development of tribal people. Programmes like communications, irrigation, forestry, processing industries and vocational and secondary education could gain greatly from being planned in terms of some what larger areas. In many parts of the country, tribal economic problems lend themselves readily to an area or regional approach. In proceeding thus, it should be possible to cover the second major weakness of the programme, namely, its relatively small coverage in
relation to the total tribal population.*

Though the area concept was mooted in the fourth plan draft outline it could not be put into effective operation until the V plan period as no exercise was done at grass roots level. Consequently, by the end of IV Five Year Plan period the short comings of Tribal Development Block sectoral planning with schematic budgets had brought into light not only the glaring backwardness of tribal areas in comparison to non-tribal areas but also the variations in the levels of development between one tribal area and the other. Further, it is also realised that many of social service facilities are not percolating to the lower strata of population as the higher strata populations are sapping out the programme benefits by utilising higher social, economic and political positions to advantage.

Consequently, the fifth plan strategy has to blaze a new path in programme evolving and implementation process so that the interests of weaker sections are better served.

The result was that the thinking on the area approach crystallised into the full fledged integrated area development approach and a host of new concepts, techniques and tools of programme formulation and execution have been enunciated for the first time.

Integration is the most important concept and main constituent of the fifth plan strategy. Eschewing the previous practice of sectoral planning and schematic budget, the new approach seeks to replace it with the integrated approach. Integration involves recognition and establishment of both spatial and sectoral or functional inter linkages. The process requires identification of the area of operation of the plan on the basis of resource endowment and homogeniety in cultural practices and level of living as revealed in cultural and economic indicators that are specially evolved for the area.

Recognition of the principle of appropriate location of social and economic functions over a physical space is the basic tenet of the Integrated Area Development Approach. In such an identified area centres of development popularly known as 'Growth Centres' are identified so that correct investment at a right place results in generating uniform growth impulses throughout their respective hinterlands. The determinants of these growth centres are size of population, level of services already available, centripetal and centrifugal effect of the functions available in the centre and potential services to be established for serving the area better.
The location theorists maintain that in an area a hierarchy of settlements is delineable on the basis of the existing functions of various orders, specialisation and the extent of area served by them. A hinterland could be identified for each settlement in the hierarchy on the basis of the range of centripetal and centrifugal push and pull of the functions located in these settlements. The zone of influence of the settlements in the hierarchy will be directly proportionate to the level of functions located in each settlement. Consequently, the hierarchy comprises of a progressively increasing and more specialised functions resulting in different orders of central places having corresponding degree of specialisation in services.

The concept of central place was originally proposed by German geographer Christaller* which was subsequently modified by Berry, Baskin, and Garrison and others. The theory was first tested by Christaller in Southern Germany and by others in different parts of the world.

The previous experiments of location theorists have taken village as unit in the process of identifying growth centres. These villages have an identified area for settlement, livelihood activity and community activity with a market place providing the necessary consumer goods.

and outlet for disposing of the surplus village produce. However such villages do not always exist in tribal areas especially in this country a village as a unit of Revenue administration is different from census and panchayat nomenclatures. Invariably a village includes a number of satellite settlements, called, hamlets or 'Gudas' and these villages and 'Gudas' in turn are dependent upon usually a distant weekly market or Shandy place whose centripetal pull may extend upto 20 Kms. radius. Even this is actually a 'fair held once in a week in different places whose zones of influence overlaps without however, having a permanent or every day marketing activity. Another characteristic feature of these tribal settlements is lack of specialised traditional functions like washerman, barber, tailor, potter etc., as the tribal himself is his own barber and washerman. It is only in the context of policy functions that specialist services are provided at a place because of the activities of the various development blocks established in the area and these are very rarely utilised by the tribal. Another peculiar feature is that some of these main habitations which have permanent 'Kirana Shop' or tailors shops are invariably inhabited by non tribals. Consequently, it is the hamlet that has to be taken as unit of development and the growth centre approach envisaged in the Integrated Tribal Development Project (I.T.D.P.)
prepared for this district, the location of a specific service is intended for the hamlet, the main tribal habitation and not the main village.

The integration proposed is four dimensional—viz., administrative, area, financial and programme Administrative integration is proposed to be achieved by introducing a single line of command according to which "it is necessary to have a high level officer who can attend to numerous narrow specialisations in a broad group and who in his turn could be assisted by suitable staff".

The implementation of the integrated approach also includes identification of areas of tribal concentration. For this purpose three tier development units, viz., macro, meso and micro area are to be carved out for facilitating the implementation of programmes of appropriate size. A macro area comprises of geographically contiguous areas of tribal concentration, the tribal component of which is not less than 50%, the total population being 10 to 15 lakhs. The macro area thus cuts across district boundaries. A macro area in turn comprises of a number of meso areas constituted of geographically contiguous areas of 50% tribal concentration in each district with

*Working group on personnel policy for Tribal Areas, Task Force for Tribal Areas and Tribal Development in Fifth Plan Government of India Planning Commission.
the total population of each meso area ranging from 3 to 5 lakhs. There may be one or two meso areas in a district depending upon the size of the tribal population. However, the meso area should never cut across district boundaries. The smallest unit of development i.e., micro unit is the existing Tribal Development Block*

To facilitate the uniform percolation of development effort to the grass root level a network of growth centres are identified in each Tribal Development Block.

Sub plan is evolved to give aggregate of development effort at macro level for the fifth plan period. The main sources of finance for a sub plan are specially earmarked funds for identified programmes of State General Sector, State Tribal Welfare Sector, Central and Centrally Sponsored Programmes, Special Additional Central Assistance and Institutional Finance and the main thrust for development of investment comes from General Sector with Tribal Welfare and Special Central Assistance playing supplementary role by way of providing the missing inputs which is a reversal of the previous practice of Tribal Welfare Sector bearing the main brunt of the programme. The sub plan is thus a five year plan within a larger State Plan with identified area of operation, funds and programmes at the macro level. General sector and weaker

* In some of the states like West Bengal where tribal population is dispersed and compact areas with 50% tribal population could not be carved out sub Blocks are organised for affording tribal development.
sections sector are interrelated terms while former refers to the budgetary allocation of Departments other than social welfare (Tribal Welfare) the later refers to the allocation made by the Social Welfare (Tribal Welfare) Department.

It is for the first time, as part of the sub plan exercise comparative social and economic indicators have been evolved for sub plan area and State as a whole so as to establish the present level of development of tribal areas in comparison to State and bring out the development lag of the tribal areas with a view to plan programmes so that the tribal areas could jump the gap to a large extent within the next five years.

Thus financial integration is for the first time achieved by pooling all the resources in the shape of a sub plan at State Level and channelising them to the Integrated Tribal Development Agencies for implementing various development programmes in identified areas of tribal concentration in each district.

Integrated Tribal Development Project is the meso area plan for each of identified areas of tribal concentration in a district with 15 to 20 years perspective. The Integrated Tribal Development Projectwise disaggregation of programmes and finances of sub plan are the action plans
for the Integrated Tribal Development Projects so prepared for the V plan period. The sectoral programmes are evolved keeping in view the interlinkages between them and the development lag to be wiped out as revealed in the indicators. Group and sub-regional imbalances are identified within the Integrated Tribal Development Project areas and corrective programmes with additive finances are specially drawn so as to remove constraints on their development.

Special programmes are drawn up for primitive and isolated groups confined to isolated pockets. The criteria for declaring a group as primitive and isolated are pre-agricultural stage of living, less than 5% literacy rate and inaccessible habitation due to poor transport and communication facilities and the consequent isolation.

It is clearly laid down that the 'problem before us is as to how a meaningful picture of total development is to be woven out of the various sectoral programmes.' Instead of the previous practice of simple arithmetical summation of 'Sectoral Programmes' integration is proposed to be achieved by drawing up of Integrated Tribal Development giving total programme of development of the area which is again more than mere arithmetical summation. This involves the identification of organic linkages...
between one sector and the other and establishing the vital linkages in programme formulation and execution so that all the sectors provide the necessary balanced development by playing their respective roles in a coordinate fashion because of the unison in programme formulation and execution, the instrumentality for which is the Integrated Tribal Development Agency.

In the formulation of sectoral programmes also new concepts and tools have been introduced. In agriculture 'crop cafeteria' approach was adopted for bringing about qualitative shift. Evolved on the basis of climate, irrigation potential, soil, topographic, dietary and economic factors most of the cultivated area would be brought under double or even triple cropping and at the same time a variety of improved services and inputs like soil testing facilities, improved implements, pesticides, expert advice and guidance are offered to the tribal to achieve increased yields. Just as in cafeteria where a variety of eatables are available to choose according to one's own taste so also a variety of agricultural services and inputs are offered to farmer who can choose the most relevant service required for him, hence the term 'crop cafeteria'.

'Milk route' is a new concept introduced in the formulation of animal husbandry programmes. Instead of
the previous practice of distributing milch cattle in a scattered area, a minimum of 500 milch cattle are to be distributed to tribal families living in a contiguous belt in which a milk chilling centre is established for facilitating collection and storage of milk from the beneficiaries and transporting it to consumers. Thus the green revolution achieved through 'crop cafetaria' approach in agriculture is supplemented by the white revolution initiated through the distribution of package of services and inputs such as veterinary institutions, milch cattle, feed concentrates, improved breeding etc., in an identified area.

The study Team on working of Coop. Societies in Tribal Development Projects suggested the establishment of Large-size Multipurpose Societies (LAMPS) at Block Level to streamline cooperative structure. These are to be organised by converting some of the existing good working primary Coop. marketing societies/forest coop. marketing societies or by organising new societies by amalgamating good working primary societies in the area. The existing good working primary credit societies which merge with the LAMPS may become the depots or branches of the LAMPS. The function of these primary societies will be provision of short and medium term agricultural production credit, consumption credit, supply of inputs, distribution of
consumer goods and marketing of agricultural and minor forest produce.

Besides these concepts employed in evolving production oriented programmes, new concepts have also been introduced in human resource development. 'Community Health Worker' is the latest innovation in extending medical facilities to remote and isolated tribal areas. Due to inaccessibility and apathy, medical aid neither percolates nor the inhabitants try to reach for it. Further, there is need for bridging the communication gap between the modern doctor and the ignorant tribal confined to the fastness of mountainous regions. Even the mobile medical units are not in a position to reach these villages due to inaccessibility. An itinerary medical personnel belonging to the local group with basic educational qualification is mooted for training in fundamentals of health and hygiene besides equipping him with necessary knowledge of certain basic drugs used in curing minor ailments and diseases. He will act as an intermediary between the qualified doctor and the needy tribal playing the role of a promoter for motivating the tribal, and attending to his basic medical needs.

The most important concept which aimed at building up social capital is the 'Minimum Needs Programme'.
Social investment mainly aims at improving the lot of the low status and poverty stricken groups who usually suffer from unemployment or under employment. The Fifth Plan being committed for removal of poverty therefore evolved such strategies and techniques of production that would make maximum participation of 'Weaker Sections' possible and at the same time ensure them maximum benefit from the social consumption programmes.

* Weaker sections used in the context of referring to the lower strata of Hindu caste system such as Harijans and other backward castes besides the tribes who are defenceless against exploitation. Art. 46 of the Constitution lays down that it is States responsibility to promote with special care the economic and educational interests of these weaker sections especially the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward sections of the society. To afford protection from exploitation and provide opportunities in education and employment besides political and economic safeguards certain groups of lower strata are declared as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the provisions.

Scheduled Tribes: As per Article 342 of Constitution, the President may with respect to any state or union territory and where it is a state after consultation with the Governor by public notification specify the tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purpose of this constitution be deemed to be scheduled tribes in relation to the state or Union Territory as the case may be.
The approach thus states that "even if we succeed in creating vast employment opportunities for the poor, they will not be able with their level of earnings to buy for themselves all the essential goods and services which constitute quality of life. The programme for providing larger employment and incomes to the poorer sections of the population will, therefore, have to be supplemented by a National Plan for the provision of social consumption." The items suggested to be included in such a plan are the following:

1. Elementary Education for the children upto the age of 14.
2. Minimum Public Health facilities integrated with family planning and nutrition for children
3. Rural Water supply
4. House sites for landless labour
5. Rural Roads
6. Rural Electrification
7. Slum improvement in the larger towns.

To provide operational framework certain norms were prescribed for achieving the objective of providing basic minimum needs. For this purpose, it was decided to take the district as the basic unit and those districts

which are lower than the national or minimum average would be brought up to the minimum or national average level during the plan period. However it was recognised that in the area approach the advanced sections living in backward areas may reap all the benefits, the consequent result being these backward areas may come up by the minimum average leaving behind the weaker sections. The programme therefore rightly recognises this pitfall and clearly lays down that it is "necessary to ensure that in any attempt to bring up an area to a certain average level in respect of any one of the items in the National Minimum Programme, it should be ensured that at least the same percentage is achieved in the case of the scheduled castes also,"* (including the other weaker sections like scheduled tribes) This differential approach is also expected to be adopted while formulating and implementing economic programmes also so that the benefit derived from such progress by the weaker sections of the society can be independently assessed.

In this context it is interesting to note that 'need' as a concept expressing human requirement is examined by anthropologists like Malinowski**. He defined need as the 'system of conditions in the human organism, in the cultural setting and in relation to of both to the


** Malinowski, Bronislaw Scientific Theory of Culture.
natural environment, which are sufficient and necessary for the survival of group and organism. A need therefore, is the limiting set of facts.* Ee further, elaborates the concept and divides the needs into 'Basic' and 'Derived'. The Basic Needs are those which are essential for the very survival and perpetuation of individual and his race. These are reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, movement, growth and health. But for the first mentioned one, the rest can be covered in one form or the other by the concept of 'Minimum Needs' as proposed in the V plan.

Resource endowment of the area and receptivity of the beneficiary group were given priority in planning productive activity while minimum needs of the area were taken into consideration in programming of social services in the process of removing economic and social disparities existing between tribal areas and advanced areas.

In general the strategies changed from the ameliorative to growth oriented from pre independence period to the V plan period. The pre independence ameliorative strategy which mainly hinged upon affording protection from outside exploitation with the enactment of

* Ibid.
'Scheduled Districts Act' 1874 expanded into giving potential concessions with the 'excluded' areas concept introduced in Government of India Act 1935 which made reservation of seats for tribals in local legislatures of the provinces of Madras, Bombay etc., besides empowering the governors to modify or exempt federal laws in their applications to tribal areas or make new regulations with the assent of the Governor General which then took a comprehensive shape in the constitutional safeguards provided in free India's constitution wherein besides strengthening the protective base and political reservations Government took upon its shoulders the onus of developing Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes with special care by bringing them planned development and ensuring their place in Government administration by making reservation in services.
PLAN AND OBJECTIVES OF THE WORK:

Anthropology, the Science of Man, which had its origin in mere descriptive ethnographic accounts of the queer and exotic customs and ways of life of primitive tribes has been rapidly developing as an applied and action science of human Engineering in solving 'Human problems of Technological Change'. Applied Anthropology, one of the important branches of Anthropology, which was initially developed as a tool of colonial administration of Spanish, French, Dutch and British colonies has blossomed into a true welfare science with its increasing application in not only routine law and order administration of backward and tribal areas but also in the constructive development of populations irrespective of their stage of living undeveloped or underdeveloped or developed.

In India also the importance of applying Anthropological knowledge to human administration was realised by the end of 19th century by which time the British had firmly established their rule all over the country. Many Anthropologists both Indian and foreign and Administrators trained in Anthropology had worked and solved many problems of critical human situations in which the peaceful life of the various ethnic groups living in an era was threatened due to conflict and tension.
However, the services of Anthropologists were mostly commissioned to tide over certain situations of maladjustment that were arising in the day to day administration of India. S.C. Roy was once called upon by the British to solve the dispute arising out of a flag procession in Oraon country. Some of the big native states like Hyderabad could realise the utilitarian role of Anthropology in Administration. However, the large scale application of Anthropological expertise in planning and execution of development programmes, which was the first departure from the previous practice of utilising Anthropology as a tool for the maintenance of law and order, was for the first time successfully experimented in India in the native State of Hyderabad in 1940's under the stewardship of the well-known Anthropologist, C. Von. Furer Haimendorf. For about a decade, the tribals and other weaker sections of the erstwhile Hyderabad State had reaped the benefits of integrated development programmes specially evolved and executed for their upliftment under the expert guidance of Prof. Haimendorf.

* Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf was born in Austria. He studied anthropology in the University of Vienna and London. Later he specialised in research among tribal population of India. Between 1945 and 1950, he was advisor for tribes and backward classes to the Government of Hyderabad.
Much water had run under the bridge since Haimendorf's experiment and a new era of planned development has been ushered in these tribal areas after India achieved Independence and the former State of Hyderabad was amalgamated in the Indian Union in 1948. Since then, the tribals of the former State especially those living in Warangal and Adilabad districts have been brought into the stream of national development first by initiating the Multipurpose Projects in 1956 in Utnoor area of Adilabad district and Narsampet area of Warangal district and secondly by bringing a major portion of the tribal areas by opening a number of Tribal Development blocks since the starting of the III Five Year Plan. Two Tribal Development Blocks viz., Utnoor and Wankidi were started in the III Five Year Plan period in Adilabad district.

Since the inception of Tribal Development Blocks as the instrumentality of directed change, sectoral programme with schematic budget has been the main feature of planning and execution of development programmes until the end of IV Five Year Plan but for the inadequate and incomplete attempt to adopt district planning in IV Five Year Plan so as to decentralise planning from above i.e., centralised planning. These short comings mainly manifested in the shape of regional and group disparities in the levels of development. While certain groups and
areas progressed at a faster rate, others remained almost static because of certain traditional constraints. This difference in levels of development within groups and areas is observed between one tribal area and the other on the one hand and in between tribal areas and advanced areas on the other.

Realising the need for wiping out the existing regional and group disparities, a new strategy, known as the "Integrated Area Development Approach" has been evolved envisaging identification of growth centres at micro level in order to ensure planning from below during the V Five Year Plan period. The tribal areas of Adilabad district are also brought under the Integrated Area Development Programmes. Since the initiation of Haimendorf's experiment in the 1940's to the launching of Fifth Five Year Plan, along with changing plan strategies, the administrative structure also underwent a corresponding change.

Thus plan strategies and the concomitant administrative structure have been reviewed and recast from time to time envisaging new approaches and structures to suit the changing tribal development situation. It is therefore thought that a comparative study of the changing plan strategies, associated administrative structure and their development consequences with
reference to Adilabad tribal areas, will bring into sharp focus the advantages and disadvantages of these in the context of the constellation of socio-economic barriers and carriers ingrained in the cultural milieu of the tribes and the consequent differential levels of performance of various plan programmes. Further, except in the case of development programmes implemented for the benefit of Gonds and other tribes of Adilabad district between 1942-52 under the stewardship of Prof. Haimendorf, the local human and cultural implications of planned development have been mostly ignored in the post independence planning era and programmes and policies conceived at national level have been implemented faithfully even at Block level giving rise to the consequent evils of planning from a distance. The ignoring of the logistics of anthropological engineering further thwarted the identification of people with programmes in spite of the introduction of Panchayat Raj system as it had no bearing on the indigenous institutions and required through knowledge and application of complicated laws and procedures which again have no relevance to the indigenous laws. It is therefore, felt that anthropological interpretation of plan strategies and executive structure for primitive people can best be given by systematically studying the various plan strategies and assessing their performance level in Adilabad district tribal areas
as no other district in Andhra Pradesh has such a long history of implementation of development programmes.

Consequently, Anthropology in Action in the changing plan strategies in the tribal areas of Adilabad district has been selected as the topic of my thesis. For the two and a half decades, I have been intimately associated with Welfare Administration and planned development of tribes of Adilabad in various capacities—as a welfare executive responsible for implementing welfare programmes of the previous Social Services Department of the Nizam's dominions which was conceived and nurtured by Prof. Haimendorf and as project Executive Officer of the Utnoor Multipurpose Project which was a product of national policies. For about a decade since, I have been actively engaged in conducting and guiding empirical studies on tribal life, culture and development as head of the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad.

It is this long experience both as a research worker and as development functionary among the tribals of the State in general and the tribals of Adilabad district in particular that prompted me to take up the study.
SCOPE OF THE STUDY: The study mainly concerns the structural-Functional aspects of changing plan strategies with a historical perspective as exemplified in the tribal areas of Adilabad district since 1940's to date.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To discuss the prevailing tribal situation of 1940's and the State Policy and Development strategies adopted by Prof. Haimendorf for the Welfare of Tribes and Backward Castes.

2. To critically examine plan programmes and action administration evolved by Prof. Haimendorf.

3. To describe the strategy of protective cover afforded and the modus operandi of evolving and implementing it.

4. To compare and contrast the pre-independence and post independence development strategies vis-a-vis the prevailing Socio-Cultural and economic life of the tribals.

5. To discuss the socio-cultural carriers and barriers of native life in the context of the various development strategies adopted.

6. To critically examine the changing structural Functional aspects of development administration in the context of programmes to be implemented and the human and development situation to be tackled.

7. To evolve a development model for the tribal areas of Adilabad.

METHODOLOGY:

For the purpose of the study the development time span is broadly divided into two periods of development:
1. the decade ending by 1962 during which the tribals of Hyderabad derived the benefits of development programmes and protective measures and

2. More than two decades of planned development undertaken since the inception of Five Year Plans.

For the collection of data pertaining to the two periods mentioned the following techniques are adopted.

1. Scanning through the relevant old official records of Board of Revenue, State Archives, Revenue Secretariat, concerned district Social Welfare Office and T.D. Block office, Administration Reports, various Commission and Committee reports for culling out qualitative and quantitative data.

2. Content analysis of various history books, reports and Research Publications pertaining to two periods to study the evolution of protective and Development measures and action administration during the two periods.

3. Construction of case studies illustrative of the factors that hindered or helped the programme implementation process from personal experience and knowledge of the two periods.

4. Collection of case histories of knowledgeable tribals who derived benefits during the two periods.

5. Systematic recording and observation of the Cultural, Social, Economic and Political conditions of the tribal societies of the two periods and survey research techniques are liberally employed wherever necessary.

PLAN OF THE THESIS:

The whole thesis has thus been divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is devoted to a thorough discussion of the concepts and definitions of welfare administration and development planning and
methodology of the study. The second chapter gives the historical and geoethnic setting of Andhra Pradesh. The third chapter contains an account of the changing socio-cultural and economic life of the tribals of Adilabad. The approach of Prof. Haimendorf to development administration and planning along with details of programmes implemented will be discussed in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter details the various development programmes with reference to techniques of policy planning and execution and the administrative structure evolved since the inception of Five Year Plans. A critical comparative analysis of the performance of the various phases of development will be done in the sixth chapter in the light of Socio-Cultural factors and development strategy adopted during the plan periods under comparison. The seventh chapter contains a comprehensive model of Tribal Development specially evolved for the purpose.

FIELD PROBLEM:

The study was conducted in a district where the people in general are proverbially backward and the tribal being the most backward. The study area is also vast and farflung with extreme seasonal conditions—summer is too hot and winter too cold. The area experiences heavy rains from June to August drenching the black cotton soil which
makes movement of men and material very difficult in the slushy black cotton soils. The backwardness of the tribal poses challenging problems to the development functionary and as the researcher it is very difficult to make them articulate.

The historical perspective of the study posed many challenging problems in unearthing, the relevant old records. Even the old records secured from the Collectorate, Adilabad, Social Welfare Office, Adilabad and Asifabad had many missing links making the process of building up the historical background very difficult.

Lack of written historical and cultural works about the people of the region hampered the construction of ethno history of the area and explaining the contact situation or 'zero point'. However, Prof. Haimendorf's Monograph on Gonds of Adilabad and Sethu Mahadeva Rao's 'Among the Gonds of Adilabad' besides tour diaries of Prof. Haimendorf published under the titles Tribal Hyderabad, could to some extent bridge the gap. However, my intimate contact with the tribals of the district and knowledge of the developments that took place since 1940's due to my continuous association both as a development functionary of the social services department and project Executive Officer, Multipurposes Project, Uthoor and as Director of the Tribal Cultural Research and
Training Institute, helped me in many ways in unearthing the old official records and making tribals specially the older generation in recapturing their memories of the past association with development functionaries of the former social services department and benefits reaped in depicting the comparative development situation in Haimendorf's time and present planned development period with the help of case studies. The gr brousing of the old records in former Board of Revenue Office, Secretariat, State Archives and Adilabad district Headquarter, though time consuming are fruit bearing.