

FROM FOREST DWELLERS TO PROUD FARMERS: A JOURNEY

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I. SUMMARY

Forty years ago inspired by one man, 12 enterprising tribals from a remote village contributed Rs.100/- each and the farmers of the beneficiary villages worked around one and half months to complete an irrigation scheme. After every flood they used big trees and rocks over the rock bed of the stream Sanguli to divert the water. Local leaders now claim that, this is the best scheme in this region irrigating around 250 acres of land in 5 villages; of course the government department has strengthened the scheme now. The leader was a tribal named Karji Majhi and the scheme was implemented in a remote tribal village called Serkajhola and is situated in Lanjigarh block in one of the most backward districts in Orissa, viz, Kalahandi. Karji Majhi went on to implement 21 such irrigation schemes in a cluster of villages.

The study was carried out in this cluster of 21 villages. This was unique in the sense that the primitive tribal people in Kalahandi district, Orissa, have initiated the intervention and these flow irrigation schemes have been implemented by using the locally available resources. It was after they started using the schemes and began to reap benefits that further repair/maintenance or strengthening of the existing work by cement concrete works have been taken up by the ITDA, DRDA, and Block or Gram Panchayat office. In this study we have concentrated in Malijubang and Bijepur gram panchayats of Lanjigarh block in Kalahandi district, and have taken samples from these two panchayats, concentrating on where:

- People have gone in for indigenous irrigation schemes and are managing without any external support
- ITDA has supported in strengthening the existing schemes by making concrete head works and brick lined channels.
- ITDA has constructed new schemes.

Community participation is the key here; everything is done with labour contribution. Karji Majhi the local tribal has been the harbinger of this innovation and he was literally dreaming of irrigation. His work has been emulated by the ITDA, Block and other line departments, he left an indelible mark in the area and the good work is still continued.

There has been an overall change in the cropping pattern with farmers adapting to better practices; there has been a shift from traditional varieties to HYVs. In certain cases tribals have also adopted intense vegetable, cotton, sugar cane cultivation with mixed results; the largest deterrent could be marketing. Some enterprising tribals have also tried their hands in jaggery, which again due to poor marketing could not take off in a commercial manner.

II. LOCALE

The district Kalahandi stretches between longitudes 82^o 2' to 83^o 47' east and latitudes 19^o 3' to 21^o 5'. Average annual rainfall is 1378.2 mm and the area experiences maximum temperature of 48^o C and as low as 4^o C. In 54.44% area soil is sandy loam where as in 31.63% area it is red lateritic and 13.93% area it is black cotton. Total agricultural land in this district is 3,93,550 hectares out of which 2,12,800 hectares are up land, 1,09,780 ha are medium land and 71,000 ha are low land. The area under our study is uplands having mostly sandy loam soil. Main crop taken in the study area is paddy in irrigated land. People also go

for cultivation in hilly rain fed area and main crops are minor millets like Kango, Kusla, Gurji, Mandia, katung, Jhudunga, Kandula; oil seeds- Alsi (niger), and maize are also taken.

They use own seed for cultivation. Local paddy varieties cultivated earlier were Sela, Rasbutka, Gabada, Erabak, Aganchadi, khichidi etc, they have been replaced by Lalat, IR36, Unnati, Jajati, Swarna, Shrabani, Baigan manji, Gurji, Para etc. Production per acre varies from 12 to 20 Puti (1puti=50 KGs). They use no chemical fertilizer or pesticides. They use GURUMA JALI (spider) for biological control. They also use leaves of Salap tree and its smell repels the pests. They also spray cow dung diluted in water for this purpose. There has been one stray case where a farmer in Bhejrang village had bought some pesticide from Kalyansingpur and sprayed using hired sprayer from Bankakundru for rupees 10 per day.

In Rabi season people cultivate pulses like Black gram, Kulthi, Alsi (Niger), Rasi etc., but do not cultivate vegetables in large scale due to lack of marketing. They cultivate vegetables in their homesteads for their own consumption and most of the produce goes as gift to the guests visiting their homes. Some farmers have also gone for cotton cultivation by using seeds from Block office but marketing was difficult and it was sold at a price, which was less than the investment for the crop. It also needed pesticides that killed all the fishes in the low lands and streams. Hence people now are not interested for cotton. Sugarcane is also cultivated in some places and people also know the process of preparing *gur*. In Serkojhola people cultivate wheat, masur dal, green peas, brinjal, cabbage after paddy. They also cultivate summer paddy in 12 acres alternate year.

III. THE COMMUNITY

The community here belongs to the *Kutia Kondh* tribe and their language is *Kui*. The tribals here hitherto were primarily dependent on shifting cultivation and forests. Some of them still do shifting cultivation, but with the advent of irrigation there has been a gradual shift to go for settled cultivation.

Orissa is home to 62 different tribes; of this *Kondh* is the most predominant. Based on cultural features, this tribe is divided into three major sections, viz, the *kutia kondh*, *dongria knodh*, and the *desia kondhs*. The two former sections are primitive in nature. These tribes reside in the villages at the foot of the hill ranges and mostly eke out their livelihoods from shifting cultivation. The birth rate of *kutia kondh* is less than the others; they have been far removed from the mainstream development, literary too, with road infrastructure in very precarious conditions till date. To promote them the government started an agency called *kutia kondh* development agency in 1979.

3.1 Houses: The *kutia kondh* village consists of a cluster of mud houses thatched by a local type of local jungle grass named “*chhana*” and “*khajuri*”. The *damba (harijan)* a scheduled caste community mostly lives in the same village and exploit them. The no of houses in the village varies from 5 to 30. Hills and forests surround all most all the villages.

3.2 Food Habits: Their staple food is *ragi* and gruel of rice and their favourite drink is *salpa ras* (the juice of the *salap* tree). Some of them also have the drink made from *mohua* flowers. They are very fond of buffalo meat and dry fish.

3.3 Clothing Habits: The *kutias* wear a ribbon of cloth called *Jirakhandi* and the women wear cover their chest with a set of necklace made of coins. *Khagla* is a silver ring put in the neck as ornament.

3.4 Family/Social Organization: Family is the smallest social unit. It is nuclear in character. They have their own cultural identities, have still not being affected by the modern ways and believe in occult practices.

Mutha is the biggest administrative-cum-social unit. It comprises of a group of villages interlinked with one another by a common administration. The *mutha* system is still on till date. Youth dormitory is the most important social organization for the unmarried boys and girls. This institution plays a crucial role in shaping boys and girls for future management of village and their respective families. The *meriah* is the most elaborate event of the *mutha*, these days buffalo is served here which has replaced the earlier practice of human sacrifice.

Each *kutia* has a *jani*, the village priest and a *badamajhi* or *patamajhi* the village leader. Both enjoy high status and are very charitable. The rules, regulations, and decisions are guided by the traditional customs of the society. They believe a lot in the divine power of the gods. Their dance, music, folk tales, myths, legends, songs, riddles, proverbs and spells are not only meaningful but are very colourful. They are proud of their culture, skill, and method of doing things; in spite of so many adversities they don't get frustrated or disillusioned with life they go on with life with a gay abandon.

3.5 Festivals: *Nuakhai*, *Puspune* and *Chaitrali* are the important festivals being observed. *Chaitrali* is observed during sowing in the month of *chaitra* and *puspune* is during harvesting in the month of *Pusa* as per the oriya calendar. The *Nuakhai* festival is very famous and known as *Mandia Rani*. During this they prepare an earthen statue of the deity and worship on the road. In every village there is a *Jani* who is entitled for worshipping the deity. In this festival they use *Mandia* (minor millet), paddy, *Tentuli* (tamarind), Bamboo, Broom leaf. A girl aged around 10years carries all these in a plate and goes to all the houses. In front of every house people worship the deity by killing a rooster/ hen and cook the chicken in his or her home. The community cooks the food grains collected in the plate and all have this as *prasad*.

3.6 Marriage: The marriageable age for boys and girls are 16 and 15 respectively. The usual practice is that the boy selects the girl at a very young age and both the families accede to demands from either side, till the girl attains maturity and gets married. It seems that the girl's side has an upper hand in the marriage.

3.7 Conflict: There is hardly any conflict amongst them and even if it arises then it is resolved within the village.

3.8 Infrastructure : Malijubang Gram Panchayat was constituted in 1966 having 2593 voters in 13 wards. There is a strange thing though in one ward, the ward is reserved for OBC in government records where as there are only SC and ST habitats. This ward covers three villages namely Sunakhadika, Kanaksorpa and Kadruguda. Total area is 2112.55 Hectares in 18 numbers of villages. Total population of the G.P. is 4164 out of which 2705 are schedule tribe, 767 are Schedule caste and 692 are from other castes. Malijubang has a post office. Veterinary hospital is in Bijepur and police station is in Lanjigarh. There are 26 tube wells and 2 sanitary wells for drinking water.

3.9 Health: The nearest health center is in Bengan 15 kilometers away, but the doctor does not stay there. Hence, in case of emergency the next place to go is an upgraded PHC at Biswanathpur, at a distance of 45 kilometers. There are anganwadi centers in 4 villages namely Khajurguda, Bankakundru, Beterguda and Malijubang. There is Traditional Birth Attendants (TBA) in 6 villages, viz, Sunakhadika, Serkojhola, Malijobang, Kutruguda, Ushabahali and Kanaksorpa. The data on health collected from the ANM staying at Malijubang is tabulated below:

PARAMETER	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Population (Male)	1298	1400	1635	1400	1635
Population (Female)	1202	1350	1665	1350	1365
Population (Total)	2500	2750	3000	2750	3000
Number of eligible couple	415	460	480	460	480
Crude birth rate	30	33	23	33	23
Crude death rate	11	10	8	10	8
Infant mortality rate	84	80	71	80	71
Maternal mortality rate	0	0	0	0	0
Number of couple using methods for birth control	8	11	16	11	16

Presently there are 50% anemic mother and 15% high-risk mother. Mainly people suffer from malaria and diarrhea. For any health problems, trend is to go for *tantrik* treatment (by worshipping) first, then to go for *vaids (jadi buti)*, then quacks and finally to ANM or PHC. In allopathic treatment they believe injections than tablets/ capsules. Again the belief is that the injection should be painful and it has to be costly so that the disease will be cured soon. The expecting mothers do not take adequate food fearing that the baby would be too big and will be problematic during birth. Abortion rate is around 3%. For birth control people also take indigenous medicines (*jadi buti*) from the *vaids*. In this panchayat the general trend to use birth control measures is very low. The trend to visit hospital for illness too is low.

3.10 Education: There are 2 UP schools in Bankakundru and Ushabahali village where as 1 UGME school is in Malijubang. The UP school in Bankakundru was established during 1962-63. Only 4 tribal boys have passed class 5th from this school during the last two years while none of tribal students of this school have completed 10th class. There is an aided High school at Bengan managed by only 2 teachers. One tribal welfare high school (Ashram School) is in Lanjigarh where students from other districts like Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh are also studying. Pithu Marandi, one of the students of this ashram school is a football player in India team. FARR, an NGO was also working in this area and had primary school in malijubang. One student out of this school had qualified for Nabodya Vidyalaya. A matriculate boy of Borpadar village of Pahadpadar GP teaches 34 students of Bhejrang village of Bijepur GP for Rs.1000/month under SSA (Sarba Sikhya Abhiyan) formerly it was a DPEP program.

At present people are very much interested about education of their children, but there is no facility available around the village. There is an M.E. school at Malijubang, but teachers being posted there belong to distant places and they normally don't stay there. Similar is the situation of the school at Bankakundru. The only ashram (residential) school at Bijepur has a limiting capacity for 40 ST and 10 SC students. From Malijubang G.P., only 11 students have gone to Lanjigarh high school and 20girls have gone to the school started by an NGO-FARR at Malijubang (up to 5th class). FARR was giving Rs.100/- per student per month. On our

interaction with the tribals we found out that education has been a felt need, however, after the withdrawal of the NGO there's no articulation of the need. From Serkojhala village only one child goes to school and stays in the ashram school, these schools also depend on the whims and fancies of the teacher, for instance during the harvesting season they are given long lay offs to help their parents for paddy harvesting.

3.11 Bank: There is a branch of State Bank of India at Bengan and Biswanathpur has a branch of Indian Overseas Bank. However, the tribal people of this area are not regular customers. We did not notice any savings bank account by the tribal of the villages where we had meetings.

3.12 Communication: From Biswanathpur this area is 45 kilometers and the road is in a very bad condition. One has to cross 3 streams where there are no bridges. Hence, during rainy season four wheelers hardly come here. At the inaugural function of ANM center during last August the minister has announced to sanction a road from Pradhanipada to Malijubang under Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana.

3.13 Market: To purchase any consumable or to sell the produce the people belonging to the *teli* community own three shops in the panchayat. Present rate for paddy is 3Rs./Kg if sold and 5Rs./Kg if purchased. There is a weekly market on Wednesdays at Bijepur. 15 kilometers away at Bengan, the weekly market (on Friday) caters to the need of the area where the businessmen coming from nearby towns also sell vegetable seeds.

IV. SPONSORING ORGANISATION

4.1 History of the Intervention: The local tribals have initiated this type of flow irrigation schemes in this region. Late Karji Majhi of Serkojhola village has promoted around several such schemes and was honoured as an Engineer and Kalahandi Gaurav by the district administration.

Karji was working as a bonded labourer with the landlord of Malijubang, Mr. Bhuja Patel who had knowledge of diverting water from the river and taking it in earthen canals/channels running in the contour. Mr. Patel had done two such flow irrigation schemes in Malijubang and Nishanpur during which Karji learnt the technology. Subsequently Mr. Bhuja Patel gave practical training to Karji by jointly implementing one such scheme in Sherkajola, Karji's village. After getting the practical training, Karji started his career at the age of 25 and never looked back; he implemented 21 such schemes, which could provide irrigation facility to 21 villages in that locality. He was implementing such schemes after getting invitation from the beneficiaries concerned and charging Rs.1,000/- to Rs. 2,000/- per project including some amount of labor cost. The beneficiaries were also contributing in terms of labour.

Few people who have met Karji say that he knew the path of the canal, which appeared to him in his dream. He could literally walk a contour. He had such profound knowledge that by looking at a proposed site he would say whether a scheme there would be feasible or not. A case in point is a scheme implemented by ITDA near Serkojhola to irrigate Kendupet village, where Karji had warned that it would not be technically feasible and not to invest money there. The ITDA did not pay any heed and went ahead, now this scheme irrigates land of two families only. The scheme was constructed investing Rs.2, 00,000/- initially and again the improvement work was done in it by spending Rs.1, 75,000/-. At present the canals are broken due to lack of maintenance. Karji was suggesting people to align canals where people

had to dig up to 5 feet below ground level so that it is easy for operation and maintenance. This scheme was implemented with canals dug more than 10 feet deep in some places.

As per the people of Malijubang, Karji Majhi was awarded Rs.20,000/- after his death by the government for his noble work but unfortunately another Karjee Majhi of Lakhbahali village near Musanal received the same amount.

4.2 Sources of Funds: Sixteen years ago in Kendupet village Karji had done the alignment of canals and taken rupees 80/- as consultancy fee. The whole villagers had worked for 2 months, 30 labours were engaged per day to dig a 2 Kilometers long canal. Water was diverted over the stone bed of the stream and using locally available rocks and boulders completed the head works. They have named it *Kumbrang Bandha* and the communities repair this headwork and canal after every flood.

In Bhejrang village there are 17 families out of which 5 families have *patta* land 12 families are land less and live on shifting cultivation. Since long people here were using water for irrigation from the stream. However, during the year 2000 the headwork has been repaired and canals have been dug up to around 500 meters because it has been strengthened by ITDA using cement concrete investing Rs.2, 15,000. This scheme irrigates 28 acres of land as reported by the ITDA. This scheme also irrigates some more land encroached by farmers having no land records.

Karji Majhi had grounded his first scheme 40 years ago in his native village of Serkojhola. During construction of this scheme 12 persons collected rupees 100 each as contribution and the farmers of the 5 beneficiary villages as labour contribution worked around one and half months. After every flood they used big trees and rocks over the rock bed of the stream Sanguli to divert the water. Local leaders claim, this is the best scheme in this region irrigating around 250 acres of land in 5 villages namely Kanibandhel, Serkojhola, Bimankoj (1.5 Km long canal), Malijubang (2.5 Km) and Khajurguda (2.5Km). Few years ago the Block Development Officer, Lanjigarh reconstructed the headwork with cement concrete and then during 2001 ITDA improved the scheme investing Rs.3, 50,000/- out of the MP LAD fund¹.

V. IRRIGATION SYSTEM

All the schemes implemented here are similar and done by the group of farmers contributing labour.

5.1 Design, Coverage and Management: The design technology followed was totally indigenous. First Karji was conducting a reconnaissance survey in the total area, i.e., he was making an eye judgment on the elevation difference between the river and the fields to be irrigated and the path on which the earthen channel should run so as to carry water to the desired locations with a non silting and non scouring velocity. The two eyes and the mind of Mr. Karji Majhi, which served as a dumpy level and a calculator/computer, was the key to this technology. Then the diversion was done gradually while allowing water to flow through the leading channel dug partially and simultaneously. When big rocks were obstructing the

¹ Please refer to Annex-1, which gives the details of the ITDA fund spent for irrigation structures in the two panchayats under our study.

path of water, he was managing that with the help of 3 wooden channels being prepared for this and water was allowed to flow through it around the big rock.

Serkojhola scheme covers around 220 acres irrigating 5 villages namely Bimankhoj and Khajurguda(80 acres), Malijubang(50 acres), Kanibandel(40 acres), Serkojhola(50 acres). Most of these villages have homogenous tribes even when there are people belonging to other castes like the *mali* community there is no major differences in their characteristics. The *mali* community is more enterprising in terms of agriculture and they have adopted to vegetable cultivation in their homesteads primarily for consumption. However, the dependence on agriculture of both the communities are very high the basic food security, their staple diet rice, comes from agriculture. Water sharing has never encountered serious threat, as water is available in plenty. There is an unwritten understanding about who takes water first and how is it distributed. Minor hiccups have been reported though from Malijubang where there is mixed community, but communities have sat together and have sorted out issues. There have been no organized attempts to impart training on agriculture or better irrigation management; the existing practices have been followed from time immemorial.

5.2 People's Contribution: Every year all the beneficiaries of the scheme go for cleaning the canals twice, before rains and during *Dussera* festival. In the past when big rocks have obstructed the path of the canal, people have used wooden channels to pass the water besides the rock. This used to be the practice until the Block intervened and the rocks were blasted and smooth lined channel were constructed.

Before canal repairing they have a joint meeting for Serkojhola and Khajurguda (neighboring villages). About 40-50 farmers are engaged for 5 days for repairing 6 km length of canal (2 days for Serkojhola and 3 days for Khajurguda). In terms of cash nearly Rs.10, 000/- (Rupees ten Thousand only) is spent by the communities for repair of the canal.

VI. GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE AND OPERATING PROCEDURES

The governance is fairly democratic, tribals here work at such basic levels of subsistence that there is no scope/attempt of having systematic management practices; everything is need based. It is during the canal repair twice every year that they come together. Hamlets are very small with more than one hamlet dependant on a single scheme; and it's the uniqueness of such village that there have been no major differences. Sporadic differences are due to individual problems, never due to irrigation related issues. Tribals here have been exposed to irrigation for the past forty years; the present generation mostly has seen irrigation from the time they have taken over the reins of household agricultural operations. Hence, the operating procedures have been institutionalised through an unwritten rule and accepted set of practices.

VII. IMPACT OF IRRIGATION

Before initiation of irrigation almost all the villagers of Serkojhola were bonded labourers with the landlords of the neighbouring village in Malijubang. Their cultivable lands were lying fallow. They were getting about 10 *manns* or 30 kgs of paddy per month as their wage. Those who were working as daily labourers for the *Mahajans*, were getting 3 *sola* or 2 *adda* (1-1.5 kg) paddy per day. The other thing besides rice, which they used to partake, was the root of some of the plants in the forest. Apart from these powdered tamarind seed and mango kernels also formed part of their diet.

7.1 Post Irrigation Scenario: As Karji Majhi was also working as a bonded labourer with the land- lord in Malijubang, he learned the ropes of irrigation and implemented the same in his village. Since then the people from his village and other smaller/poorer villages started working in their own fields with irrigation now available to them.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Personal Expenditure		1500.00
Health (Malaria, diarrhoea etc.)	400.00	
Clothes	500.00	
Food ² (salt, oil, spices, etc)	600.00	
Expenditure on Agricultural Operations		2000.00
Paddy (2 acres @ Rs.500/- per acre)	1000.00	
Sugarcane (0.5 acres@ 2000/-per acre)	1000.00	
Expenditure on Festivals		500.00
TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENDITURE		4000.00

From Agriculture		5500.00
Paddy in 2 Acres [20 bags of rice (75kg. per bag) @ Rs. 250/- per bag, total income- Rs. 5000/- (He consumes as his food for the year and sells around 2 bags for Rs. 500/- to meet his other expenses)]	500.00	
Sugarcane in 0.5 Acres	5000.00	
From Forest		750.00
The main source of income from the forest is in the form of <i>siali</i> leaf collection. One family (2-3 members) engaged in <i>siali</i> leaf collection earns Rs 250/- per week and it continues for 5 months in a year	750.00	
From Livestock		1000.00
Yearly 2 goats @ Rs. 500/-	1000.00	
TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME		7250.00

After adoption of irrigation the tribals have been able to address their other needs of health and clothing to a large extent their total perspective has changed. The elders in the village say emphatically that many came forward to give their daughters in marriage once there was assured irrigation and the village was not affected by drought any more.

Once they attended food security round the year the tribals ventured into sugar cane production. Marketing linkages have also been established for sugarcane and out of 20 families of Serkojhol, 11 have gone for sugarcane cultivation in an area of 6 acres. One incurred net profit of Rs 3000.00 from 0.4 acre of sugarcane cultivation during last year. Ten people had tried banana cultivation (supported by ITDA). The yield was considerably good with more than 120 fingers per bunch, but due to marketing problem it was discontinued.

7.2 Credit: People borrow money during the time of festivals and also for agriculture. For this they depend on the *mahajans* of the nearby areas who charge them an interest of 50 *paise* per rupee per year i.e. 50% per year. Earlier the people were going to Kalyansingpur, a block headquarter in the neighbouring Raygada district, located 13 kilometers away. The credit needs primarily were for food, marriage, health and other consumption needs. After the harvest the moneylender perforce takes back whatever be the produce in lieu of the credit he

² Staple diet (rice) comes from their own field

had extended, he leaves a very few grains for the loanee for his immediate consumption need. The produce is in an unwritten manner mortgaged to the *mahajan*, he only has the right on it, if the loanee sells it elsewhere then he pays double the amount borrowed.

In the post irrigation scenario people are borrowing primarily for agriculture and whenever they go in for a different crop, although they still borrow for marriages/festivals. The extent of credit has reduced and people are able to manage within their own and neighbouring villages because some surplus grain is harvested because of the flow irrigation scheme. They don't need to go to the moneylender at Kalyansinghpur. The repayment period also has reduced.

VIII. IMPACT ON WOMEN

The work roles of women are such that they attend to household chores and most of the agriculture operations. In general the day of a tribal women start here at 1 in the morning, when she gets up to prepare food for the entire family, she works hard the whole day till she goes to bed at 7PM. After the flow irrigation scheme there is no such remarkable change in workload on women. During cultivation women exclusively do the works like weeding and transplanting.

Decisions are taken by the male member in the family but in consultation with his wife. Post irrigation after attaining food sufficiency women's dress code has changed. From wearing loin clothes they are more properly clad now in saris. Although women have an upper hand during marriage it's the boy's side that approaches the girl's parents, but they also gravitate into a patriarchal society. However, all family decisions are taken after discussions between the husband and wife. Money is kept with the women and they have the liberty to spend small amounts on their own. For major expenses, wife has to consult her husband. When the wife is expecting she is treated well and is fed what she likes. During normal times the whole family shares the food.

IX. SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY AND SELF-RELIANCE

The community has taken into irrigation since the past forty years, before there was no paddy cultivation baring a few people taking up crops along the streams on low lands. Even the cultivable land was covered with dense forests and people were primarily dependant on forests for their food. Now there is a new perspective into livelihoods, the tribals here take pride in getting recognized as farmers. Although they still haven't given up shifting cultivation but the incidence has reduced. It's from here that they primarily get their cash crops. A lot of efforts need to be given to get them into settled cultivation, once they see a positive cycle of surplus crops from this, will they desist from shifting cultivation.

While food security has been addressed to by and large, the need to go for intense cultivation for surplus cash crops is still a distant reality. Hence, self-reliance has been largely achieved but social sustainability is still an issue. One would expect that from irrigated areas people with food sufficiency would naturally move into laying emphasis on better education and health services; but this does not get a priority here.

ANNEXURE 1: DETAILS OF ITDP EXPENDITURE ON IRRIGATION

Name of the G.P.	Sl. No.	Name of the Village	Structure	Source of Funding	Year	Classification	No. of projects	Amount Utilized	Beneficiaries	Ayacut Coverage (acres)
BIJEPUR	1	Kalakupa	MIP	IRDP	1993-94	New	1	220000	45	56
	2	Pradhanipada	MIP	JRY	1994-95	New	1	430000	37	38
	3	Poker	D/W	SCA	1996-97	New	1	290000	58	65
	4	Talkalima	MIP	SCA	1996-97	New	1	250000	35	48
	5	Bhejrang	D/W	SCA	1997-98	New	1	215000	37	28
	6	Dongamundi	D/W	SCA	1997-98	New	1	220000	40	54
				MPLAD	2000-01	Improvement & Extension		500000		
					2001-02			200000		
	7	Chacha	D/W	SCA	1998-99	New	1	250000	26	28
	8	Talkalsur	D/W	SCA	1998-99	New	1	250000	21	27
9	Betelguda	D/W	SCA	1999-00	New	1	300000	31	30	
10	Ladang	D/W	SCA	2001-02	New	1	380000			
Sub-Total of Bijepur Gram Panchayat							10	3505000	330	374
MALJUBANG	1	Malipada	D/W	SCA	1987-88	New	1	100000	40	70
					1992-93 & 1994-95	New	1	220000	47	43
	2	Kendupet	D/W	SCA	1994-95	New	1	200000	34	38
				EAS	1996-97	Extension		175000		
	3	Kutruguda	MIP	EAS	1995-96	New	1	560000	43	65
	4	Serkojhola	D/W	MPLAD	2000-01	Improvement	1	350000		
5	Punjam	D/W	SCA	2001-02	New	1	400000			
6	Panpadar	D/W	SCA	2002-03	New	1	300000			
Sub-Total of Malijubang Gram Panchayat							7	2305000	164	216