

## Chapter - 8

### GOVERNMENT ANTI-POVERTY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

In rural areas of Bihar, the government is running a number of anti-poverty, employment generating development programmes. In this study we tried to assess the impact of these programmes on the living conditions of the people. During the social mapping exercise and focus group discussion with the participating villagers, none of the participants in most of the villages was able to exactly tell us the names of all the government programmes operative in their villages. However, most of the villagers were familiar with the names of Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY) and Indira Awas Yojana (IAY), IRDP and the objectives of these programmes. Besides, many of the participants also identified schemes like, *Jal Dhara* and old age and widow pension schemes. In many of the villages people were not able to identify IRDP by its name but they were able to name some of schemes of IRDP viz. bullock, pump sets, shop (small business) etc. However, all these programmes taken together were not recognised as means of improving the general socio-economic conditions of the people.

For the purpose of identifying total coverage of the government programmes and their pattern of distribution in our sample villages, the proportion of households getting any benefit from any of the government programmes has been calculated (table 8.1). For this purpose only those programmes have been taken into consideration, which are specially meant for the weaker section of the society.

It can be seen from table 8.1 that only 14.53 per cent of the households reported to have benefited from at least one of the government programmes, which are currently being run in rural areas. The highest proportion of the benefited households is in Rohtas (approx. 23 per cent) followed by in Nalanda (18.16%) and Gopalganj (17 %). The coverage of the government programme was found to be the least in Gaya (approx. 9%) followed by Purnea (10%).

**Table 8.1: Percentage of Households Benefited from any of the Government Programmes**

	Gaya	Gopalganj	Madhubani	Nalanda	Purnea	Rohtas	Total
<i>Caste</i>							
FC	3.97	8.22	2.71	5.53	9.91	36.42	9.96
OBC (I)	0.65	22.92	7.31	18.82	13.10	18.98	12.51
Kurmi	—	29.63	—	5.36	0.00	18.75	8.47
Yadav	2.22	10.93	5.88	6.45	2.56	16.59	7.65
Koeri	4.02	4.26	6.25	5.81	—	8.33	4.68
OBC (II)	3.16	13.82	5.73	7.07	5.75	12.88	8.79
SC/ST	20.25	43.31	47.88	31.32	37.04	27.56	33.61
Muslims	0.00	15.79	13.88	38.46	4.75	1.69	7.19
<i>Class</i>							
ALNF	16.14	26.03	22.81	24.53	7.66	19.10	16.15
ALNA	10.81	35.00	53.66	39.13	2.30	19.35	28.25
ALLF	14.85	24.81	17.34	19.67	16.56	27.50	19.82
ALLA	31.43	29.70	34.08	30.00	10.17	44.00	29.96
POORMIDP	5.62	14.46	8.96	11.27	3.03	3.33	10.58
MIDP	1.66	5.00	9.33	8.72	7.29	5.21	5.78
BIGP	1.85	3.27	3.43	0.31	10.44	33.33	8.15
LANDLD	2.16	7.29	5.63	14.43	10.23	16.79	8.56
NONAG	4.92	34.48	16.57	17.02	5.31	5.97	11.39
<i>Land Size</i>							
Nil	13.30	28.99	25.06	25.40	7.54	20.62	17.30
Up to 1	7.81	21.01	13.09	19.27	15.02	19.85	15.92
1 to 2.5	5.72	6.38	3.82	5.73	15.88	17.02	8.67
2.5 to 5	3.81	8.15	1.21	2.10	3.50	34.90	8.28
5 to 10	4.81		3.39	8.33	9.88	27.43	10.63
10 to 20				23.81	21.62	30.61	16.67
More than 20						50.00	17.24
Total	8.89	17.04	15.85	18.16	10.11	22.90	14.53
<i>Note: The value in cells contain percentage of benefited HH to total HH in particular Caste and Class in each district separately</i>							

The caste and class details of the beneficiary households show that the highest concentration of the beneficiary was in the SC/ST and agricultural labour category. However, in Rohtas a substantial proportion of the forward caste and big peasant households were among the beneficiaries. In Gopalganj and Madhubani more than 40 per cent of the SC/ST households were benefited from one or another government programmes. The highest proportion of OBC I also was benefited in Gopalganj (23%) followed by Rohtas and Nalanda (approx. 19%). The classification of the beneficiary households by class shows that approximately 30 per cent of the attached agricultural labourer were benefited from one or another government programmes. In Purnea since the coverage of the government programmes was the lowest among all the six districts, the most adversely affected class was non-cultivating agricultural labour (both free as

well as attached). The percentage of poor middle peasants benefited by any of the government programmes was also less than 10 except Gopalganj and Nalanda where the percentage of beneficiary households in poor middle peasant category was 14.46 and 11.27 respectively.

**Table 8.2: Percentage Distribution of Beneficiaries in Districts by Caste, Class and Land Size**

	Gaya	Gopalganj	Madhubani	Nalanda	Purnea	Rohtas	Total
<i>Caste</i>							
FC	6.67	11.15	4.43	3.34	10.66	40.57	12.22
OBC (I)	0.61	12.27	9.32	16.41	32.29	9.25	14.34
Kurmi		2.97		4.26		3.20	1.73
Yadav	4.85	7.43	2.33	3.04	0.31	13.52	4.85
Koeri	4.85	2.97	0.23	1.52		0.71	1.34
OBC (II)	3.64	15.61	3.03	2.13	1.57	7.47	5.25
SC/ST	79.39	40.89	65.97	67.78	31.35	24.91	51.17
Muslims		6.69	14.69	1.52	23.82	0.36	9.10
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<i>Class</i>							
ALNF	40.00	7.06	38.23	39.51	29.78	13.52	28.57
ALNA	2.42	2.60	5.13	21.88	0.63	2.14	6.31
ALLF	27.27	49.44	22.14	14.29	40.44	35.23	30.58
ALLA	13.33	11.15	14.22	7.29	1.88	3.91	8.59
POORMIDP	3.03	13.38	1.40	2.43	0.31	0.36	3.18
MIDP	3.03	2.60	4.20	5.17	2.19	1.78	3.29
BIGP	3.64	3.72	3.96	0.30	18.50	33.45	10.44
LANDLD	1.82	2.60	3.73	4.26	2.82	8.19	4.02
NONAG	5.45	7.43	6.99	4.86	3.45	1.42	5.02
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<i>Land Size</i>							
Nil	59.39	22.30	68.76	67.78	41.69	33.10	50.33
Up to 1	21.21	66.54	26.57	22.49	30.09	18.86	30.75
1 to 2.5	11.52	7.06	3.73	5.47	21.00	11.39	9.54
2.5 to 5	4.85	4.09	0.47	0.91	2.19	18.51	4.63
5 to 10	3.03		0.47	1.82	2.51	11.03	2.90
10 to 20				1.52	2.51	5.34	1.56
More than 20						1.78	0.28
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The percentage share of the benefit of different government programmes accruing to different castes and classes in each of the districts is presented in table 8.2. It is evident from the table that although the major share of the benefits of government programmes have gone to SC/ST and 'free agricultural labour', in Rohtas and Purnea a substantial

proportion of forward caste and OBC I and 'big peasants' respectively and big peasants in Rohtas were also major beneficiaries.

In Gaya, Madhubani and Nalanda the percentage of beneficiary SC/ST households was more while in Rohtas, Purne and Gopalganj the SC/ST households were poorly represented among the beneficiary households. In terms of class of the households free agricultural labour both cultivating and non-cultivating constituted the highest proportions. However, the proportion was lower in Gopalganj for non-cultivating agricultural labour and in Nalanda for cultivating agricultural labour. In Rohtas and Purne the proportion of big peasants was substantially higher in comparison to other districts.

The distribution of the beneficiary households by land size shows a more equitable pattern as the percentage of beneficiary household decreases with a rise in land size. It follows more progressive pattern in Gaya, Madhubani and Purne. However, in Rohtas again, a substantial percentage of bigger land size households were among the beneficiary households. In Gopalganj the highest concentration of the beneficiary (as high as 66.54%) household was in the upto 1-acre category.

In order to see the coverage of different government programmes in terms of different weaker section of the society, 'technical ratio' of beneficiary households to the total households (TRBH) belonging to different caste and class has been calculated (table 8.3). The value of the 'technical ratio', for particular caste and class, closer to one means the households are benefited from the programmes exactly in proportion to their representation in the sample. Higher or lower value of the 'technical ratio' than one represents higher and lower share of benefit respectively to the respective caste and class. The benefit of calculating the TRBH is that the percentage share of the benefit going to the particular caste and class has been standardised by their representation in the sample.

Since the government programmes taken into consideration are only those which are specially meant for the weaker section of the society, the 'technical ratio' is higher than one in most of the cases of lower caste and class households. Keeping in view the thrust of all these programmes, a lower TRBH for lower castes and class in comparison to that of the higher castes and class is always undesirable. Moreover, the TRBH closer to one for lower castes and class is also not in conformity with the thrust of the government programmes as it indicates comparatively less progressive effort. In this way the TRBH presented in table 3 can be compared in two way – within each caste and class over the

districts and within districts over different castes and classes. It can be seen in the table that the TRBH for SC/ST was as low as 1.20 in Rohtas and 1.72 in Nalanda. In case of

**Table 3: Technical Ratio of Percentage Beneficiary to Percentage Households in Districts by Caste, Class and Land Size**

	Gaya	Gopalganj	Madhubani	Nalanda	Purnea	Rohtas	Total
<i>Caste</i>							
FC	0.45	0.48	0.17	0.30	0.98	1.59	0.69
OBC (I)	0.07	1.35	0.46	1.04	1.30	0.83	0.86
Kurmi	–	1.74	–	0.30	–	0.82	0.58
Yadav	0.25	0.64	0.37	0.36	0.25	0.72	0.53
Koeri	0.45	0.25	0.39	0.32	–	0.36	0.32
OBC (II)	0.36	0.81	0.36	0.39	0.57	0.56	0.60
SC/ST	2.28	2.54	3.02	1.72	3.66	1.20	2.31
Muslims	0.00	0.93	0.88	2.12	0.47	0.07	0.49
<i>Class</i>							
ALNF	1.81	1.53	1.44	1.35	0.76	0.83	1.11
ALNA	1.22	2.05	3.39	2.16	0.23	0.85	1.94
ALLF	1.67	1.46	1.09	1.08	1.64	1.20	1.36
ALLA	3.53	1.74	2.15	1.65	1.01	1.92	2.06
POORMIDP	0.63	0.85	0.57	0.62	0.30	0.15	0.73
MIDP	0.19	0.29	0.59	0.48	0.72	0.23	0.40
BIGP	0.21	0.19	0.22	0.02	1.03	1.46	0.56
LANDLD	0.24	0.43	0.36	0.79	1.01	0.73	0.59
NONAG	0.55	2.02	1.05	0.94	0.53	0.26	0.78
<i>Land size</i>							
Nil	1.49	1.70	1.58	1.40	0.75	0.90	1.19
Up to 1	0.88	1.23	0.83	1.06	1.49	0.87	1.10
1 to 2.5	0.64	0.37	0.24	0.32	1.57	0.74	0.60
2.5 to 5	0.43	0.48	0.08	0.12	0.35	1.52	0.57
5 to 10	0.54	0.00	0.21	0.46	0.98	1.20	0.73
10 to 20	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.31	2.14	1.34	1.15
More than 20	0.00	0.00	–	–	0.00	2.18	1.19
Total	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

OBC I the TRBH was greater than one only in districts Gopalganj and Purnea. In Rohtas and Gopalganj the TRBH was more than 1.5 for forward and Kurmi castes respectively.

In terms of class distribution of the households the attached labour was benefited to the tune of double of their representation in the sample (the TRBH being approx. 2). It can also be observed from the table that in Rohtas and Purnea The TRBH was greater than one also in the case of both higher social as well as land size class while the ratio was substantially lower for ‘agricultural labour’ and ‘no land’ class.

### **Programmes Identified by Poor as Beneficial**

Although a number of developmental programmes are being run by the government in rural areas either simultaneously or at different points of time, a majority of villagers are not always able to identify and associate themselves with these programmes. However, in nearly all the villages, villagers could easily identify IRDP. The villagers had also no problem in identifying *Jawahar Rojgar Yojana* (JRY) and *Indira Awas Yojana* (IAY). Old age and widow pension schemes were not very popular as only a few participants in all the villages could identify old age pension and were unaware about widow pension scheme. To see the spread and intensity of different government programmes the proportion of households benefited under five major government programmes viz. Land Distribution Scheme, JRY, IAY, IRDP, and Old Age/Widow Pension has been calculated (table 8.4).

The reference period for purpose of assessing the coverage of all these five government programmes were different. For land distribution, JRY and IAY the assessment period was taken as last one year while for IRDP it was last five years. For pension scheme, the beneficiaries currently getting pension were included. It can be seen from the table that most of the government programmes had very little coverage in the surveyed villages. Although the most popular and well-received programmes among the villagers in most of the villages were JRY and IAY, its coverage was only to the tune of 1.60 per cent and 3.20 per cent respectively. Under IAY in most of the villages, participants informed that either no work or very little work had been done in their villages. The highest percentage of households covered under IAY was 6 in Nalanda while in Purnea and Rohtas it was less than 2 per cent. The average value of benefit under this programme was highest in Nalanda (approximately Rs. 25,000 per beneficiary households) followed by Gaya (approximately Rs. 22,000 per beneficiary households). The average value of benefit was the lowest in Rohtas followed by Gopalganj and Madhubani.

Under IRDP 5.20 per cent of the households were benefited within last five years with average amount of loan of Rs. 7000 approximately. The highest percentage was in Rohtas (18%) and the lowest in Madhubani (1%). The average amount of loan under the programme was ranging from Rs. 6000 to Rs. 8000. The average loan size was the highest for the beneficiaries belonging to Koeri and Forward castes. Under IRDP the percentage of beneficiary households and average size of the benefit seem to be more

**Table 8.4: Percentage of Households Benefited and Average Value of Benefits under Different Government Programmes.**

District	Land		JRY		IRDP		IAY		Pension	
	% of HH	Av. Acres	% of HH	AV.Empl Days	% of HH	Av. value in Rs.	% of HH	Av. Value in Rs.	% of HH	Av. value in Rs.
Gaya	3.30	0.54	1.00	4.68	2.80	6019.00	3.00	22000.00	0.20	900.00
Gopalganj	8.90	0.23	2.30	48.06	2.00	6565.00	3.70	11339.00	2.30	1133.00
Madhubani	10.50	0.11	2.00	19.11	0.90	8772.00	3.50	13030.00	2.00	905.00
Nalanda	0.90	0.54	2.90	13.30	8.30	5028.00	6.00	24954.00	1.70	1151.00
Purnea	3.50	0.65	0.10	30.00	5.10	8124.00	1.80	19807.00	1.40	880.00
Rohtas	1.00	0.91	3.10	18.74	17.90	6981.00	1.30	10688.00	1.10	1271.00
<i>Caste</i>										
Br+K	1.00	0.39	0.10	50.00	8.80	9445.00			2.10	1282.00
Musl(f)	0.80	0.16			2.80	9444.00	0.30	10000.00	0.90	981.00
Musl(b)	3.80	0.06	0.40	82.71	1.50	3860.00	0.70	9158.00	1.70	
Bh+R					5.90	6796.00			1.20	1220.00
OBC (I)	5.10	0.28	2.10	29.36	4.70	7463.00	1.40	24380.00	1.00	992.00
Kurmi	1.90	0.04			5.50	7950.00	1.40	23000.00		837.00
Yadav	1.80	0.28	0.90	65.00	4.20	5395.00	0.10	23000.00	0.70	900.00
Koeri	2.10	0.31	0.80	4.00	1.00	11410.00	0.20	14000.00	0.60	1023.00
OBC (II)	3.10	0.22	1.00	10.09	2.50	4129.00	1.60	11235.00	1.60	914.00
SC	12.90	0.27	4.80	12.97	8.70	5628.00	11.30	18186.00	2.20	600.00
ST	29.10	1.25			1.70	3300.00	25.60	20166.00	4.30	1200.00
<i>Class</i>										
ALNF	4.40	0.13	1.60	19.79	4.90	5887.00	4.90	21229.00	1.80	880.00
ALNA	5.80	0.17	0.80	16.33	5.80	5347.00	17.50	20886.00	1.00	1125.00
ALLF	10.40	0.39	3.40	25.37	6.20	6026.00	3.70	15343.00	1.30	1018.00
ALLA	16.70	0.22	7.60	9.26	4.90	4988.00	5.40	13510.00	2.70	1014.00
POORMIDP	3.20	0.29			4.80	6338.00	0.70	21625.00	2.00	1063.00
MIDP	1.90	0.87	0.90	41.67	2.40	7729.00	0.40	12750.00	0.50	960.00
BIGP	1.00	0.23	0.10	35.00	6.10	9271.00	0.10	14466.00	1.00	1163.00
LANDLD	1.00	0.08			6.20	6413.00	0.50	8250.00	1.30	1163.00
NONAG	3.00	0.36	0.30	20.00	2.70	6809.00	2.90	11208.00	2.90	1130.00
<b>Total</b>	5.10	0.30	1.60	21.52	5.20	6777.00	3.20	18231.00	1.50	1013.00

biased against poor classes. It can be seen from the fact that not only higher percentage of households from big peasant and landlord classes are benefited under this scheme but also the average size of the benefit are higher for these classes. The FGD in different villages revealed that IRDP programme was not very popular particularly among the lower castes and class people although a large number of villagers across the districts had benefited under different schemes of IRDP over the last five years or so. In a number of cases it was found that even the beneficiaries of IRDP forgot to mention the programme. But when they were specifically asked if they have taken some 'bullocks' or 'pumpsets'

or some cash loan for 'small business' or so from their blocks, they could identify some of these schemes. According to one of the villagers in Chakchatar of Rohtas district, "4-5 years ago a few of us got pump sets under IRDP. But it turned out to be a curse. We had to give Rs. 1000/- each as commission. Now nearly all the pump sets are not in working conditions. They are lying idle in our homes. The others who got animals suffered more as the government doctors did force them to buy bad animals which died within a year. Now they have to pay back the instalments. The IRDP has made life tough for us".

Under IAY, non-cultivating attached labour household is the major beneficiary (17.50%). However, the percentage of non-cultivating free labour beneficiary household is only 4.90. Among different castes 11.30 per cent of the SCs were beneficiaries with an average value of Rs. 18000/-.

The coverage of the JRY was also found to be very little as only 1.60 per cent of the households was benefited under this programme. Even among SCs and agricultural labour class (taking all the four agricultural labour class together) less than 5 per cent of the households were benefited under the programme. The highest percentage of coverage of this programme was found in Rohtas (3.10 %) and the lowest in Purnea (0.10 %). The average number of employment days per beneficiary generated was the highest in Gopalganj followed by Purnea. The class-wise analysis of the beneficiary households shows that among different classes the cultivating labour households were the major beneficiaries under land distribution scheme and JRY. For the middle and big peasant class although the percentage of benefited households under JRY is very low (less than 1%), the average number of employment days for them are 42 and 35 respectively.

Under the scheme of JRY, many of the villagers accepted that they had got employment for a few days or months and also received wages as per the minimum wage fixed by the government. In some villages of North Bihar plains women complained that their wages were not at par with their male counterpart. By and large the JRY scheme was found to be the most popular and well received by the people particularly in those villages where some works under the scheme has already been carried out in the past. In these villages the villagers were keen that more and more work should be taken-up under JRY, particularly during *Baisakh to Bhadon* period so that the poor may be involved in some wage employment. A village level information was collected in all the sample villages to know the extent and intensity of the works and amount invested under JRY

during last one year. The amount of investment in the sample villages in different districts is given in table 8.5.

**Table 8.5: Work under Employment Programmes (JRY/EAS)**

District	No. of Villages	No. of Projects	Av. Amount per village (Rs.)	Av. Amount per project (Rs.)
Gaya	3	3	200,000	200,000
Gopalganj	3	3	320,000	320,000
Madhubani	3	3	83,333	83,333
Nalanda	4	10	368,325	147,330
Purnea	3	5	886,666	531,999
Rohtas	1	2	275,000	137,500
All	15	24	414,553	259,095

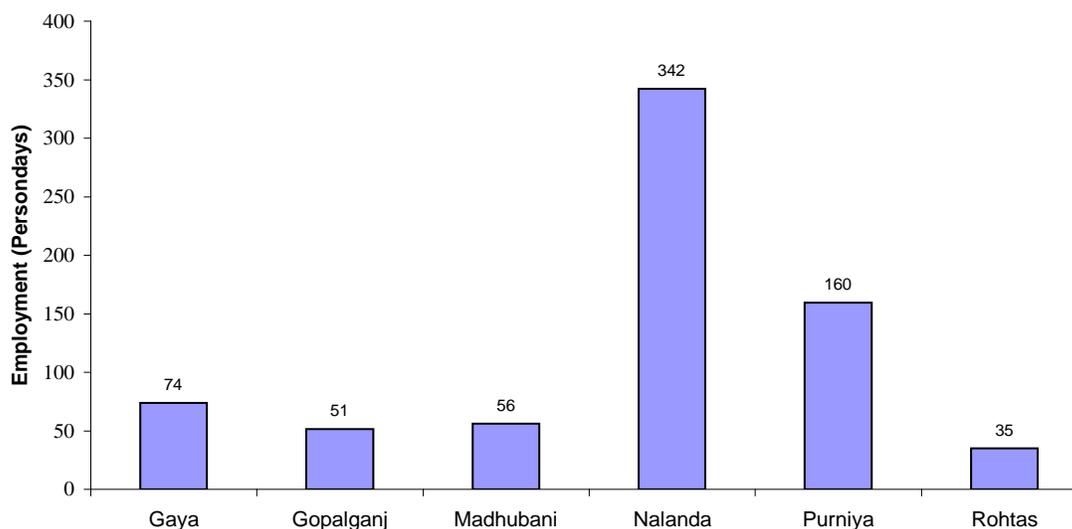
It can be seen from the table that during the last one year, only 15 villages out of total of 36 villages had any employment programme under JRY/EAS. The maximum number of villages covered under these programmes is in Nalanda (4) while minimum in Rohtas (1). The number of projects completed or undertaken in the 4 villages of Nalanda are 10 against only 2 in Rohtas. The amount invested under these programmes per village and per project is highest in Purnea, approximately Rs. 9 lakhs and 5 lakhs respectively followed by Nalanda in terms of per village but Gopalganj in terms of per project. It can also be seen from the table that in Rohtas out of six sample villages only one had work

**Table 8.6: Employment Generation under JRY/EAS in Different Districts**

District	No. of days	No. of persons			Persondays
		Male	Female	All	
Gaya	100	49	22	71	2220
Gopalganj	140	21	18	39	1540
Madhubani	60	64	0	64	1680
Nalanda	133	211	83	294	10271
Purnea	145	82	20	102	4785
Rohtas	55	17	2	19	1045
All	37	444	145	589	21541

Note: persondays has been calculated by multiplying the number of persons worked under the scheme with the number of days at village level and has been added at district level.

### Average Persondays of Employment Generated under JRY/EAS per Village



under these programmes but the amount invested was fairly high. On the other hand, in Madhubani, these programmes were carried on in three villages while the average amount invested was only Rs. 83 thousands per village and per projects both.

Table 8.6 gives the size of employment generated in these villages in terms of number of persondays and number of male and females getting employment. It can be seen from the table that the total persondays of employment under the programme JRY/EAS created during last one year in our sample villages is 21541 the highest being in Nalanda (10271) and the lowest in Rohtas (1045). It is evident from the table that except in Nalanda the average size of persondays created in other districts is approximately 1500. The employment created is higher in Nalanda and Purnea because of the fact that repeated work has been undertaken under the programmes in one or two villages of these two districts (see annexure I). Taking average mandays of employment created for districts as a whole as 1500 for one year in a district, the average figure comes to approximately 250 persondays per village per year.

### 3. Problems Faced by Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries of different government programmes are not happy about the adequacy and functioning of even many of the popular programmes. Villagers informed that they often had to depend on some middlemen for taking the benefits of any of the government programmes. In most of the villages participants informed about *baksheesh*, *ghoosh* or *kamisan* (commission) which they pay for getting the scheme sanctioned. In the villages of south and north Bihar plains most of the participants complained about their harassment at the hand of government officials.

One of the participants in village Darveshpura (Giriak, Nalanda) informed to the research team that he had submitted an application for getting 'bullocks' under IRDP last year. He told that he was asked to come to block office several times. After a number of visits to the block office and payment of Rs. 700 to one of the clerks of the block, he was said that now his application would be recommended to the bank. When he was asked why did he pay the money, he said that *wo log tarah tarah ke nshkh nikal rahe the aur tarah tarah ke kagaj mang rahe the* (the block officials were putting various kinds of hurdles and asking for various kinds of papers). When he consulted the *karamchari* (VLW) of the block, he was suggested that *Kuchh paisa-waisa dekar mamla nipta lo, isme tumhara hi fayda hoga* (get the work done by paying some money, this will be after all beneficial for you only). He told further that, now he started visiting the bank, when the block clerk told him that his application has been recommended to bank. He visited the bank several times and again he was asked to do some *kharcha varcha* (money) by some bank officials. He was in no position to pay any more and he stoped visiting the bank. He told that till now he has not been sanctioned the loan.

In Kasaila village of Purnea district, villagers told that "if Rs. 8500/- is sanctioned, we will receive only 6000/- and the rest is kept by the bank manager and BDO as commission. How is it possible to improve our situation in a system like this".

In Makhnaha of Purnea district, the Harijan families were given title deeds (*purcha*) of land under land distribution scheme. However, they were able to cultivate only for about two years. The land originally belonged to Durga Prasad Bhagat. Now a Malpahari, Paltu Miyan has encroached upon that land and cultivates it. A few of the harijan families filed a writ petition in court. Harijan families informed that police favours Paltu Miyan. The case is still pending and the harijan families are harassed by both police as well as the encroacher. "We would have been better off without that land. The government gave us land and when the powerful take it away from us, nobody protects us. We will lose all our money fighting case in courts".

Nearly all our interviews and participatory exercises showed that there was a serious crisis of confidence among the poor *vis-à-vis* the functionaries of government institutions — block development office, revenue inspectors office, public works department, police station, health institutions etc. The people see government functionaries as inaccessible, inefficient and corrupt. In Bhokila, people from the Chamar toli gave an instance when the BDO had taken money to release fund under JRY to one contractor. In fact, the BDO and Junior Engineer were even arrested for

misappropriation of the village JRY fund. People of Bhokila reported that even if the amount is small as in the case of maternity benefit, to release Rs. 400 a "commission" of Rs. 100 /- has to be paid. In Kaithi, people accused the doctor, nurse and compounder of selling medicines that should have really gone to the sick free of cost. They also complained about the misappropriation of food, which was to be given to poor children as mid-day meals.

On the question of ways to improve the government programmes, the participants of FGD were more excited and informative. In these villages the participants of the PRA exercises suggested a number of ways which may be adopted in order to make the government programmes more beneficial. They suggested that the IRDP loans should be distributed to the villagers depending on their specific needs because most of the villagers become defaulter mainly because the scheme was not suited to them. They also suggested that more and more off farm activities should be promoted by sanctioning the loans for small business, shops etc. In these villages participants were of the opinion that JRY work may be taken up on regular basis within the villages so that more employment and wage work may be created. In many of the villages people did not take much interest in IRDP loans and suggested that JRY and IAY need to be more intensified. They also suggested that under IAY first of all the houseless families should be covered.

In Bhokila, Rs. 1,08,000 /- was sanctioned for a road in the village. The work was sanctioned to a contractor Ranjit Singh, from the neighbouring village. He had to complete 3000 ft., but after completing 1000 ft., he asked the villagers to fill their yards with mud "*mitti barvana*". Failing this he refused to complete the work. Further, he said that the contract had been awarded to him to repair the road – not to make it - "*Mera Kaam road ko pucca karana hai, road banana nahin*". As the villagers refused to do this, he stopped the work. According to the villagers, he also violated the code of first employing people from the village and brought cheap labour from other places.

The villagers felt that this occurred because of the close nexus between BDO, JE and contractor - "*Teeno paise khamme me mahir tha*". In fact once before too Ranjit Singh had left a bridge half done. But, they had not complained at that time. The present indiscretion was too much for them and so they filed a case in the court against all the three. The BDO managed to escape by falsifying a few documents. However, the JE and contractor were found guilty and the latter is serving a sentence in the jail, while the former is out on bail.

## Summing Up

To sum up, it can be said that different anti-poverty and community development programmes run by government have made little impact in rural Bihar. Not only the coverage of these programmes has been very small but also they have been pro-rich. The pro-rich nature of the government programmes is more evident in case of anti-poverty programmes like IRDP. The pattern of loan distributed under IRDP reflects the fact that banks always preferred some sort of security. This is why the percentage of beneficiaries was always higher in the case of cultivating class than in the case of non-cultivating households.

Although JRY was found to be most popular and well-received programme, the works undertaken under this programme was also found to be meagre. Out of 36 surveyed villages JRY work has been taken over only in 15 villages. Also in these 15 villages, except three to four villages very little employment was generated (approximately 50 mandays in a year on an average). It was found that in number of cases the project undertaken by JRY was abandoned incomplete owing to various bureaucratic problems and malpractice.

Housing programme like IAY was also one of the most popular programmes among rural poor. But invariably in all the villages the villagers reported a wide-ranging malpractices. In many of the cases beneficiaries were charged commission to the tune of Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 5,000 in getting the scheme sanctioned. This often resulted in gross underfinancing of the schemes and hence a poor quality of housing or even incomplete houses.

The impact of land distribution scheme was almost negligible except in Gaya where a few households got the benefit from the scheme. In almost all other districts either the percentage of benefited households or the average size of the land distributed was very low. Sometimes, the piece of distributed land become apple of discord and source of conflict among rich and poor classes.

Thus most of the government programmes being run in rural areas not only suffer from their internal weakness but also their trickle down effect that has been choked by redtapism and corruption at bureaucratic level.

**Annexure I**

**Work done under JRY/EAS in different Villages**

Village	No. of days	No. of persons		Nature of Work	Status of work
		M	F		
Khesari	-	-	-	-	-
Khukhri	20	4	2	Const. of Samudayik (community) Building	Not Completed
Alalpur Bishunpur	-	-	-	-	-
Rupaspur Salempur	20	35	10	Const. Of Samudayik Building	Not Completed
Kari	-	-	-	-	-
Kanaudi	60	10	10	Pokhra soil Cutting	Completed
<i>Total Gaya District</i>	100	49	22	-	-
Mirzapur	-	-	-	-	-
Khusihal Chhappar	40	6	5	Cons. of School Building	Completed
Paharpur Dayal	-	-	-	-	-
Baniya Chhappar	-	-	-	-	-
Dewanparsa	-	-	-	-	-
Misir Batraha	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total Gopalganj District</i>	40	6	5	-	-
Jhitki	-	-	-	-	-
Semhli	-	-	-	-	-
Mahisam	45	24 (4 scheme)	-	Construction of School Building & Small Bridge	Not Completed
Bahera	15	40	-	Road filling	Not Completed
Khangaon	-	-	-	-	-
Haidarpur Vijay	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total Madhubani District</i>	60	64	-	-	-
Tarokhar	32	47	45	Road filling Kharanja, Repair of Pond	1 School Completed 3 Scheme not Completed
Darwespura	-	-	-	-	-
Chandarkura	55	45	-	Construction of Bridge drain Const. Road filling	1 School Completed 2 Scheme not Completed
Bhokhila	-	-	-	-	-
Mohiuddinpur	6	24	18	Kharanja	Not Completed
Barandi	40	95	20	Kharanja & Cons. Of Bridge	1 School Completed 1 Scheme not Completed
<i>Total Nalanda District</i>	133	211	83	-	-
Pathan Toli	-	-	-	-	-
Bhokri	40	3	-	Metal Dup Home pipe	Not Completed
Jitwarpur	10	30	20	Road filling	Not Completed
Belabadan	85 (4 scheme)	49	-	P. School, five culverts construction, kharanja	3 Scheme Completed Kharanja not Completed
Makhnaha	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total Purnea District</i>	145	82	20	-	-
Chakchattar	-	-	-	-	-
Anhar	-	-	-	-	-
Samhutibuzurg	-	-	-	-	-
Bhuawal	-	-	-	-	-
Amarhi	-	-	-	-	-
Kaithi	55	17	2	Road filling Const. Of school	Not Completed
<i>Total Rohtas District</i>	55	17	2	-	-